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Read Feb. 18, March 4 and 18, April 1 and 15, and Nov. 4, 1829.

THE benefits which Chronology has conferred upon History, not merely political but literary, have not been more generally acknowledged, than the uncertainty introduced into the science, by the differences of chronologists, has been a subject of disappointment and regret. In the admirably digested system of Ussher, those characters of laborious investigation, of accuracy and discrimination were so deeply impressed, that they insured his great work a direct and general reception, among the learned of those countries which have taken the lead in the Literature of Europe.[1] But the object proposed by the author in his great work having been rather that of arranging the incidents of history, than constructing a scientific apparatus for establishing a system of chronology; the principles on which it has been supported have fallen under the common imputation, to which chronological schemes are generally exposed, of resting on an unstable and arbitrary foundation. In the projects, to which an assumption of the imperfections of his annals, or the hope of greater success than he attained have

[1] See Chronol. de l'Hist. Sainte, par Des-Vignolles, liv. I. § xxiv. tom. i. p. 99.

consequently given rise, those differences have been widened and multiplied which are objected to the science: which instead of confirming the mind with the certainty of truth, have unfortunately tended to embarrass it more hopelessly in the mazes of contradiction.

If a clue can be found, by which the perplexities of this labyrinth may be disentangled; and a principle discovered, which may be applied as a test of the truth, to extricate it from the conflicting elements by which it is encumbered; it must surely have claims to the indulgent attention of this learned Society, however it may fail to influence their conviction or merit their adoption. As the ANCIENT CYCLES, from being employed in the computation of time, have formed an obvious connexion with that science which consists merely in the arrangement of incidents according to its progression; I venture to believe that in the investigation of their characters the literary desideratum may be found. In all nations, which have transmitted to us any records, which are the subjects with which Chronology is exclusively concerned, the evidence is almost palpable, that the progress of time was marked by those periodical returns of season; from which that principle may be deduced, which I believe competent to settle the main differences of chronologists. In the Jewish annals, the evidence of a sabbatical cycle observed from the patriarchal times is easily discoverable, which received various modifications, in the Mosaic dispensation, from the Semitah to the Jubilee, of which explicit notices pervade the whole course of the sacred history. However scanty the remains of ancient oriental science; they notwithstanding contain evidence as decisive of the Sothiacal Period, used by the Egyptians, as of the Genethliacal Cycle, employed by the Chaldees. In classical literature, with which our acquaintance is more intimate and extensive, the evidence which presents itself on the subject rises in its clearness and its importance. The entire succession of the games, the festivals, and the mysteries of the ancients were regulated according to periods, the characters of which may be accurately ascertained, as founded on the phenomena of nature, and as subjects of scientific investigation. In confirmation of the position, it will be sufficient at present to allude to the olympiad of the Greeks, and the lustrum of the Romans. As this period which was completed in a revolution of four years, is identical with the bissextile cycle, according to which our years are at this day equated; it furnishes a familiar but demonstrative proof of

the inveteracy with which the principle has obtained, out of which that connexion between the ancient cycles has arisen, that fits them for the purpose, to which they may be applied, in giving to Chronology the certainty of science.

As the professed object of this Memoir is to assert the antiquity, and to point out the use of the Ancient Cycles; the end at which it aims will be more effectually advanced, by pursuing a course, the converse of that by which the author has been led to his conclusions. In the analytical method, in which he proceeded in tracing each cycle to one more early, his investigation ultimately led to the discovery of an epoch, from which they might be indirectly, if not immediately, deduced. The extraordinary date at which he thus arrived, while it is supported by traditionary, if not historical authority, and this not merely sacred but profane, has the external evidence of its validity internally confirmed. It possesses the intrinsic marks of a first principle, inasmuch as it contains the elementary characters, which belong to the different epochs from which those cycles, at degrees more immediate or remote, have respectively descended. Proceeding from this point as a place of appulse, we are enabled to derive them severally from a common source, by a process of legitimate deduction. A connected apparatus may be thus formed, by which the entire system of ancient chronology will be bound together; the great epochs of which may be surely determined, as depending upon the links of a chain, the contexture of which may be not only ascertained, but its very proportions be measured.

Against the principles thus laid down, I am however conscious, a prepossession may be, *in limine*, entertained; which it may not be inexpedient to meet thus early; as authority may be challenged in its support from a formidable quarter. The learned and sagacious investigator of the Ancient Cycles, I will not dissemble, has labored, at considerable extent, to prove, that their origin could not have preceded the cultivation of astronomy among the Greeks, and cannot be therefore antedated to the times of Pythagoras and Thales.[2] The strong sentence in which he delivers himself upon this subject, if admitted to be decisive, must render every attempt to give a character of greater certainty to any epoch by means of the ancient

[2] Dodw. de Cycl. Diss. I. xix. p. 160. xxii. 165.

cycles, preceding the seventieth Olympiad, abortive and hopeless.[3] "Frustra ergo Cyclos ab illis expectabimus, conciliandis invicem Solis Lunæque hypothesibus, quibus nulla erat adhuc Astronomicarum Observationum supellex formandis hypothesibus plane necessariarum. Frustra item ab illis Observationes Astronomicas, quibus nullæ erant quibus illæ conservarentur Historiæ. Frustra, inquam, Cyclos Motuum Cœlestium, cum nulli adhuc extarent de Naturali Philosophia scripti Libri, qui hoc demum sæculo scribi cœperunt."

In meeting this objection, it is not necessary to engage in a particular inquiry into the proficiency of the ancients in astronomy; though evidence might be easily produced, that their progress was sufficiently advanced to lead them to those discoveries, which the learned writer supposes placed beyond the range of their knowledge. The mere observation of the heavenly bodies, of which they had uninterrupted experience, the rising of remarkable stars at particular seasons of the year,[4] the re-appearance of the moon after the time of its conjunction, formed coincidences sufficiently marked, to prompt the observer to compute the number of days elapsed between the periods of their recurrence. The knowledge which might be

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[3] Dodw. de Cycl. Diss. III. ii. p. 115.

[4] Kepler, whose opinions may be considered definitive, in determining this point, observes, De Stel. Nov. in Ped. Serpent. Prag. 1606. cap. iv. p. 15.—"Agricolæ necessario *ad fixarum exortus* contemplandos redacti sunt, extiteruntque inter ipsos hujus disciplinæ præcepta per manus tradita *longe priusquam ab Hesiodo cæterisque* referrantur in literas." Dodwell, to evade the force of this evidence, of which he must have been fully aware, is obliged to have recourse to the notion that "the Weeks and Days," ascribed to Hesiod, are supposititious; Dodw. ibid. Diss. III. vii. p. 125. In opposition to the positive testimony of Chronology, he labors to prove this writer contemporary with Thales; Ibid. Vid. Marm. Oxon. ed. Prideaux, P. ii. p. 166. Red. Annot. p. 40. Not. Hist. p. 193. Varro supposes the observation of the lunar conjunctions *preceded* the imposition of the name of month; De Ling. Lat. lib. v. col. 35.—"Sic *mensis* a lunæ motu dictus, dum a sole profecta rursus redit ad eum luna, quod Græce olim dicta μήνη; unde illorum μηνὲς ab eo nostri." The observation and designation of the months are referred, by writers as well sacred as profane, to the earliest period; they agree in representing nine months as the time during which the waters remained on the earth after the flood; Gen. viii. 5. Solin. Polyhist. cap. xi. p. 30. c. Apollon. Rhod. lib. iii. As they equally date the commencement of the deluge from the same day of the month; the year must have been so divided at the time, in their estimation. Vid. Whist. Theor. of Earth, B. III. ch. iv. § xlix.

thus easily attained, and which required not the science of the astronomer, but was within the observation of the husbandman; the learned author is so far from denying to the earliest age,[5] that he fully concedes it to the rudest of its members. But they who had made but this progress, in noticing the periods of the heavenly bodies; whatever might be the name by which they termed their revolutions, became acquainted, in effect, with the nature of a cycle.

Had it indeed consisted with the object of this learned chronologist to have drawn that illustration of the question from the superstitions of the ancients, which he sought in their science, the effect on his argument would have been sensibly different. Censorinus, to whom we are chiefly indebted for the brief notices respecting the cycles, which have been transmitted from antiquity, while he considers them with reference to the religion rather than the astronomy of the Greeks, refers their original to the earliest period of the history of that people.[6] The *trieterica*, which are described by him, as equated in an intercalation, were essentially a cyclical period; the epoch of their revolution, as he observes, was marked by the celebration of the Mysteries of Bacchus. The knowledge of this cycle is thus implicitly traced to the first and rudest ages. As referred to the times of Cadmus, by whom the Dionysian festival was instituted, they thus prove to be coeval with the earliest civilization of Greece by its Phenician colonists.[7] By the Parian Chronicle the emigration of the Cadmians to Thebes is placed in the year of J. P. 3195,[8] about twenty-eight years previous to the date ascribed to the Exod, by Ussher.[9] In that ancient chronicle, the celebration of the Panathenæa is placed but thirteen years subsequent to the Phenician

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[5] Dodw. ut supr. Diss. III. xxi. p. 163. VII. xviii. p. 340. X. vii. p. 460.

[6] Censorin. de Die Nat. cap. xviii.

[7] Id. ibid. "Itaque annos civiles ita statuerunt, ut interkalando fecerunt alternos xii. mensium, alternos xiii. utrumque annum separatim vertentem, junctos ambos Annum Magnum vocantes. Idque tempus τριηπερίδα appellabant, quod tertio quoque anno interkalabatur, quamvis biennii circuitus, et revera διηπερὶς esset. Unde Mysteria quæ Libero patri alternis fiunt annis, trieterica a poetis dicuntur." Conf. Herod. lib. II. cap. iv. Scalig. Emend. Temp. lib. iv. p. 298. Marsham, Can. Chron. Sæc. IX. p. 121.

[8] Marm. Oxon. ep. 7. p. 160. conf. Can. Chron. p. 242.

[9] Vid. Usser. Annal. p. 19. After the authority of Eusebius, Ussher however places the migration of Cadmus from Egypt to Syria, J. P. 3259. Ibid. p. 31.

emigration ;[10] they however consisted of lesser and greater Mysteries, which, as respectively solemnized after a revolution of two and four years, had their periods determined by legitimate Cycles.[11] That at a time thus remote the hierophants in whom the appointment of the festivals was vested, were skilled in the art of equating time, by the artifice of an intercalation, whereby it was, in effect, rounded into periods essentially cyclical, is indeed a point in which astronomers and chronologists have so fully acquiesced, as to leave very little foundation for scepticism to rest on, in opposing their sentence. The sagacious Kepler,[12] while he asserts the antiquity of the *trieterica*, in maintaining the probability, that they gave rise to the Magna Mysteria; refers the later festival to the first institution of the Olympiads by which their return was determined: in thus ascribing them an antiquity at least eight hundred years before the Christian Era, he admits the possibility that the epoch of their institution might be placed four centuries earlier. And the great Scaliger[13] in observing on a passage of Herodotus, in which it is maintained that the Greeks had formed trieterical cycles, by intercalating every third year; though he opposes the father of history in offering this statement as a just description of the Greek year; he notwithstanding admits, that the Nemean and Isthmian games as well as the Theban Orgies, and the Dionysia in the fields, were celebrated after the revolution of those periods. While indeed he proceeds to assert, that the cycles by which these festivals were determined, were but integral parts of the proper *tetraëteris*, which he frequently represents as essentially the same as our bissextile period;[14] he virtually makes the science by which the pontiff

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[10] Marm. Oxon. ib. ep. 10. p. 160. conf. Can. Chron. p. 242.

[11] Censorin. ibid. conf. Kepler. infr. n. 12.

[12] Kepl. Eclog. Chron. Ep. xvi. p. 90. "Erant enim apud ipsos [Græcos] anni alternis 12 et 13 mensium. Hinc trieterica ipsorum sacra. Mensis tridecimus habebat dies alternatim 22 vel 23. Et videtur dies ille abundans, exactis quatuor annis, occasionem dedisse Atticæ solemnitati Magna Mysteria dictæ, ut et ludicro Olympico." Conf. Scalig. ubi supr. p. 298. c. Censorinus delivers himself to the same purpose, ibid. cap. xviii. vid. supr. n. 7.

[13] Scalig. de Emend. Temp. lib. i. p. 59. lib. iv. p. 298. Dodwell, though he ascribes the invention of the Cycle of two years to Thales, vindicates the testimony which Herodotus bears to its adoption by the Greeks, from the objections of Scaliger and Petitus: De Cycl, Diss. III. xxii. p. 166.

[14] Scalig. ib. p. 60. a. conf. p. 36. b. 37. c. et Censorin. ut supr.

fixed the time of the festival, coeval with the religion of which he was the hierophant; the antiquity of which cannot be reasonably controverted.

The learned writer against whose sentence I protest may be therefore left in unmolested possession of the position which he has taken up, as far as the early cultivation of astronomy is rendered problematical. But a slender proficiency in the science was needed, to enable the first observers to number the days in which the heavenly bodies returned to their conjunctions. Superstition had, in fact, long commenced the work which was left for science to perfect. The force of truth has accordingly wrested a concession from the objector, in which the entire conclusiveness of his exceptions expires. In accounting for the manner in which the labors of the later astronomers acquired a civil effect, and the year became regulated according to their cycles; he incautiously allows that the authority which they acquired originated with the oracles, and thence attained weight from the pontiffs.[15] While he frequently admits the preservation of a secret year among the priests, which he represents as essentially the same as our bissextile;[16] and indeed asserts that its existence is implied, in the very nature of the earliest astronomical cycles, as, according to its length, they were properly equated;[17] he implicitly allows that the authority which he deduces from science in its support, was really derived from religion. In the antiquity of the *trieteris* or semi-bissextile period, by which the return of the Bacchanalian Mysteries was determined, he not only acquiesces; but traces it to a time antecedent to the introduction of Cycles into Italy, which he dates from the age of Pythagoras.[18]

Instead of dating the origin of the ancient cycles, from the first cultivation of science by the Greeks, we must deduce it from the very institution of their religion. To the native Grecian astronomers, they were indeed latterly indebted for many valuable improvements; having been reduced to principles strictly scientific, and rendered conformable to the celestial revolutions and phenomena of nature. But for the civil effect with which they

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[15] Dodw. ut supr. Diss. I. v. p. 8. conf. II. xvi. p. 85. xxiii. p. 100.

[16] Id. ibid. Diss. x. xiii. p. 467. 468. Scalig. Em. Temp. p. 194. b. 195. c. Petav. Doctr. Temp. lib. III. cap. ii. Des-Vign. tom. ii. p. 651. a. 773. d.

[17] Dodw. ibid. Diss. III. xxvi. p. 171. xxxi. p. 177.

[18] Id. ibid. Diss. x. cvii. p. 671. conf. Diss. III. i. seq.

were attended, they were mainly indebted to their connexion with the national worship. As the power of appointing the festivals devolved in virtue of their function upon the hierarchy; the right of intercalating the year was necessarily confined to their order.[19] It was only as the magistrate combined the ecclesiastical with the civil character in his person, that he was entitled to propose them for the adoption, or enforce them on the obedience of the people. In right of this mixed authority, the Archons possessed the privilege of appointing the festivals which were annually observed throughout Attica.[20] The chief magistrate who filled that office, thus also enjoyed the prerogative of presiding at the Dionysia;[21] the periodical observance of which, as I formerly observed, was determined by a cycle. To one of the order the title of King was given, who exercised a jurisdiction over the priesthood, who was the guardian of the public morals in the celebration of the Eleusinia; and who offered up prayers and sacrifices, during the time of their solemnization.[22] A functionary possessed of a like title, and vested with similar powers was recognised by the Romans; the *Rex Sacrificulus,* a part of whose office it was to declare the days of the ides and nones to the people summoned to the Capitol, when the calends were determined from celestial observations communicated to him by the minor pontiff.[23] In the plenary authority with which the sovereign of the order was invested, the construction of the Roman calendar was originally undertaken by Numa,[24] and its reformation was effected by Cæsar;[25] both of whom engaged in that task when elevated to the rank of Pontifex Maximus.

It will conduce to the final object of this investigation, to offer, in illustration of this subject, some supplementary observations. As the right of intercalation was vested in the priests; with a view to confine the privilege to the sacred order, their methods of equating time were preserved in

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[19] Solin. Polyhist. cap. i. p. 5. a. Scalig. ubi supr. lib. ii. p. 178. c. iv. p. 228. Dodw. ubi supr. Diss. II. xvi. p. 85. x. xxiv. p. 490. c. p. 652

[20] Potter Archæol. vol. i. p. 411. [21] Id. ibid. [22] Id. ibid. p. 421.

[23] Vid. Macrob. Sat. I. xv. p. 181. Fest. de Sign. Verb. p. 196. 52. Id. cum P. Diacon. Epit. v. nonæ p. 335. Varro De Ling. Lat. lib. v. p. 35. 5.

[24] Solin. Polyhist. ubi supr. p. 4. c. Cicero de Leg. lib. II. xxviii. 448. 9. Scalig. ubi supr. p. 175. 178. c.

[25] Solin. Polyhist. ibid. p. 5. b. Scalig. ibid. p. 228. b.

mysterious silence.[26] The public year which they ostensibly employed, and which, as in civil use, it became useless to mis-state, and impossible to conceal, was fixed in round numbers at 360 days.[27] But from this year, they professed occasionally to withdraw some days, as inauspicious, and occasionally to intercalate it with a month, in order to accommodate it to the vicissitude of the seasons.[28] As a year of such a length is a convenient mean between the solar revolution of $365\frac{1}{4}$ and the lunar of $354\frac{1}{3}$ days, it was admirably adapted to the purposes of their pious fraud;[29] since a little artifice in its employment enabled them to conceal the secret of their equations from the uninitiated vulgar. But besides this public year, they possessed one which was apocryphal; and which the common consent of chronologists,[30] from Scaliger to Des-Vignolles, acknowledges as having been not specifically different from the Julian or bissextile. The identity of its nature with the civil year which is now generally received did not escape the sagacity of that great genius, who has ventured to point out the place of the intercalation employed by the Greeks;[31] that used by the Romans, on its republication by Cæsar, being apparent in its name, as derived from the intercalary day, *bis sextus Martii Calendarum*. That in this statement we have the true solution of the mystery, and acquire the just length, of the secret pontifical year, is obvious, from the accounts transmitted by antiquity of the manner in which it was divulged by Cn. Flavius;[32] conformably to whose disclosure of its nature, the Calendar

[26] Id. ibid. lib. ii. p. 180. c. Dodw. ubi supr. p. 468. 469. Des-Vignolles ubi supr. tom. ii. p. 703. 706. conf. infr. n. 32.

[27] Vid. Allin, Diss. on Anc. Year p. 144. Des-Vignolles Dissert. de L'Ann. Anc. tom. ii. p. 613. Conf. Scalig. ubi supr. lib. i. p. 24. b. Dodw. ubi supr. Diss. i. xiv. p. 21.

[28] Scalig. ibid. p. 26. b. Dodw. ibid. Diss. i. xxix. p. 41. conf. Tab. Attic. p. 714.

[29] Dodw. ibid. Diss. i. xiv. p. 22. Des-Vignolles ubi supr. p. 613.

[30] Scalig. ubi supr. p. 178. "Sane et anno solis dies 365 [Græci] attribuebant, et, quarto quoque anno exacto, diem intercalabant post 365 illos dies: eumque observabant *Hierophantæ Athenis, Pontifices Romani*, eodem anno, quo Merkedonius 23 dierum intercalabatur, *ante initium anni primi Olympiadis*." Conf. ibid. lib. iii. p. 197. a. et supr. n. 26. This period is admitted by Dodwell to be the oldest Cycle, though he lowers its origin to the times of Thales; Ibid. Diss. iii. xxi. p. 164. The later Greeks however traced it to the times of Abraham: vid. Syncel. Chron. p. 312. c.

[31] Scalig. ibid. p. 179. d. 180. b. 183. a.

[32] Macrob. Saturn. lib. i. xiv. p. 178. Valer. Max. lib. ii. cap. i. Cicer. Orat. pro Muræn. xxiii. cap. xxv. p. 478. f.

was reformed by J. Cæsar, upon principles, from which, since his times, there has been no important deviation. Were not the external evidence on this subject decisive,[33] it would admit of plenary confirmation from the olympiad and lustrum, to which I formerly alluded; and might be internally demonstrated from the earliest lunar cycles of the Greeks and Romans, and the great year of the Chaldees and Egyptians. For all those periods were obviously equated, not strictly to the length of the natural or tropical year, but accurately to one which was identical with the bissextile or leap-year.[34]

Before these considerations, it may be now summarily observed, some of the objections vanish, by which the contradictions objected to chronologists have been not a little aggravated; and by which the object proposed in the present investigation is liable to be impeded. We hence learn to appreciate the futility of the exceptions raised by Petavius and Dodwell to the theory of Scaliger on the nature of the *Greek year*, as properly solar or lunar.[35] The insufficiency imputed by Noris and Dodwell to the course adopted by Ussher in the explanation of the *Asiatic year*,[36] proves, under the same considerations, to be groundless and nugatory. The necessity of a particular refutation of the learned authors of the dissertations on the *Ancient Year*,[37] who have respectively labored to reduce it to 360 days,

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[33] Conf. supr. n. 32.

[34] Scalig. ubi supr. lib. ii. p. 178. c. The ancients describe the Julian form of year as equally observed by the Greeks and Romans: Censorin. ubi supr. "Postea cognito errore, hoc tempus [τριητερίδα] duplicarunt, et τετραητερίδα fecerunt. Sed eam, quod quinto quoque anno redibat, πενταητερίδα nominabant. Qui Annus Magnus ex quadriennio commodior visus est: ut annus solis constaret ex diebus 365 et diei parte circiter quarta, quæ unum in quadriennio diem conficeret. Quare agon et in Elide *Jovi Olympo* et *Romæ Capitolino*, quinto quoque anno redeunte, celebratur." After describing several different kinds of Cycles, or Great Years, he observes; ibid. "Sed horum omnium πενταητηρίδας maxime notandis temporibus Græci observant, id est, quaternûm annorum circuitus quas vocant *Olympiadas* .... Idem tempus Anni Magni Romanis fuit, quod *Lustrum* appellabant: ita quidem a Servio Tullio institutum, ut quinto quoque anno censu civium habito lustrum conderetur; sed non ita a posteris servatum."

[35] Vid. Petav. Doctr. Temp. lib. i. cap. iv. v. Append. ad Uranol. lib. iv. cap. 1. seq. Dodw. ubi supr. Diss. i. vii. p. 11. seq. Corsin. Fast. Attic. Diss. ii. v. p. 58. vi. p. 59.

[36] Dodw. ubi supr. Diss. ix. x. p. 380. Noris de Ann. Maced. p. 5. d.

[37] Allin et Des-Vignolles, uti supr. p. 8. n 27.

becomes from the same considerations wholly inexpedient; although an imposing speciousness of argument, and an accumulation of learned authority have occasioned the insertion of Allin's essay in the ingenious "Theory" of Whiston,[38] and the incorporation of Des-Vignolles' treatise in the volume of posthumous Chronology,[39] published under the name of the Benedictines. By those who have learned to distinguish between the different species of year in use among the ancients; and who only perceive, what a casual inspection will enable them to discover, that the schemes of the objectors apply merely to the public or civil year, it will be observed that the private and sacred year remains wholly unaffected by their exceptions. As the *Secret Year* however formed the standard by which the course of time was equated;—as far as Chronology is engaged in numbering the succession of years, we are exclusively concerned with the consideration of its length and nature.

As we are necessitated to adopt some fixed measure of time, in the computations essential to an investigation like the present; these preliminary observations will I trust suffice, in justification of that standard which is employed in the subjoined essay. Of the principal elements of the *Julian Period*, which is chosen for this purpose; they seem adequate, not merely to evince the utility, but to prove the antiquity. As a grand scale, extending from any assumed epoch to both extremes of time, as well the antecedent as the subsequent;—as a Great Cycle, which unites in its composition the elementary periods, of which astronomy and history have immemorially made use, it is fitted to every exigency of the computer. Of its efficiency, it is indeed a sufficient evidence and panegyric, to mention the choice made of it by Scaliger, in developing the science, and by Ussher, in arranging the incidents, of Chronology. And whatever be the result with which its present application is attended, it affords the author of these remarks no small earnest of success, as no mean recompense of his exertions, that the test which he has the honor to propose to this lettered Assembly, for extricating the science which they called into existence by their creative powers, from the chaotic confusion into which it has been again nearly reduced by the ill-meant or unlucky efforts of their oppugners,

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[38] Whist. ubi supr. b. II. hyp. x. p. 144.

[39] L'Art. de Vérif. les Dates, tom. i. p. 69. seq.

derives its strongest confirmation from their immortal labors. As his inquiries advance, his conviction rises, that in proportion as that affected scepticism which is no less fatal than ignorant credulity to the cause of truth, gives place to an enlightened and rational conviction, the fame of those incomparable works, (in which literature first beheld the pure science of chronology developed, and practically applied, with a felicitous sagacity, and a solid discernment, perhaps unexampled and certainly unexcelled in the history of the human mind,) will continue to resume their pristine lustre.

I. Our inquiries being directed, from the discoveries of science, to the observances of religion, for the highest proofs of a knowledge of the ancient cycles; our attention is necessarily directed to those times, which are the subject of the earliest historical records. In the numerous instances with which they present us, we at once discover the foundation, and perceive the insufficiency of the objections urged against their antiquity, by the learned writer who would limit the origin to the cultivation of astronomy. While he concedes, that the term *cycle* was equivalent in its meaning to the phrase, a *Great Year;* in confining its sense to the equation of the solar and lunar revolutions,[40] he narrows his principles to fit them for supporting a partial conclusion. Of the term cycle, in so limited a sense, it may be readily allowed, the origin may be dated from the advancement of science. But in subversion of an application of the term so unwarrantable, it is sufficient to observe; that by ancient writers not less reputed for their skill in language than science, the word *cycle* is not merely applied to the revolution of the days in the civil month, but the phrase *a great year* is extended to the biennial period, with the revolution of which one of the oldest of their festivals returned.[41] And these instances are not merely excluded in practice, from the learned writer's investigations of the ancient cycles; but are incompatible with the theory, on which he undertakes to explain them, as confined to an equation of the solar and lunar motions.

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[40] Dodw. uti supr. Diss. III. XXV. p. 170.

[41] Censorin. uti supr. cap. xviii. "Itaque annos civiles ita statuerunt ut interkalando facerent alternos 12 mensium, alternos 13; utrumque annum separatim vertentem, junctos Annum Magnum vocantes."

A few examples will however suffice to free the question from the limits within which it is thus contracted; and from which the objections to which it is exposed derive an apparent strength and conclusiveness. Censorinus, to whom we owe greater obligations for information on this subject, than to all antiquity, observes, in referring to the Egyptians, to whom Herodotus ascribes the invention of cycles:[42] "Ad Ægyptiorum vero Magnum Annum *luna non pertinet*;"[43] and in describing the great year of the Chaldees, who were best qualified to dispute the merit of the invention with the Egyptians, he equally declares: "non ad *solis lunæque cursus*, sed observationes alias habent accommodatum."[44] Servius also, whose observations on this subject prove him to have considered it with no inconsiderable attention, in delivering himself in reference to the opinions of the Greeks and Romans, whose knowledge respecting it was derived from those ancient nations, expresses himself to the same purpose. In describing a Great Period, of which memorials may be found almost among all mankind, he contradistinguishes it from the solar and lunar year, and makes it essentially planetary. After alluding to the tropical year he adds,—"Mox majore cura Magnum Annum esse voluerunt, *omnibus planetis* in eundem recurrentibus locum," directly subjoining, "illum Planetarium, de quo varia dicuntur et a Metone, et ab Eudoxo, et a Ptolemæo, et ab ipso Tullio."[45]

As, from this Great Planetary Year we justify the extension of the term, we may commence from it our investigation into the antiquity of cycles. When it is divested of its astrological characters, of which an account will be rendered, in inquiring into the proficiency of the Chaldees in the doctrine of those revolutions by which they were measured; it may be resolved into a purely sabbatical period, which sufficiently establishes its remote antiquity, in its relation to the patriarchal ages. For of all historical records, which pretend to a high original and are susceptible of chronological illustration, the annals of those times have the highest claims to our regard, as being not less authentic than ancient.

1. In the tradition which has been preserved of this Great Year, its origin is traced to the earliest period of history. By Josephus, in whose writings much of the hereditary information of a people remarkable for

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[42] Herod. lib. II. cap. iv. [43] Censorin. ubi supr. cap. xviii. [44] Id. ibid.
[45] Serv. in Virg. Æneid. iii. 284. p. 703. c.

their traditional knowledge is preserved, it is deduced from the times of our first parent.[46] In his assertion of its high antiquity the Jewish antiquary is borne out, by the concurrent testimony of historians, as well of the eastern as the western world.[47] In support of a tradition thus remote, some memorials of which have passed to all mankind, evidence has been not merely deduced from the Jewish paraphrasts, and the Christian fathers, but authority produced from the prophetical and apostolical writers.[48] It would be beside the purpose of this inquiry to enter into the subject of this tradition; it is now particularly noticed as constituting the external evidence of a remarkable epoch, which, though of a date so remote as the two hundred and seventy-first year of the world, merits attention by its internal characters. For this extraordinary epoch, when computed from the time of the creation, as fixed by the sagacious Kepler, affords a clue to the perplexities by which chronologists have been not a little embarrassed. If the origin of the world be placed, as that great astronomer has determined, 4000 years before the true christian era; the date A. M. 271, computed from that time, forms an epoch, in which the elements of the most ancient cycles may be found, from whence a solution may be derived of the difficulties, which impart its uncertainty to the science.

1. In reducing this epoch to the Julian Period, which has been proposed as the measure of time in this investigation, and from its reduction to which its connexion with any relative cycle may be determined, the coincident year might be at once adopted from Ussher; as in his chronological system the antecedent conditions are observed, four thousand years being computed by him between the creation and the nativity, and every date in it expressed by its equivalent in that period. As constant occasion will occur for referring to his immortal work, it seems expedient to establish on general principles, the method by which his dates have been reduced to that standard. The grounds of this reduction are laid in the identity of the first year of the vulgar christian era with the year of the J. P. 4714; which

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[46] Vid. Joseph. Antiq. Jud. lib. I. cap. ii. § 3. Syncel. Chronog. p. 10. a. ed. Goar. Cedren. Compend. Hist. p. 8. d. 9. b. ed. Xyland.

[47] Vid. Syncel. ubi supr. p. 40. b. Joseph. contr. Appion. lib. i. p. 1336. Conf. Marsh, ubi supr. Sæc. i. p. 39.

[48] Vid. Burnet, Sacr. Theor. b. III. ch. iii. iv. v. p. 19. seq.

is fixed by the universal consent of chronologists.[49] This date it is now almost as generally admitted, is anticipated by the true epoch, just four years;[50] this point may be however assumed, as by the employment of a particular cycle, originally suggested by Scaliger and applied by Petavius, it is reducible to a demonstration.[51] If the two sums 4000+4 are subducted from the common basis of the J. P. 4714; the remainder, J. P. 710, will coincide with the date A. M. 1, which has been determined by Kepler, and adopted by Ussher.[52] To reduce this principle to a general form; as the years numbered under those different denominations J. P. and A. M. form two arithmetical series, progressive by quantities of the same dimension; the difference 710, when *subducted* from any assumed date of the former, will leave a remainder expressing the correspondent year of the World; and conversely, when *added* in like manner to any given date of the latter will equally express the coincident year of the Julian Period. If the primitive epoch A. M. 271, which has been already offered on the testimony of antiquity, is increased by this difference; the year of the J. P. 981, to which it is reduced, will form an elementary date, from whence the principal cycles may be deduced, however independently we may conceive them formed, and by whatever modes of computation.

The primitive epoch A. M. 271, which is offered as a key to the ancient chronology, being reduced to the Julian Period; its chronological characters are at once determinable, by the simple artifice, by which that great cycle is reduced to its original elements.[53] The characters which result from submitting it to this process, as commonly expressed, are GF. ⊙ 1. ☽ 12. Ind. 6; which in the comparative Tables of the Julian Cycles, drawn up by the Benedictines, are accordingly annexed to the year of the J. P. 981.[54] And of the elements to which it is thus reduced, it is in the first place observable, that while the solar and bissextile cycles into

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[49] Kepler. de Ann. Nat. Chr. p. 25. d. Eclog. Chron. p. 105. Tab. Rhudolp. cap. viii. p. 51.

[50] Vid. Kepler. uti supr. Usser. Præf. in Annal. p. [vii.] Whist. Theor. b. ii. p. 264. Petav. Rat. Temp. P. ii. lib. iv. i. p. 215.

[51] Vid. Petav. Doctr. Temp. lib. xii. cap. vii. p. 417.

[52] Vid. supr. n. 50.

[53] Vid. Petav. Rat. Temp. P. ii. lib. i. cap. iv. p. 12.

[54] L'Art de Vérif. les Dates, tom. i. p. 10.

which it is resolved may be regularly deduced from this date, as having their first year coincident with it; neither the lunar nor indiction can be derived from such a source, as they are respectively antedated to its commencement. Even thus far this extraordinary epoch gives evidence of its origin; as it not only embraces those cycles which are of acknowledged antiquity, but rejects those, from its composition, which are of modern invention.

But another more apposite quality of this primitive epoch exists in its sabbatical character, which admits of establishment from a basis, which, no less than that of the Julian Period, rests upon the common consent of chronologists.[55] Although differences are entertained, as to the precise epoch of the cycle by which the years observed by the Jews as sabbatical may be determined; it is admitted by the common suffrage, that the year of the J. P. 3270 possessed that character; the first anniversary of the cycle commencing from the autumn of that year, which was of course sabbatical from the autumn preceding. Notwithstanding the differences on which Scaliger and Petavius, Ussher and Cappel appear to be irreconcilably opposed, they generally agree in acknowledging this year, as the first observed by the Israelites, in their settlement in Canaan.[56] And although Des-Vignolles, with his disciples, the Benedictines, in antedating the Exod above a century and a half, throw back the epoch of that cycle so many years; they however admit this basis, as determined by other chronologists, to be notwithstanding sabbatical.[57] Now if the primitive epoch J. P. 981 be subducted from the year of the J. P. 3270, the character of which remains thus far undisputed, and the difference,

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[55] Petav. Rat. Temp. P. ii. lib. II. cap. vii. p. 103.

[56] Scalig. ut supr. lib. v. p. 375. d. Usser. Annal. p. 40. ad A. J. P. 3269. Helvic. Tab. Chron. p. 26. a. Calvis. Isagog. Chron. cap. xxvi. p. 155. Chron. ad A. M. 2499. Bailii Op. Chron. Hist. lib. I. cap. v. p. 44. L. Cappel Chron. Sacr. tab. vi. et prob. p. 9. Simson. Chron. Cathol. P. ii. p. 4. Petavius, from lengthening the time of the Judges, throws back the first sabbatical year five cycles, to J. P. 3234. Rat. Temp. ibid. p. 105: but by his own rule he makes the year J. P. 3270 sabbatical, from the preceding autumn: Ibid.

[57] Des-Vign. Chron. liv. III. ch. ii. p. 734. L'Art de Vérif. les Dates. Tab. Chron. p. 26. J. P. 3270. conf. p. 25. n. In the computation of the last-cited chronologists, the first sabbatical year is antedated 25 cycles: but J. P. 3270 is admitted to be sabbatical.

amounting to 2289 years, be divided by seven, by which it will be in effect distributed into sabbatical periods, the quotient expressing the number of those cycles leaves no remainder. It follows from the nature of an arithmetical progression, that the two dates which are separated by this series of cycles, must be of the same character; and as the year of the J. P. 3270 is the first year of a sabbatical cycle, so must the year of the J. P. 981. In this remarkable date we consequently find every element which could qualify it for becoming the epoch of those septennial periods; as every subsequent cycle may be derived from it, as a common source, by the constant addition of seven or its multiples.

As the chronological characters which belong to this primitive epoch, A. M. 271. J. P. 981. may be thus expressed, Sab. Cyc. 1. Sol. Cyc. 1. Bis. Cyc. 1. it is evident at sight, that they are such as must essentially belong to the elementary date, from which those cycles may be conceived to have respectively descended. This is at once apparent in the coincidence of this epoch with *the first years* of each of those periods. Whether we regard them as derived progressively from some common date, or consider this epoch as fixed by a proleptical computation; every sabbatical solar and bissextile cycle is deducible from it, as its original. The important consequences resulting from these characters, we shall better appreciate as this system is more fully developed; when we have occasion to reduce the Julian Period to its first principles; to investigate the source and trace the dependence of each of the cycles which enter into its composition. By two circumstances, however, its character is so much raised, that they commend themselves to our immediate notice. While the epoch, to which I would assign so remote an antiquity, has come to us on the testimony of the Greeks, who have founded a chronology on their vernacular version of Scripture; when it is reduced to their chronological system, it relinquishes all those elementary characters which belong to it in the scheme deduced from the original Hebrew. And when it is compared with the epoch of a purely factitious period, which has been devised by the Talmudists, and is still used by the Jews, in numbering the years of the world; it is found inherently to possess every advantage which that period has inherited from being of an arbitrary and artificial contrivance.

Syncellus, who has preserved the remarkable epoch A. M. 271, and who

follows the system of the Greek chronology, as digested by the learned Egyptians, Anianus and Pandorus;[58] numbers 5500 years from the creation to the nativity. In the system of these ancient chronologists, he informs us, this period was distributed into cycles consisting of 532 years; eleven of which and 180 years had elapsed, in that space of time, according to the more accurate computation of Anianus.[59] As the number 271 expresses, of course, the year of his first cycle as well as that of the world; and as it is obvious the great periods of this chronology were formed from the product of the solar cycle of 28 years into that of the lunar of 19; on reducing the epoch 271 to its elements, by dividing it with these numbers, it furnishes the characters E. ⊙ 19. ☽ 5. But this year is obviously not elementary, and can form no epoch of the bissextile solar or lunar cycle: nor can it, in the system of these chronologists, form the element of a sabbatical period. The first year of Joshua, according to Syncellus, is dated A. M. 3857;[60] and as the first sabbatical year, on the highest authority, coincided with the seventh year of his government, it must be accordingly identified in the system of that chronologist with A. M. 3863. If we could admit that this year was sabbatical, from which it happens to be distant precisely a year; yet as the difference of 3592 years, by which those dates are separated, when divided by seven, leaves a remainder, the earlier epoch is necessarily void of that character. As the system of Syncellus derives no apparent advantage from the remarkable date of which he preserves the tradition; all suspicion must be removed, that it has been fabricated to serve a private or sinister end. And as he refers, in bringing it forward, to some apocryphal writers, who have rescued many interesting facts of primitive history from oblivion; there can be no just ground of distrust, that from that source it has been transferred to his invaluable collections.

Nor is this radical epoch distinguished more by a superiority in its characters to that which is deducible from the chronological scheme of the Greeks; than by a participation in the advantages which the artificial era employed by the Jews derives from its contrivers. The epoch of the Talmudical Period, as reduced to the Julian Period, by Scaliger,[61] and a host of

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[58] Syncel. ubi supr. p. 315. b. conf. p. 34. a. Scalig. Emend. Temp. lib. vii. p. 758. c.

[59] Syncel. ibid. p. 315. c. d.

[60] Id. ibid. p. 143. b. 150. c. conf. Des-Vignolles, ubi supr. p. 723.

[61] Scalig. Emend. Temp. lib. iv. p. 279. a. vii. p. 652. d. Calvis. ubi supr. cap. xii. p. 113. Helvic. ubi supr. p. 1. b. Des-Vignolles, ubi supr. p. 738.

later chronologists, is identified with the year 953 of that Period. And this date, it is observable, is separated from that of the epoch 981, precisely an ordinary solar cycle of 28 years. Now as this period, in being formed of the product of the bissextile and sabbatical cycles, always recommences, not merely with the same year, but the same day of the week; the two dates J. P. 953 and 981 necessarily possess the same chronological characters. But the superiority of that preserved by Syncellus to that devised by the Talmudists, decidedly appears in the relation which they respectively bear to the epoch of the creation. For as identified in the one with A. M. 271, it is accurately determined; and as confounded in the other with A. M. 1, it is erroneously dated precisely 243 years.[62]

From the relative estimate of this date, in the systems of the Jews and Hellenists, it may not be inexpedient to extend the comparison to the scheme of the Samaritans; whose scriptural dates have created a new schism in chronology, though it has not found many proselytes among the learned. As the most able of the adherents of this sect, in numbering 4305 years from the creation to the christian era,[63] identify the epoch of their chronology with the year of the J. P. 409: the year of the world 271 coincides, in this system, with the year 679 of the same period. As the characters of this date are F. ⊙ 7. ☽ 15, it is obviously incapable of becoming the epoch of a solar or bissextile cycle. And though it happens to coincide with the first year of a sabbatical period; yet as the Samaritans differ from the Jews precisely three years,[64] in determining the commencement of the septennial period; it is necessarily disqualified for forming the epoch of any such cycle, in their scheme of chronology. While it is thus destitute of those characters which are calculated to render it an elementary date; it falls

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[62] The Jewish epoch of the Creation is identified by Scaliger with the autumn of J. P. 953: Emend. Temp. ubi supr. 279. If the true epoch, as fixed by Ussher after Kepler, (vid. supr. p. 15. n. 52.) in J. P. 710, be subducted from it, the remainder, amounting to 243 years, will express the error in the Jewish computation.

[63] Univ. Hist. Præf. vol. i. p. lxvi. comp. p. lxii. lxviii. The Samaritans of the present times follow a different computation, according to which the epoch of the Creation is identified with the year B. C. 4425. vid. Basn. Hist. des Juifs, tom. ii. Supplem. p. 1117. the foundation of which synchronism may be seen in Univ. Hist. Præf. p. lxii. lxiii. As this epoch coincides with J. P. 289, the year A. M. 271, computed from it, agrees with J. P. 559: having the characters, B. ⊙ 27, and consequently not bissextile.

[64] Scalig. ubi supr. lib. v. p. 376. a.

into an equal though opposite error with that objected to the scheme of the Jews, as antedating the creation at least 300 years to the proper epoch.

2. We have been directed from the science to the religion of the primitive ages, for the evidence of the antiquity of their cycles; to the same source we must turn our attention, for the grounds of their application to the purposes of chronology. The radical epoch, J. P. 981, which has been offered as a key to the difficulties that embarrass this science, it has been hitherto my object to rest upon its internal merits. In the external evidence by which this remarkable date is attested, we find it connected with a tenet respecting the destiny of the world; which was believed to be subject to a periodical destruction and renovation.[65] As from the first a cycle had been instituted in the weekly return of the sabbath to commemorate its original; the connexion of the primitive history of mankind with those revolving periods, had been established from the commencement of time, the course of which it served to measure. From the connexion which existed thus early, and the observance of those periods in the progress of years, the vain conception was formed of ascertaining the great consummation by the phenomena of nature;[66] in the vicissitudes of which the decline and restoration of the world appeared to be imaged. Partly in the contravention of the errors to which these essays gave rise, and partly in the developement of the great scheme of which the sabbath was originally typical, this system was extended from the revolutions of the natural to those of the political world.[67] In the predictions of the decline and mutation of empires which were contained in the Jewish writings, and generally measured by sabbatical periods, the pagans naturally felt interested, as prognostications of their future glory, and allowed them gradually to incorporate themselves with their national superstitions.[68] By the silent operation of these causes, which receive a direct exemplification in the Sibylline prophecies,[69] and of the truth of which irresistible evidence arises in the prosecution of this inquiry, that connexion has grown between the lapse of some remarkable cycles, and the recurrence of memorable epochs, which qualifies those periods, from the certainty with which their characters may be ascertained, to become a great chronological instrument, in determining the precise time when they occurred.

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[65] Vid. Burnet ut supr. p. 14. n. 48. [66] Vid. Assyr. Expect. of a Gr. Deliv. p. 202.
[67] Lactant. Div. Instit. lib. vii. cap. xv. [68] Id. ibid. [69] Id. ibid. cap. xviii.

In entering upon the practical illustration of these observations, the sabbatical cycle, from what has been already intimated, appears entitled to our first regard. The high attestation of its antiquity, which we receive from the earliest authenticated history, is singularly confirmed by the internal construction of the oldest cycles; into the composition of which it enters, as an elementary and integral part. Though the employment of this period, from the date of the Mosaical dispensation, the festivals of which were regulated according to its revolutions, is not to be disputed; doubts have been entertained whether its observance should be extended to a time more remote, and referred to the patriarchal ages. The presumptions are however infinitely stronger that have been urged in support of the affirmative than of the negative side of the question. The learned author of "The Theory of the Earth," by whom its antiquity has been chiefly impugned,[70] sufficiently betrays the weakness of his cause, in the expedients to which he is driven in maintaining his point; as it reduces him, in asserting it, to the sad dilemma of having to explain into mere typical shadows, the history of the creation and fall, in which the institution of the sabbath is recorded.[71] By his philosophical opponent two positions are advanced, by which it appears to me, the controversy is decided.[72] On any other assumption, than that of its positive observance from the first, it seems difficult, if not impossible, to explain some anomalies in the Jewish mode of computing time; the beginning of the day, and that of the sabbath itself as well as of the civil and sabbatical year, being reckoned from evening: of which observance the cause is obvious and natural, if that method of computing, which began at the creation, was preserved by succeeding generations.[73] But from the principle which I have ventured to suggest, in the ancient cycles, for adjusting the differences of chronologists, this difficulty receives a satisfactory solution.

In the endeavours which have been used, to trace the sabbatical system, in the observances of the primitive ages, a distinction appears to be overlooked, which has frustrated the enquirer in the object of his researches. In the special providence by which those early times were distinguished, a

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[70] Burnet, Append. Archæol. Ep. ii. p. 497.

[71] Id. ibid. p. 511. conf. Archæol. lib. ii. cap. vii. p. 383.

[72] Whist. Theor. b. ii. hyp. v. cor. 1. p. 122. Prelim. Disc. p. 78.

[73] Id. ibid.

difference plainly exists in the methods of the divine dispensations. When the Almighty, in his unsolicited grace or mercy, is represented as revealing his will to the patriarchs; the disclosure is made, in his own good time, without particular regard to the revolution of a period, or return of a season. But when his creatures are described as offering their homage in some higher act of religion; the time chosen for the solemnity is found on a closer inspection to be the return of a sabbatical year. In the erection and consecration of altars to the divine worship, which, notwithstanding the succinctness of the sacred narrative, were objects of such importance as to merit specific mention, the observation receives a striking exemplification. For the purpose of its illustration, the subjoined table has been constructed, with a view to the distinction which has just been intimated; it is distributed into two parts, each of which contains six instances of the most remarkable incidents, in that period of history to which our observations are immediately confined. To every event the date assigned it in the most highly reputed systems of chronology has been annexed; that the principle may be practically applied, by which we are enabled in the immense differences that set them at variance, to identify that which is chronologically just.

As the object of the present undertaking differs widely from that of collecting the errors of those who have cultivated this science, with the view to their refutation; and is specifically confined to the object of applying a test, for eliciting, among various contradictory opinions, that which is true; this end may be effectually attained, in the limited induction of authorities on which the experiment is made in the following tables. As truth is single and exclusive when it is once ascertained, error requires not the detection of the touchstone, but reveals itself, in its deviation from rectitude. The systems, merely of the great masters of the science, have been consequently selected, in illustration of the principle, which is reduced to practice in the course of this investigation. The grand views and vast erudition of Scaliger, the judgment, precision and learning of Ussher, the indefatigable research and novel conceptions of Des-Vignolles, raising them to a proud eminence, above their followers or competitors, in this department of literature; claim for them a preference, which cannot be censured as invidious or partial.

In distributing the annexed dates into three columns under the names of Scaliger, Ussher, and the Benedictines, by whom the system of Des-

Vignolles has been carried back from the Exod to the Creation,[74] it is deemed necessary to express them only in years of the Julian Period, as by a simple process which has been intimated, they may be resolved into any equivalent date, or into their component cycles. Thus by subducting 710 from them respectively, they are at once reduced to the year of the World; as by subducting them from 4714 they are reduced to the year before the vulgar era of Christ; these being the years of that period which coincide with those cardinal epochs of the ancient chronology.

	Scaliger J. P.	Ussher J. P.	Benedictines J. P.
God translates Enoch[75]	1751	1697	736
He reveals himself to Noah[76]	2300	2245	1286
He calls and gives the promise to Abram[77] . .	2787	2792	2418
He establishes the Covenant of Circumcision[78] .	2811	2817	2447
He renews the promise to Isaac[79] . . .	2904	2910	2526
He deputes Moses on his legation[80] . . .	3216	3223	3068

[74] L'Art de Vérif. les Dates, tom. i. p. 76. seq.

[75] Vid. Calvis. Chron. ad A. M. 987. A. C. 3961. p. 3. Usser. Annal. J. P. 1751. p. 3. L'Art de Vérif. les Dates, an. A. J. C. 3978. voy. A. J. C. p. 85. The historical apparatus to the chronological system of Scaliger having been compiled by his disciple Calvisius; the dates of the annexed table are generally supplied from his work. As he follows Scaliger, in Canon. Isag. lib. iii. p. 280. 322. computing the years B. C. from the epoch which they severally considered the true year of the Nativity, identified by them with J. P. 4712. ⊙ 10. ☽ 1. vid. Scalig. ubi supr. Canon. Isagog. ii. p. 121. iii. 302. Calvis. Isag. cap. xlvi. p. 222: the years of the former era, in their scheme, are reduced to those of J. P. by subducting them from 4712. As the Benedictines compute the years B. C. from the vulgar epoch, which is uniformly identified with J. P. 4714; the years of that era, in their scheme, as well as that of Ussher, are reduced to the J. P. by subducting them from 4714.

[76] Calvis. ad A. M. 1536. A. C. 2412. p. 4. Usser. ad J. P. 2245. p. 3. L'Art de Vérif. les Dates, A. C. 3428. The last date is found by taking 480 from the date of Noah's birth, A. J. C. 3908, as fixed by the Benedictines.

[77] Calvis. A. M. 2023. A. C. 1925. p. 8. Usser. A. M. 2083. p. 6. L'Art de Vérif. A. J. C. 2296. p. 88.

[78] Calvis. A. M. 2047. A. C. 1901. p. 8. Usser. A. M. 2107. p. 8. L'Art de Vérif. A. J. C. 2267. p. 89.

[79] Usser. A. M. 2200. p. 11. The correspondent date in Calvisius A. M. 2140. A. C. 1808, is found by adding 92 years to the date of Isaac's birth A. M. 2048. A. C. 1900. According to the Benedictines, it is found by taking 78 from the date which they assign to Isaac's birth A. J. C. 2266, the years B. C. being subtractive.

[80] Calvis. A. M. 2452. A. C. 1496. p. 15. Usser. ad A. M. 2513. p. 19. L'Art de Vérif. A. J. C. 1646. p. 93.

	Scaliger J. P.	Ussher J. P.	Benedictines J. P.
Seth and his posterity invoke God[81] . . .	1001	945	* * *
Noah dedicates an altar near Ararat[82] . .	2421	2367	1407
Abram dedicates an altar at Bethel[83] . . .	2787	2794	2414
Isaac bears wood for his altar on Moriah[84] . .	2823	2843	2473
Jacob dedicates an altar at Shechem[85] . .	2970	2976	2605
The Reubenites raise an altar beyond Jordan[86] .	3270	3270	3116

If a succession of sabbatical cycles, as observed by the Jews on entering Canaan, be conceived to extend in ascent from the year expressed by the last date J. P. 3270, to the time of the creation; the character of each year in the preceding table may be determined by the simple process of dividing, by seven, the difference between it and either of the dates offered as the epoch and basis of the series.[87] It will thus be apparent, that of the dates which are extracted from Ussher, those of the first compartment are uniformly common years, and those of the second uniformly sabbatical.[88]

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[81] Calvis. A. M. 235. A. C. 3713. p. 2. Usser. A. M. 235. p. 3.

[82] Calvis. A. M. 1657. p. 5. Usser. A. M. 1657. p. 4. L'Art de Vérif. A. J. C. 3307. p. 87.

[83] Calvis. A. C. 1925. p. 8. Usser. A. C. 1921. p. 7. L'Art de Vérif. les Dates, A. J. C. 2290. p. 88.

[84] Calvis. A. C. 1889. p. 8. Usser. A. C. 1871. p. 10. L'Art de Vérif. A. J. C. 2241. p. 90.

[85] Calvis. A. C. 1742. p. 11. Usser. A. C. 1738. p. 13. L'Art de Vérif. A. J. C. 2109. or 2108. p. 91.

[86] Calvis. A. C. 1442. p. 17. Usser. A. C. 1444. p. 41. L'Art de Vérif. A. C. 1598. p. 92. The dates are found in Calvisius and the Benédictines by deducting 7 from the year B. C. 1449. and B. C. 1605. given as the year of the division of Canaan, and the accession of Joshua.

[87] Vid. Petav. Rat. Temp. P. ii. lib. ii. vii. p. 105.

[88] The year J. P. 3270 was sabbatical from the beginning of January to the close of September. From this year to J. P. 946 there are 2224 years, or 332 sabbatical cycles; to J. P. 2367,—903 years, or 139 cycles; to J. P. 2794,—476 years, or 68 cycles; to 2843,—427 years, or 61 cycles; and to J. P. 2976,—294 years, or 42 cycles. As the character of every year returns at the revolution of a cycle; the years of J. P. 946, 2367, 2794, 2843, 2976, 3270, therefore corresponded with sabbatical years from the beginning of January to the close of September. The same result may be brought out by a computation founded on the epoch J. P. 981; but as this year and the basis J. P. 3270 are separated 2289 years, or 327 sabbatical cycles, it is obvious that whether the computation is founded on either of them, the preceding results will follow. It should be however observed, that the first epoch

While in the whole of this collection, embracing the most remarkable incidents of the patriarchal history, if we except the common basis, but one date is recognised as of the latter character in the scheme of the Benedictines,[89] and two in the system of Scaliger; which are accordingly brought forward with much parade by his disciple Calvisius.[90] As the events which are thus distinguished happen to be the translation of Enoch, and the vocation of Abram; until some reason be assigned why a sabbatical year should be chosen for the latter event, and not for the legation of Moses; this coincidence, if it is not supposed the effect of an accommodation, must appear so perfectly accidental, as to render it undeserving of notice. While in support of the distinction urged on the part of Ussher, we have not only the plea of natural reason, but the confirmation of scripture analogy. It was wise and becoming in the patriarchs, in projecting the erection and dedication of an altar, to suit the solemnity of the time, to the sacredness of the undertaking: having the option of the year in which it was to be carried into effect, they necessarily made choice of one which was sabbatical, for the purpose. And a supposition which is so consonant to reason is corroborated by scripture. From that part of the sacred history in which the sabbatical system is circumstantially detailed, we accordingly learn, that a preference, which was at once so pious and natural, was indulged; such a year having been certainly chosen for the dedication of the altar, which was raised by Joshua in Shiloh, by David in

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selected from Ussher is thrown back to J. P. 945: but as the sabbatical year had its beginning in October of this year, the date which he fixes still fell within a year of that character. At that time, however, it is remarkable, that we are not *positively* informed of the erection of an altar; though from the nature of the patriarchal worship and the analogy of Gen. iv. 26. xii. 8. it is most probable, the sons of Seth "builded an altar," when they "called on the name of the Lord." The latter phrase is indeed scarcely intelligible in Gen. iv. 26. unless with reference to such an event; as it is not to be conceived, that God's *name* had not been previously invoked, although not invoked by the sons of Seth with the solemnity of this act of religion.

[89] See L'Art de Vérif. A. J. C. 3978.

[90] Vid. Calvis. A. M. 987. A. C. 2961. p. 3. A. M. 2023. A. C. 1925. p. 8. Of these dates it is to be observed, however, that the former is not distinguished by the solemn act of religion which forms so striking a character in those selected from Ussher; and that the latter is brought within a sabbatical year, merely by a miscalculation of the 75th year of Abraham, which is fully confuted by Ussher, ubi supr. A. M. 1948. p. 6.

Sion, and by Solomon in Jerusalem; as will be particularly proved, in treating of the Jewish chronology, as distinguished from the Patriarchal.

But the position admits of being established even with greater nicety and precision. The sabbatical division having been once applied to the days of the year; the observance of the septennial cycle thence necessarily resulted, not so much from the natural analogy, as from the obvious equation of the weekly and yearly periods. For as three hundred and sixty-five days exceed fifty-two weeks by a day; each year necessarily began and ended upon the same week-day. One day being thus withdrawn from the week, into the year, occasioned its beginning to advance a day in every revolution; until having circled through the entire week, in seven years, by returning to the day on which it commenced, it completed the cycle. The sabbatical system was thus far suggested by the phenomena, or indeed ordained by the author of nature. Of its religious uses, however, our knowledge is principally deducible from the *semitah* of the Jews; which was not merely a septennary, when six years of the labor of man were remitted, but a sabbatism, when the accumulated produce of the earth for that time was enjoyed in rest and festivity.[91] Under the patriarchal dispensation, it was not without its significance; having its type in a former rest of the Creator from his works, and its antitype in the future rest of the creature from his labors.[92] And at the time when it was made an ordinance binding on the Jews, respect was obviously shewn to its observance by the Patriarchs; as the beginning of the sabbatical year was continued in autumn, when that of the ecclesiastical was changed to spring from that season.[93] It is now particularly to be observed, that from the

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[91] Lev. xxv. 2, 3, 4. Deut. xv. 1, 2. It is remarkable that Syncellus, who quotes the authority of "the Lesser Genesis," from which he derives many of the incidents in the Patriarchal history, represents this cycle, containing a sabbatism or 7 years of 365 days each, as observed from the Creation, and the original institution of the sabbath: Chronogr. p. 8. c.

[92] Dav. Kimch. in Ps. xix. 8. Phil. Jud. de Septen. p. 1177. c. S. Barn. Epist. cap. xv. conf. Burn. Sacr. Theor. b. iv. iii. p. 51. Archæol. ad fin. Leusd. Phil. Hebræo-Mixt. p. 288.

[93] Conf. Exod. xii. 2. xxiii. 16. xxxiv. 22. Scalig. Emend. Temp. lib. ii. p. 134. Calvis. Isag. xxxiv. p. 185. Usser. Annal. p. 21. c.

remarkable epoch, when Jacob raised and consecrated his pillar, at Bethel,[94] we have a succession of three septennary periods, which are expressly termed weeks or sabbatisms, and which differ in no essential point from sabbatical periods. From that time the patriarch entered into the stipulation of serving Laban seven years, for one of his daughters;[95] he renews the covenant for the same period at the expiration of the term;[96] and enters into a third but unconditional engagement of the same kind when it is ended.[97] When the sixth year is ended, and the sabbatical of course commences, he withdraws himself from the service of his master, to enjoy the fruits of his labors.[98] Of the four epochs thus distinctly marked out, the subjoined scheme exhibits the date in the three systems of chronology formerly cited.

	Scaliger J. P.	Ussher J. P.	Benedictines J. P.
Jacob enters into a stipulation with Laban[99] .	2949	2955	2585
He enters into his second[100]	2956	2962	2592
He engages in his third[101]	2963	2969	2599
He quits the service of Laban[102] . . .	2969	2975	2605

Of the three first dates extracted from Ussher, it proves to be again exclusively true, when their characters are determined, that each of the years which they express had its beginning coinciding with that of the first year of a sabbatical period, as commencing in autumn. That of the fourth, as succeeding at the interval of six years, coincides in its beginning with a sabbatical year, as computed from the same season. But in the comparative dates, which are added in separate columns, from Scaliger and the Benedictines, we look in vain for similar characters; not one of them happening in such a year, or having a common beginning with the first of the period.

If the coincidences which have been thus traced, in the great work of

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[94] Usser. Annal. ibid. A. M. 2245. c. p. 12.
[95] Id. ibid. J. P. 2955. A. C. 1759.
[96] Id. ibid. A. M. 2245. p. 13.
[97] Id. ibid. A. M. 2259. p. 13.
[98] Id. ibid. A. M. 2265. p. 13.
[99] Calvis. A. M. 2185. p. 10. Usser. ut supr. n. 95. L'Art de Vérif. A. C. 2129. p. 91.
[100] Calvis. A. M. 2192. p. 10. Usser. ut supr. n. 96. L'Art de Vérif. A. C. 2122. p. 91.
[101] Calvis. A. M. 2199. p. 11. Usser. ut supr. n. 97. L'Art de Vérif. ibid. p. 91.
[102] Calvis. A. M. 2205. p. 11. Usser. ut supr. n. 98. L'Art de Vérif. A. C. 2109. p. 91.

Ussher, do not evince that consistency which is the distinguishing attribute of truth, I profess, I know of little in history, and nothing in chronology, which can be entitled to credit. In accounting for a harmony so uniformly sustained, accident must be set wholly out of the case; for all moral probability is subverted by the supposition, that it could have given rise to such consistency and order. Nor will a recurrence to the notion of design offer a better solution, as nothing but the deliberate perversion of the sacred narrative could produce such coincidences, had it not been intended they should exist in it from the beginning. The chronological scheme of the author is, however, rigidly constructed according to the genealogies and ages of the patriarchs. He seems to have been perfectly unconscious of the inferences now deduced from his system, as he leaves them wholly unobserved, while he particularly notices the confirmation imparted to it, by the succession of the jubilees, subsequent to the Mosaic dispensation. And so remote from his purpose was the intention to create such coincidences in the contexture of events; that the series in which he has disposed them, is charged by the advocates of the sabbatical system, as absolutely leading to its subversion.[103]

By these considerations, I venture to pronounce the great difference in which the schemes of Ussher and Scaliger are opposed is directly disposed of;—that which distinguishes the system of the Benedictines will receive a particular consideration, when the proper occasion presents itself. For thus the controversy is not merely at an end, whether to the patriarchal genealogies one of Canaan is to be added, and computed at thirty years;[104] but whether the birth of Abram is to be advanced or retarded sixty years, and dated with Scaliger[105] from the seventieth, or with Ussher from the hundred and thirtieth, year of his father Terah.[106] For by the insertion of either or both of these periods, which are judiciously rejected by the learned primate upon historical grounds, the harmony of the sabbatical series is thrown into disorder. As the sum of thirty and sixty years, to

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[103] Vid. Bail. Op. Chron. lib. I. iv. qu. 3. p. 30. et add. p. 32. conf. Scalig. ubi supr. lib. v. p. 374. d.

[104] Bail. ubi supr. qu. 2. p. 26.

[105] Id. ibid. add. ad qu. 3. p. 30. Scalig. ubi supr. lib. vii. p. 781. d.

[106] Usser. ubi supr. A. M. 1948. p. 6.

which the difference is reduced, whether it is separated or compounded, is not a multiple of seven; it is impossible to interpose it in the contexture of events without disorganising and confusing their order.[107] If the breach which this false and unlucky step has created in the system of the great founder of the science be repaired; (and when we compare the harmony to which its jarring elements have been reduced by his art, with the chaotic state in which he found it involved, our admiration must rise at the creative power by which the mighty end was achieved;) the difference by which his labors, and those of his numerous followers and imitators are distinguished, will be found rather to consist in the external polish of the work than in its form and texture.

I shall now venture to conclude, that in the portion of Ancient Chronology which embraces the Patriarchal Age, the evidence of an early cycle in the sabbatical is fully established; and that it forms an adequate instrument for deciding the points which are contested by chronologists. The discrepancies which they occasion in their works, generally depend upon some controverted date, an error in which necessarily affects the whole succession deduced from it; whether progressively derived from an epoch, or retrogressively from a basis. By the breach of a single link the chain loses its power of constriction. But having discovered a scale, the dimensions and graduation of which are known, as the chasm may be easily measured, by its application, the genuine production is thence easily distinguished from the spurious. To obviate all grounds of objection to that which has been applied to the patriarchal chronology, in the sabbatical cycle, it has been my purpose to give it a double bearing. Those who

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[107] The advocates of the chronological scheme of Scaliger, it should be, however, observed, urge, in its favor, the conformity which it possesses to the sabbatical system; and particularly insist on the possibility of deducing the whole succession of septennial cycles, as observed by the Jews, from the epoch of the Creation; Bail. ut supr. n. 103. Some stress is likewise laid by them upon the coincidence of the first year of the fifty-first Jubilee, with the epoch of the *cleruchia*, or distribution of the Land of Promise by Joshua: vid. Calvis. ubi supr. ad A. M. 2499. p. 15. By the advocates of the rival chronological scheme, which antedates the epoch of the Creation with Ussher, much more extraordinary coincidences are noticed; vid. Cappel. Chron. Sacr. p. 9. d. ed. Polygl. Of the bearing which these observations have upon this inquiry, a proper time will occur for treating, when the subject of the chronology of the Jews is particularly discussed.

may doubt whether the elementary *epoch* from which the cyclical series has been deduced is sufficiently strong to form a point of suspension, cannot except against the *basis* on which the superstructure is raised, in the first sabbatical year observed by the Jews, unless by a rejection of the common consent of chronologists. The arch which it has been my object to erect must thus derive equal security from the firmness of its key-stone and the solidity of its abutment. Nor have my endeavours been wanting, that the principle which is proposed for reconciling the differences of chronologists should be applied in a manner the most impartial and general: as those writers to whose works the test has been applied, have been selected from the great body of chronologists, with no view to any prepossession that they have betrayed to the system which is proposed, but have been principally chosen on the accidental grounds of being the first, the last, and the most highly reputed.

II. Our inquiries, in the preceding section, were deduced from the Great Planetary Year, not merely as it is a cycle claiming a high antiquity, but as it affords the best introduction to the consideration of the Chaldee Chronology, which suffered in no small degree from the influence of astrology.[108] As incorporated in the doctrine of that ancient people it admits of an easy explanation from the principles developed by the sagacious astronomer, who, in reference to the phenomena on which it is founded, has fixed the epoch of the Creation 4000 years before the Nativity.[109] And the planetary theory, which he offers in explanation of his views, is so far recommended to our adoption, as it is implicitly admitted by the learned and judicious chronologist, whose system has exclusively derived confirmation from this inquiry as far as it has hitherto extended. As Archbishop Ussher follows the computation of Kepler, in numbering so many years between those great chronological epochs; he so far acquiesces in the views of that astronomer, as he distributes the whole term into revolutions of 800 years, distinguished by great conjunctions of the planets, and places one epoch of those periods about the commencement of the Christian era.[110]

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[108] Vid. Kepler ut supr. De Stel. Nov. cap. vii. p. 27. seq.

[109] Conf. Kepler ubi supr. p. 29. et De Christ. Nat. p. 33.

[110] Usser. ut supr. ad A. M. 3998. P. ii. p. 525.

1. That this theory was known to the Chaldees, and employed by them, in determining the age and probable duration of the world, the express testimony of one of their native writers places beyond controversion. Berosus, who was a Babylonian by birth, and by profession a priest of Belus, in interpreting a prediction of the founder of the Assyrian Empire, represents the origin and destiny of the world as depending upon two grand conjunctions; on the occurrence of which in a peculiar season of the year and point of the heavens, it was fated to perish by a deluge or conflagration.[111] In the transmission of this curious tradition, he has furnished us with a key to the antediluvian period of the Chaldee Chronology. In representing the line of monarchs who flourished in that time, as having reigned for the space of one hundred and twenty *sari*;[112] he marks the period which was computed between either catastrophe of the world, although by a term which is ambiguous and disputed.

In clearing up the doubts which have consequently arisen in the Chaldee Chronology, from the employment of an equivocal term, recourse should be naturally had to the planetary theory on which it is founded. When taken in its most simple and elementary form, it consequently leads by necessary steps to their removal. The learned astronomer by whom that theory is best explained, has shewn that the phenomena on which it is founded depend upon the conjunctions of Saturn and Jupiter. As it likewise appears on his principles, that *twenty years* is the term in which these planets are conjoined;[113] this period would naturally enter as an element into the theory founded upon their revolutions. And with it the simplest principle used in the equation of time must have been as naturally employed; in constructing a cycle to measure their revolutions, and reduce them within stated and regular epochs. The period of *seventy-two years*, in which time the mean year of 360 days completes its revolution through the seasons, and returns to the beginning of the tropical year,[114] would thus afford the component element employed in the construction of such a

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[111] Beros. ap. Senec. Nat. Quæst. lib. III. cap. xxix.

[112] Id. ap. Syncell. Chronogr. p. 17. a. b.

[113] Kepler, ubi supr. De Nov. Stel. cap. vii.

[114] Vid. Marsham. Can. Chron. Sæc. xi. p. 296. Des-Vignolles, ubi supr. tom. ii. p. 667.

theory. For however the inquiries of Allin and Des-Vignolles[115] have failed in proving the exclusive adoption by all nations of the unequated year of that length; they have clearly established its general reception, and demonstrated its acceptance among the Chaldeans as well as the other nations of antiquity. If we thus take the simplest elements which entered into the composition of the great planetary and tropical period, that arose from their combination; the length of the cycle in which their respective revolutions were equated may be at once determined. For on taking the *planetary* period of 20 years 72 times; or the *tropical* period of 72 years 20 times; the sum is necessarily the same, and equal to the product of both these elementary periods, as $72 \times 20 = 1440$. In this period of 1440 years which formed the Great Year of the Chaldees, it was supposed the grand conjunctions of the planets not only returned, but at the time when the mean and the natural year ended and again commenced; and thus determined the epoch at which the cycle arising from their composition completed one revolution, and began another. On computing, for a number of years, from any Grand Conjunction of the planets, it would be likewise found, that no conjunction would coincide with the close of the Great Year of 72 tropical revolutions, until 20 of them, amounting to 1440 years, had expired.

As we thus ascertain the length of the Great Planetary Cycle of the Chaldees, to have been 1440 years,[116] and as we are given the sum of

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[115] Vid. Allin on Anc. Year, ut supr. p. 146. Des-Vignolles sur l'An. Anc. p. 624. The division of the Zodiac by the Chaldees into 12 signs, according to the distribution of the year into 12 months; and the subdivision of each sign into 30 degrees according to the division of the months into 30 days, occasioned the distribution of the year properly denominated *astronomical* into 360 days, conformably to the 360 degrees of the Zodiac: vid. Censorin. ubi supr. cap. viii. The beginning of this year, from the loss of 5 days annually, necessarily retrograded; and as $360 \div 5 = 72$, it returned to the same day of the year in 72 revolutions. Allin and Des-Vignolles, however mistaken in their hypothesis on the Ancient Year, were certainly right in considering the division of the Zodiac into 360°, as affording evidence of a year, consisting of 360 days, although they erroneously conceived it a civil year, not properly an astronomical. Vid. Whist. Theor. b. ii. p. 167. Des-Vign. Chronol. ut supr. tom. ii. p. 644.

[116] Vid. Scalig. Canon. Isagog. lib. iii. p. 245. It must be however observed, that though the theory of this great cycle might have agreed sufficiently well with the celestial

120 sari, as the length of the periods into which it was divided; the simple operation of division, by which 1440 is distributed into 120 parts, furnishes the quotient, 12 years, as the proper length of the Chaldee saros. And the internal evidence, by which we thus arrive at the original and proper length of that period, derives the fullest confirmation from external testimony. Censorinus, in a detailed description of the cycles which were acknowledged by the ancients, and employed by them in determining the conjunctions of the heavenly bodies, ascribes to the Chaldees a Great Year exclusively of that length,[117] and represents it as forming their genethliacal period. The *saros*, however, it must be admitted, is differently computed by some writers of a later age; but as the cycles to which they reduce it suppose astronomy to have arrived at a state of improvement which it had not attained in the early periods of Chaldee science; there can be little hesitation in rejecting their hypothesis, as the offspring of a later and more cultivated era. And the objection which thus internally arises to their views on the subject, receives external confirmation from Berosus; however his authority may be pleaded on the opposite side, as his description of the Great Planetary Year[118] has imbibed a strong tincture from the science as cultivated in the age when he wrote. He denies that the divi-

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phenomena, as observed for 20 years; on which Kepler shews the planetary hypothesis was founded by the ancient astrologers; it was wholly at variance with those appearances at the end of the great period to which that cycle extended. In 20 years, the mean motion of Saturn is S. 8 : 4° 42′ 19″, and of Jupiter 8 S. : 7° 15′ 30″. But with 1440 years, calculated from one conjunction, it requires 9 years and about 263 days to effect another; the mean motion of Saturn in that time, being S. 3 : 7° 43′ 16″ 6, and of Jupiter S. 3 : 7° 42′ 17″. At the expiration of the Great Year, the two planets would be of course separate many degrees. The difference between the true and mean motion, and the geocentric and heliocentric longitude of the planets would occasion a further irregularity in the period of the conjunctions. The great error in their theory, when it was observed by the Chaldees, probably induced them to relinquish their Great Year, for that of the Egyptians; as we shall notice in the course of these observations: vid. infr. n. 168.

[117] He thus describes this Great Year, and the principal element of which it was composed; De Die Nat. cap. xviii. "Proxima est ad hanc magnitudinem, quæ vocatur δωδεκαετηρὶς ex annis vertentibus duodecim. Huic anno Chaldaico nomen [ ] est, quem Genethliaci non ad solis lunæque cursus, sed observationes alias habent accommodatum; quod in eo dicunt tempestates frugumque proventus, sterilitates item morbos redire." Vid. infr. n. 122.

[118] Beros. ut supr. p. 31. n. 111. Comp. Assyr. Expect. ut supr. p. 196. n. 418. et n. 419.

sion of the zodiac into twelve signs was known at the early period [119] to which the planetary theory is referred in being traced to Belus; although it is founded, as will be hereafter particularly shewn, upon a subdivision of the signs into minuter intervals.

In such elements the Great Year of the Chaldees appears to have obviously originated. The tradition of a time when the frame of the universe had been deranged, was long preserved by them; and a prediction, ascribed to Belus the founder of the nation, was current, which foretold its restitution after a great convulsion of nature, the catastrophe being associated in their astrology with a great planetary conjunction.[120] From the coincidences which recurred at the close of the great period,—as the erratic year was then not merely equated, and the anticipation of its seasons remedied, by its beginning regaining the proper place in the *tropical* year, but as this effect was brought about at the time of a grand conjunction,—the fancy naturally arose, that in the crisis which produced this regularity in the civil, natural, and planetary year, the Great Restitution of Nature would be effected. For all the discordant elements of their system being reconciled at this conjuncture, it necessarily determined the epoch of the grand consummation.

I have thus far engaged in investigating the elements from which the Great Year of the Chaldees was deduced, as objections have been raised to the principles on which Scaliger has undertaken to explain its nature and establish its antiquity. The rabid scurrility of his determined opponent, Petavius, might be indeed consigned to the silent contempt, which a hostility merits that was prompted by the most unworthy motives and pursued with the most uncompromising rancour. But as M. Des-Vignolles, deviating from the general urbanity of his nation, and the good-natured

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[119] Beros. ap. Syncel. ubi supr. p. 32. b. c.

[120] Beros. ut supr. p. 31. n. 111. Censorinus, after describing various cycles of different lengths, and among them the Genethliacal period, thus concludes, respecting the Great Year which Berosus mentions, into which the lesser cycles entered as elements; ibid. "Est præterea Annus quem Aristoteles Maximum potius quam Magnum appellat, *quem solis lunæque vagarumque quinque stellarum orbes conficiunt,* cum ad *idem signum,* ubi quondam fuerunt, *una referuntur*; cujus anni hyems summa est κατακλυσμὸς, quam nostri *Diluvionem* vocant, æstas autem ἐκπύρωσις, quod est Mundi *Incendium.*" Kepler ubi supr. p. 30. n. 108. has shewn that these Grand Conjunctions depended on Saturn and Jupiter. Vid. infr. n. 122.

spirit of his criticism, has revived the detraction and given it currency;[121] the interests of Literature and the reputation of one of its proudest ornaments call for its refutation. In the hypothesis proposed by Scaliger, in explanation of the Chaldee Great Year, he considers it the product of the genethliacal period of 12 years, and the *sæculum* or age of 120 years; adopting the one on the authority of Censorinus, and the other on the testimony of Moses.[122] That of these elements that period was composed, he has admitted on the authority of the Sibyl, as stated in the fourth Eclogue of Virgil; identifying the Great Year of the Chaldeans, in the "magnus *sæclorum* ordo" of the poet.[123] And there can be as little ground for doubt, on the accuracy of his general views of the subject, as of the force of the term on which his exposition turns. In the definition of *sæculum* given by Censorinus,[124] which is confirmed by the derivation of Varro, Festus and Servius,[125] it is described, as "*spatium vitæ humanæ*

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[121] Des-Vignol. Chronol. tom. ii. p. 627.

[122] Scalig. Emend. Temp. lib. iv. p. 298. a. 296. d. Canon. Isagog. lib. iii. p. 245. seq. The objections of Petavius and Des-Vignolles, (ut supr. p. 34, et supr. n. 121.) to Scaliger's doctrine of the Great Period of the Chaldees, consisting of 1440 years, affect only the name of *saros*, by which he termed it, perhaps improperly. That period, as Scaliger has clearly shewn, arose out of the peculiar method of intercalating, which is still used by the orientalists. The *sæcula*, consisting of 120 years into which it was divided, originated in the custom of reckoning the intercalated days, on their accumulating to a month; and the months, on their accumulating to a year: vid. Scalig. Canon. Isagog. p. 252. But the Great Cycles had a foundation not only in the artificial methods of equating the civil year, as Scaliger has likewise shewn; but coincided also with the phenomena of the grand conjunctions, whereby their length was respectively determined, (vid. supr. n. 120.) as their periods depended on the motion of Saturn and Jupiter. Thus also the elementary cycles of 12 and 120 years, which are specified by Scaliger, exactly coincided with the revolutions of these planets. In the former period, Jupiter performs one revolution: and thus determines the smallest element of the cycle arising from their product. In the latter, he completes 10 revolutions, and Saturn 4; at the expiration of the term, they are consequently conjoined, and complete a Great Month of the Grand Cycle. By the conjunctions of these planets, the ancients thus determined the *αἰῶνες* and *ἀποκαταστάσεις*, of the Great Year; those *periods* and *restitutions*, in which extraordinary revolutions were effected in the material and spiritual world: vid. Olympiodor. in Plat. Gorg.

[123] Scalig. Emend. Temp. ib. p. 298. a. Canon. Isagog. ib. p. 252.

[124] Censorin. ubi supr. cap. xvii.

[125] Serv. in Virg. Eclog. iv. p. 20. d. Varro de Ling. Lat. v. ii. p. 32, 28. Fest. de Verb. Signif. v. Sæculares, p. 419, 30. Isidor. Orig. v. xxxviii. p. 945, 36.

longissimum, partu et morte definitum;" and in the description of the length of man's life, at the time from whence the epoch of the Chaldee period is deduced, it is declared, "and his days shall be *an hundred and twenty years.*" [126] If the objection to Scaliger's hypothesis have any weight, it appears to me to be in the oversight of this link in the chain of his reasoning; the inimitable author, in his familiar acquaintance with the subject, having neglected to trace the connexion, which might be easily supplied by the reader. When the term in Virgil is taken in reference to the context, its signification admits not of a dispute:—

> "Magnus ab integro *sæclorum* nascitur ordo,
> —et incipient *magni* procedere *menses.*"

Each *sæculum*, consisting of 120 years, being thus taken as equivalent to a "great month;" the Great Year, as composed of 12 such months, must have consisted of $120 \times 12 = 1440$ years. As the author justifies his hypothesis by the example of the Persians, who adopted a period of this length; [127] in the name and origin of the Sibyl, there are ample grounds for tracing it to the Chaldeans; the most celebrated person who bore the name having been a Babylonian by origin.[128] As we must thus interpret the poet, while delivering himself upon an oriental subject, by reference to eastern notions; the period of the Great Restitution, which he circumstantially describes, can admit of no just interpretation, but that which naturally presents itself in the Great Year of the Chaldeans.

From the principles which have been thus explained, the scheme of Antediluvian Chronology, as conceived by the Chaldees, may be easily understood, and the cause of its deviations from the Hebrew fully comprehended. The epoch of the Great Planetary Year, as determined by Kepler, being fixed B. C. 4004, or J. P. 710; [129] and the reigns of the Chaldean

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[126] Gen. vi. 3. Herod. III. xxiii. 170. conf. Scalig. Emend. Temp. ubi supr. p. 298. a. Dial. de Cor. Eloquent. cap. xvii.

[127] Scalig. ut supr. n. 122.

[128] Conf. Lactant. Div. Instit. lib. I. vi. De Ira Dei, cap. xxii. Hyd. de Relig. Vet. Pers. cap. xxxii. p. 391.

[129] Kepl. de Stel. Nov. ut supr. cap. vii.

princes who preceded the deluge being stated, in *sari*, by Berosus ;[130] the following table expresses the length of each monarch's reign, and the date of his accession.

Kings	Sari		Years		J. P.
Alorus reigned	10	equivalent to	120	accession	710
Alasparus	3		36		830
Amelon	13		156		866
Amenon	12		144		1042
Megalarus	18		216		1166
Daonus	10		120		1382
Euerodach	18		216		1502
Amphis	10		120		1718
Otiartes	8		96		1838
Xisuthrus	18		216		1934
Sum of the whole	120		1440	end of reigns	2150

The chronology of the preceding scheme accords with that of the Hebrew system,—inasmuch as it is computed from the same epoch; as it numbers a line of ten princes, equivalent to the ten patriarchs, antecedent to the deluge; and as it ascribes to the last of the succession the principal incidents of Noah's history. It differs however from that system in antedating the epoch of the deluge: in computing between which and the Creation, 120 sari, or 1440 years, it separates these events precisely the interval of a Great Year. For the causes of this discrepancy, however, we have not far to search. On reverting to the explanation of the great planetary cycle, lately deduced from the principles of Kepler; and to the account which Berosus gives of the influence of the grand conjunctions on which it depended, in bringing about either catastrophe of the world; it must be apparent, that the Chaldees sacrificed the accuracy of their Chronology to the principles of their science. And consistently with the theoretical character which it consequently derived from this spurious source, two considerations adequately prove that the departure from the truth has originated in a deviation from the Hebrew. The difference between both systems, in determining the epoch of the deluge, amounts to 216 years;

[130] Beros. ap. Syncel. ut supr. p. 17. a. b. p. 18. a. b. conf. p. 38. b. 39. c.

Berosus, according to the preceding scheme, having fixed the date in J. P. 2150, while Ussher, following the Hebrew, places it in J. P. 2366.[131] This difference, which is equivalent to 18 sari, expresses the length of the last reign, in the Chaldee line of antediluvian monarchs; 216 years being ascribed in it to Xisuthrus, whose history, as has been already observed, identifies him with Noah. To fill up the void, which was created in the Chaldean chronology, by the anticipation of the epoch of the deluge for so many years; a dynasty of Arabs is interposed after the flood, and is represented as having reigned the same number of years, which is withdrawn from the antediluvian period.[132] Now, on deducting the reign of Xisuthrus, or 216 years, from the true epoch of the deluge, A. M. 1656, as we arrive at A. M. 1440, the close of the Chaldee Great Year; and on adding the reigns of the Arab dynasties, or 216 years, to the fictitious epoch of the Chaldees, J. P. 2150, as we arrive at the genuine epoch, J. P. 2366; the accommodation of the Chaldee to the Hebrew Chronology becomes not merely palpable, but the principles ascertained on which it was effected. The Chaldee, in its departure from the Hebrew, might have possibly found some countenance in the indefinite manner in which the primitive chronology was distributed into ages. The first period having been computed generally from Adam to Noah, or from Alorus to Xisuthrus,[133] not definitively from the Creation to the deluge; advantage was easily taken of this latitude of distribution, to deduce the latter epoch from that part of the last antediluvian patriarch's life which best suited the scheme of the computer.

The date of the deluge is fixed by Berosus and Abydenus to the very day in which Xisuthrus was supposed to have entered the ark.[134] But as the narrative of these historians was published in Greek, the time was necessarily expressed by the correspondent day of the Macedonian calendar. As the reduction of this date to its equivalent in the Julian year would be impracticable, without entering into details altogether foreign from the present stage of this investigation; the consideration of it must be deferred, until the opportunity occurs for entering fully into the subject.

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[131] Usser. Annal. ad A. M. 1657. p. 4.

[132] Id. ib. ad A. M. 2466. p. 19. conf. Syncel. ibid. p. 92. a.

[133] Isidor. Orig. v. xxxviii. 943, 54. Conf. Syncel. ut supr. p. 30. a. b.

[134] Beros. ap. Syncel. ibid. p. 30. b. Abyden. ap. Euseb. Chron. lib. i. p. 8.

2. When the year of the world, to which the deluge was referred by the Chaldees, has been once determined; the main obstacle is cleared by which chronologists have been embarrassed in their inquiries into the state of their science, as existing among the Assyrians. An insuperable difficulty has indeed arisen in the distribution of the reigns of the early monarchs; as supposed to range considerably above the time of the flood, they have been found irreconcileable with the date of that event, from which a line of demarcation is drawn in the succession of events in the primeval annals. In the preceding investigation, the difficulty is solved, if not altogether removed. As the deluge was antedated 216 years, in compliance with the principles of a spurious science, a chasm was necessarily created, for an equal number of years, in the period subsequent to the flood: in order to connect the succession of historical events in an uninterrupted series, it became consequently necessary to fill up the void with a dynasty of fabulous monarchs.

In the series of events, immediately subsequent to the deluge, the boundary-line between the purely fabulous and the historical period of the Assyrian annals, is determined with great precision by many concurrent authorities. It is fixed by Castor of Rhodes, whom Eusebius has followed in his view of the Assyrian Chronology, and from whom Scaliger has derived the basis on which his system of that chronology is founded. It is confirmed by the accounts of Ctesias, whose information was acquired by a long residence in the East, and the immediate inspection of native annals. It is demonstrated from the inquiries of Callisthenes, who attended Alexander in his oriental expedition, and derived his intelligence from the Babylonian astrologers.

On the concurrent weight of this testimony, the great Scaliger has fixed the historical epoch of the Assyrian Chronology with a degree of success which is perhaps unexampled in the science. The subject has engaged his reiterated attention;[135] and in the method adopted by him in removing its difficulties, it is curious to discover the accidental application of those means, which this investigation would recommend, for disposing of the differences of chronologists. The basis from which his inferences are drawn is fixed in a coincidence determined by Castor,[136] between the accession of Astibaras the

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[135] Scalig. Canon. Isagog. lib. ii. p. 131. iii. p. 281. Id. in Fragm. Beros. 40. d.

[136] Castor ap. Euseb. in Syncel. ut supr. p. 168. c. d. Scalig. Fragm. ibid. p. 40. d.

eighth of the kings of Media, and the second year of the xxxvii. Olympiad; and consequently identified with the year of the J. P. 4083.[137] As Ctesias ascribes to the seven antecedent kings of Media 242 years,[138] and to the whole line of Assyrian kings, by whom the Median Dynasty was preceded, 1360 years;[139] both numbers, forming a sum of 1602 years, when subducted from the assumed basis J. P. 4083, leave the remainder J. P. 2481, which consequently expresses the epoch of the Assyrian monarchy, deduced from the historical period.

The epoch thus determined, as the same chronologist has shewn, coincides in an extraordinary degree with that which Callisthenes ascertained on applying to the Babylonians, respecting the earliest rise of their science. From the year of J. P. 4384, in which Babylon was taken by Alexander, and this application was made, the philosopher learned that the Chaldees computed 1903 years in ascent to the date of their first observations.[140] If so many years be deducted from the basis here assumed, the remainder, expressing the year of the J. P. 2481, will coincide with the historical epoch of this ancient monarchy;[141] as already determined from the computations of Ctesias and the synchronism established by Castor.

Besides this date, as determined by the Babylonians, the Assyrians deduced their original from an earlier epoch, which anticipated the preceding precisely a century; and which, as distinguished from the historical, may be termed the fabulous. The computation of Ctesias and Castor, on which the historical epoch rests, included but an inconsiderable portion of the reign of Ninus; that of Africanus, and the authorities which he followed, embraced also the reign of his predecessor Belus.[142] As the duration of the empire was limited by the one class of writers to 1360 years,[143] and extended by the other to 1460;[144] in computing upwards from

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137 Scalig. ibid.

138 Ctes. ap. Diodor. Sic. i. xxxiv. p. 84. al. p. 118. b. conf. Marsham. Chron. p. 491.

139 Ctes. lib. ii. ap. Diod. ibid. cap. xx. p. 76. African. ap. Syncel. ibid. p. 92. b.

140 Simplic. in Aristot. de Cœl. ii. com. 46. p. 123, 18.

141 Scalig. in Fragm. ibid. p. 40. d.

142 Conf. Castor. ap. Syncel. ut supr. p. 206. a. African. ap. eund. ib. p. 96. d.

143 Ctes. et Diod. ap. Syncel. p. 359. c. conf. p. 168. c.

144 African. ap. eund. p. 192. b. 165. c.

the time of its dissolution under Sardanapalus, the former fixed the epoch of its origin in the year of J. P. 2481, while the latter carried it a century higher, to the year of J. P. 2381.[145] From these different dates, a succession of years was respectively numbered; the Assyrians computing from the foundation of their capital, Nineveh, and the Babylonians from the erection of the temple of Belus.[146] For the chronological characters of those epochs, when internally regarded, make it obvious, that they have been accurately transmitted; the lapse of time being regularly marked, by the simple process of adding each accumulating year to that which preceded. While the mythological genius of the times renders it no less plain, that an existence merely imaginary was conferred upon those early monarchs; as it accorded with the spirit of the ancient superstition, to impute the foundation of remarkable cities to monarchs having the same name, when the tradition of their origin became obscure or forgotten. By observing a distinction thus obvious, in the epochs assigned to this ancient monarchy; the date of its origin is not only rendered conformable to the sacred chronology, but the difference of a century in the period of its duration, by which chronologists have been not a little embarrassed, finds a direct and adequate solution.

The later dates of the Assyrian Chronology, as determined by Scaliger upon the foregoing principles, may be now brought together, with a view to the establishment of their comparative accuracy. In the period intervening between the date of the deluge in J. P. 2150, and the foundation of Nineveh in J. P. 2381, as determined by that chronology, a Chaldee and an Arabian dynasty have been interjected,[147] which, though at first accounted simultaneous, were latterly considered successive, to serve the purposes of a hypothesis.

In selecting that succession of kings, which, as consisting of Chaldees, corresponds best with the chronological system at present before us; if we deduct 224 years, the period for which it is conceived they reigned,[148] from

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[145] Vid. Des-Vignolles, ubi supr. tom. ii. p. 210.

[146] Conf. Diod. Sic. i. i—ix. Scalig. Canon. Isagog. ut supr. p. 271.

[147] Syncel. ubi supr. p. 90. c. 92. a. conf. Scalig. Can. Isag. ii. p. 131. et Nimrod. or Disc. on Hist. and Fab. vol. i. p. 115—117.

[148] Syncel. ibid. p. 90. d. 92. b.

the earliest epoch of the Assyrian Empire, as determined in the three systems of chronology which are principally considered in this inquiry; the main differences by which they are distinguished will appear from the following scale:

Dynasties	Scaliger J. P.	Ussher J. P.	Des-Vignolles J. P.
Chaldees[149] dated from	2157	2952	2131
Assyrians[150]	2381	3447	2355
Babylonians[151]	2481	3499	2462
Medes[152]	3841	3967	3814
Babylonians[153] restored	3967	3967	3967

The wide departure of Ussher from the systems with which his scheme is contrasted, makes it necessary that some further insight should be given into his object. It is evident, from a comparison of the preceding dates, that no distinction is acknowledged by him between the foundation of the Median and the restoration of the Babylonian monarchy. In his system, Belesis and Nabonasar, by whom a revolution was effected in the oriental polity, which occasioned the transfer of the government, are considered identical.[154] As the epoch of the Assyrian Empire is lowered in his system above a thousand years, an immense void is consequently created between the time of the deluge and the rise of the earliest monarchy. It became necessary, of course, to fill up the space with the supernumerary dynasties

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[149] These dates are found by subducting 224 years, on the authority quoted in n. 148. from the epoch of the Assyrian empire, as fixed by the chronologists cited in n. 150. Scaliger, it must be observed, Canon. Isag. lib. iii. p. 131. dates the epoch of the Chaldees from J. P. 1989. and of the Assyrians from J. P. 2357; having interjected the dynasty of Arabians, which he dates from J. P. 2213. But his computations are founded on a misconception, which is corrected by Des-Vignolles, tom. ii. p. 168; and which is rectified in the scheme annexed in the text. On the dates of Ussher, see Annal. A. M. 2245. p. 12.

[150] Scalig. ut supr. p. 39. n. 135. conf. Can. Isagog. lib. ii. p. 131. Usser. A. M. 2737. p. 43. Des-Vignolles, ubi supr. tom. ii. p. 163.

[151] Scalig. ut supr. p. 39. n. 135. conf. Can. Isag. ib. p. 131. Usser. A. M. 2789. p. 44. Des-Vignolles, ibid.

[152] Scalig. ibid. p. 132. Usser. A. M. 3257. p. 87. Des-Vignolles, ibid. p. 261.

[153] Scalig. ibid. p. 284. Usser. ibid. p. 87. Des-Vignolles, ibid. p. 367.

[154] Usser. ubi supr. p. 88.

recently noticed: and the rise of the Chaldee line is accordingly deduced from the year of J. P. 2952, that of the Arabian from the year 3176 of the same cycle.[155] Of the historical grounds on which these innovations are made, a more convenient opportunity will occur to speak expressly hereafter. It may be, however, in the mean time observed, that of the two objections to which the interpolation of these dynasties is exposed, as not merely unsupported by the authority of history, but as opposed to the dates of chronology; the latter is in some measure removed, by the expedient of lowering, so many centuries, the earliest epoch of the Assyrians. Instead of anticipating, just 440 years, the time of the accession of Belus, they succeed it 571 years. They thus consequently escape the objection by which they are generally proscribed, as ranging some years previous to the date of the deluge;[156] and if unknown to the writers who have transmitted any memorial of the time immediately succeeding that event, fall at least within the limits, in which they assure us it was comprehended.

3. In proceeding to apply to the dates of the preceding Chronological Scale, the test by which it is presumed the genuine may be distinguished from the spurious; it is necessary to premise, that when understood in the strictest sense, the earliest are merely factitious. As the more ancient dates in that scale are deduced from a fabulous period, it would appear extraordinary, on considering the principles upon which the time of the deluge was determined by the Chaldees, should the earliest epochs be found not to participate in the same theoretical character. The main structure of their chronology, however, as founded upon a few remarkable dates, contains internal evidence, that it was, thus far, of arbitrary contrivance; derived indeed from a common source with the Hebrew, to which it retained a general conformity, but in its deviations from it, modelled on hypothetical principles.

As a knowledge of those principles resolves itself into *a development of the Cycles*, by which the fundamental dates were determined; on taking, as a clue to our inquiries into their nature, the elementary epoch J. P. 981, on which it has been presumed they depend; it appears not less remarkable,

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[155] Usser. A. M. 2242. p. 12. A. M. 2466. p. 19.

[156] Scalig. ubi supr. Helvic. ubi supr. p. 6.

for the connexion which it maintains with the earliest dates of the Assyrian Chronology, than for the remarkable place which it occupies in that part of it, which respects the period antecedent to the deluge. As in the Hebrew system it coincides with the year 140 of Seth; in the Chaldee it corresponds with the year 150 of Alasparus; and these personages, it should be observed, have been generally considered identical.[157] If, in fact, from that epoch 140 years be deducted, the remainder, 840, expresses the first year of the antediluvian patriarch, according to Ussher;[158] and if in like manner 150 be deducted, the remainder, 830, expresses the first year of the Chaldee monarch, as formerly determined.[159] From this similarity, we derive at least a presumption, that this epoch was originally devised by the people who preceded all others in the cultivation of science. It thence easily found its way into those apocryphal works, from which our knowledge of it is derived,[160] with the extraordinary prediction relative to the final destiny

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[157] Theophil. Antioch. p. 139. Cyril. Alexandr. contr. Julian. i. viii. Cosmas Indicopl. xii. i. iii.

[158] Vid. Usser. ad A. M. 130. J. P. 840. p. 2. [159] Vid. supr. p. 37.

[160] Syncellus, in fixing this date, has without doubt followed some apocryphal writer. He not only quotes from such authority, but represents Josephus, who has noticed the tradition before us, as also following it in his Antiquities: conf. Syncell. ibid. p. 8. d. Joseph. Antiq. Jud. lib. i. ii. ad fin. So universally has the tradition been received, that it has been consequently included among the dogmata imparted by Noah to his descendants: Burnet ubi supr. vol. ii. p. 29. It may be necessary to observe, that this date is circumstantially determined by Syncellus with reference to the age both of Adam and Seth. According to the Septuagint computation; as Seth was born when Adam was 230 years old; the one had completed 270 years, when the other was 40. As Adam was created on the sixth day of the Creation, the year of his age necessarily corresponds with that of the World. I understand Syncellus, as computing not current but complete years, in stating, ib. p. 10. a. *τῷ σὺ ἔτει τοῦ Ἀδὰμ*; thus he writes, ibid. *τῷ σλ' ἔτει τοῦ Ἀδὰμ, ἐν ᾧ ὁ Σὴθ ἐγεννήθη*, where the LXX. render Gen. v. 3. *ἔζησε δὲ Ἀδὰμ τριάκοντα καὶ διακόσια ἔτη, καὶ ἐγέννησε .... Σήθ.* This mode of expression was common to the Greeks: in the same translation we read, Gen. ii. 9. *καὶ συνετέλεσεν ὁ Θεὸς ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἕκτῃ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ*: where the original and our translation, for "the sixth day," read, "and on *the seventh day* God ended his work which he had made." On adding 270 complete years to the Julian epoch of the Creation, the current year will be properly expressed by A. M. 271. corresponding with J. P. 981. But as the Patriarchal year began in autumn, and the Julian began in winter; the year thus determined, corresponds, from January to autumn, with the *seventh* year, but from thence to the end of the year, with the *first* year, of the sabbatical cycle.

of the earth, which the Chaldees, not less than the Hebrews, ascribed to their great progenitor.[161]

In estimating the elementary dates of the preceding Chronological Scale, with reference to this radical epoch J. P. 981;—the year of J. P. 2381, which has been identified in Scaliger's system, as the Assyrian epoch, is removed from it the remarkable distance of 1400 years. As this interval, when divided by 12, leaves a remainder, it cannot be distributed into perfect genethliacal periods. But when divided by 7, as it leaves none, and at the same time gives a quotient of 200; it exactly consists of sabbatical periods of that remarkable number. As the characters of every cycle are restored with each revolution which it performs, this extraordinary date of the Assyrian Chronology possesses all that can be required in an epoch which is purely patriarchal. In a word, the year J. P. 2381, when reduced to its elements, proves coincident not merely with the *first year* of the sabbatical, but of the solar and bissextile cycles.[162] As it thus unites in itself every perfection discoverable in the radical epoch from which it is deducible, and is placed from it at a distance so regular and measured, as 200 sabbatisms and 1400 years; it is difficult even to conceive that it possesses these qualities by accident, not intention.

Of a different description is the date by which it is immediately succeeded, and which has been designated as the Babylonian, and identified with the year of J. P. 2481. The distance of 1500 years, at which this date is placed from the radical epoch J. P. 981, is not less remarkable and regular than that maintained by the preceding. But while this interval differs essentially from it, as not being divisible into perfect sabbatisms; it may be distributed into cycles of the genethliacal great year. As the number 1500, divided by 12, gives a quotient of 125 without any remainder, it constitutes so many revolutions of the genethliacal period; and as it is

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[161] Vid. supr. p. 14. n. 46 et 47.

[162] According to the common method of reducing any year of the Julian period to its cycles; vid. Petav. Rat. Temp. P. II. lib. I. iv. p. 15. The rule of Scaliger for finding the sabbatical year, Emend. Temp. lib. vi. p. 362. d. should be however taken with the limitation of Des-Vignolles, ubi supr. tom. i. p. 736. Thus, on dividing J. P. 2381 by 7, the number of the years in a sabbatical period, the remainder expresses *the first year* of the cycle commencing from the autumn of the given year, and consequently sabbatical from the autumn preceding.

computed from the radical epoch, it brings a return of the same year of the cycle, and, of consequence, coincides with the first. It appears also from its characters, when reduced to the Julian Period, that it corresponds with the first year of the bissextile cycle;[163] between which and the genethliacal period there was the strictest analogy, as they were alike equated by an intercalation to tropical time.[164] The inferences deducible from these characteristics, though of a different kind from the preceding, are not less favourable to the conclusion, that they have originated not in chance but design.

The deficiency which the preceding dates respectively exhibit, as conforming to the sabbatical or the genethliacal period, is fully compensated in the epoch by which they are preceded, J. P. 2157. As this date bears no reference to any matter of historical fact, it seems to have been chosen on principles purely hypothetical; and consequently, as no obstacles opposed its selection, it cannot appear strange, that it should combine in itself the perfections of both the preceding dates. From the radical epoch J. P. 981, it is distant precisely 1176 years; and this interval when divided by the number of years, not merely in the sabbatical, genethliacal and bissextile periods, but in the small solar cycle of 28 years and the great cycle of 84 years, leaves no remainder. In the elementary epoch, J. P. 2157, which occurs at the extraordinary distance of 14 of these great solar periods from the radical date J. P. 981, all those cycles consequently have a common commencement,[165] which is fixed at the remarkable distance of a sabbatical

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[163] The year J. P. 2481, when divided by 4, the number of years in the bissextile cycle, leaves the remainder 1, which equally expresses the year of the cycle, as in the preceding example.

[164] See Scaliger, Emend. Temp. lib. iv. p. 296. d. who supposes that every *fourth* year of the period was equated by intercalating *one* day. Independent of the objection to this supposition, arising from the consideration, that, in this case, it would have consisted not of one cycle, but of three; it appears from Censorinus's account, and the traditionary knowledge on this subject preserved by the Rabbinical Jews, that the genethliacal period was equated, by inserting *three* days at the end of every revolution.

[165] The cycle of 28 years here noticed, is that which forms the solar element in the Julian Period; as arising from the product of 7, the hebdomadal cycle, and 4, the bissextile cycle: vid. Petav. ubi supr. lib. i. iv. The great solar cycle of 84 years arises from the product of 7, the sabbatical cycle, and 12, the genethliacal cycle; an example of which may be found in

period from J. P. 2150, the Chaldee date of the deluge. If we suppose this epoch selected, with a view merely to its qualifications, and fixed as a point of suspension, from which the series of those cycles might be deduced, in computing the age and revolutions of the world, from the time of its resuscitation after the flood; every difficulty in the characters which it involves directly vanishes. That the date J. P. 2157, which the Chaldees placed as elementary, at the commencement of their postdiluvian chronology, should unite in itself those characters merely by chance, is a supposition so repugnant to all probability, as to merit not a moment's attention.

At the distance of 1460 years, from the proper epoch of the Assyrians, J. P. 2381, that of the Median dynasty, J. P. 3841, is placed. This interval, as Des-Vignolles has observed, corresponds with the Great Canicular Year of the Egyptians.[166] As the adoption of this cycle by the Chaldees, of which there is conclusive evidence in the epoch which succeeds, marks a new era in the Assyrian Chronology; it conveys the strongest presumptive proof of the previous existence of those cycles and epochs of native invention, which have hitherto engaged our consideration. The Chaldee Great Year, as more rude in its construction, bears internal evidence of being earlier in its invention than the Egyptian; it is besides inconsistent with the principles and course of improvement, to suppose that the cycle which was less artful in its contrivance, should have been later in the time of its adoption.[167] Of the introduction of the great Cynical Period of 1460 years at Babylon, there is historical evidence, in the account of the conquests of Sesach or Sesonchis;[168] whose accession, it will appear in the course of this investigation, must be dated J. P. 3738. At the distance of a century from the time of its adoption, advantage was taken of the super-

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Petav. Annot. in Epiphan. adv. Hær. tom. ii. p. 166. but more correctly in Noris. Diss. ii. subnex. Epoch. Syro-Maced. p. 382.

[166] Des-Vignolles, ubi supr. tom. ii. p. 168. "Syncelle dit plus d'une fois, que le Royaume des Assyriens dura 1460 ans; ce qui fait une Révolution juste du Cycle Caniculaire."

[167] Vid. supr. p. 32. n. 116.

[168] The era of Nabonasar, which was used by the Chaldees, affords sufficient evidence of

stition associated with the notion of a Great Year to effect a revolution in the oriental politics, by which the imperial authority was transferred from the Assyrians to the Medes. The return of that period it was believed would be attended with a great change in the natural or political world.[169] When it is known that Belesis the Babylonian, by whom the new dynasty was founded in a conspiracy with Arbaces the Median, was high-priest of Belus, and that he predicted this revolution from astronomical observation ;[170] we have internal and adequate proof, in the Great Canicular Year, that precisely occurs between the rise and fall of the Assyrian Empire, that its destiny was fixed by the length of this cycle. As the monarchy hastened to its decline under a pusillanimous sovereign, a revolution was easily effected by a crafty and ambitious priest, at so auspicious a crisis ; a superstitious people being readily led to accomplish a change, which they were previously taught to regard as predestined.[171]

The last date in the preceding Scale, which expresses the epoch of the Assyrian monarchy as restored, in J. P. 3967, is identical with the epoch more generally known as the Nabonasarean. As the celebrated era, which is thus termed, is but a continuation of the Sothiacal Period, or Great Canicular Year ;[172] a more convenient opportunity will occur, to investigate its nature, when we enter on the subject of the Egyptian Chronology. The conjecture in which Des-Vignolles follows Dodwell, respecting its origin, can be only admitted within certain limitations ; for we must not too readily concede the assumption, that it is descended from a purely historical event,[173] not an astrological coincidence. The last Assyrian epoch,

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the adoption of the Egyptian Great Year by that people ; as it is now ascertained that it is merely a continuation of the Great Sothiacal period : vid. Des-Vignolles ut supr. tom. ii. p. 699. The extension of the Egyptian authority over the Babylonians is fully attested by the ancients : vid. Tzetz. Chil. iii. 83. Diod. lib. i. p. 17. d. Pausan. Messen. p. 261. Macrob. Sat. i. xxi. p. 216. Nimrod, ut supr. vol. i. p. 118. d. seq.

169 Vid. Assyr. Expect. ut supr. p. 151. et ante.

170 Diodor. et ap. eund. Ctesias, lib. ii. xxiv. p. 78. al. p. 112. d. 114. a. Syncel. Chronogr. p. 205. d.

171 Diodor. ibid.

172 Vid. supr. n. 168.

173 Dodwell, Diss. Cypr. Append. § xxiv. Des-Vignolles, ut supr. tom. ii. p. 372. 699.

J. P. 3967, in the circumstances of its institution, bears an obvious analogy to the Median, J. P. 3841.[174] The occurrence of some striking phenomena at a remarkable conjuncture, seems, in both instances, to have been used in effecting a political revolution. In the year from which the later epoch is dated, the equinox occurred in the eighth degree of Aries;[175] and with this part of the sign the Chaldees had formed some superstitious associations.[176] It was particularly distinguished by a conjunction of Venus and Mercury with the sun in the first degree of Pisces.[177] In this situation, those planets were stationed in the point of the heavens where their influence was most intense; Venus being then in its exaltation, and Mercury in its depression.[178] This astrological coincidence likewise happened at the most remarkable crisis. As falling upon February 26, at this extraordinary epoch, it occurred, at the beginning alike of the secret and public year of the Egyptians; for that day of the month was the original place of the intercalation in the one,[179] and had become the seat of the neomenia,[180] or new-year's day, in the other. A coincidence so wonderful and unusual at such a conjuncture naturally marked the commencement of a new era. It is besides observable, that the Babylonians considered themselves under the influence of Mercury and Virgo,[181] and believed the Assyrians under the influence of Venus and Pisces;[182] and those tutelary planets had respectively attained a site, which prognosticated, alike, the decline of the one and the ascendancy of the other. As we find a combination of circumstances, thus extraordinary, concurring with the great political change, which happened this year, and by which the Assyrian dynasty superseded the Babylonian,[183] in the seat of their empire; the coincidence seems sufficiently strong to justify the inference, that the authors of this revolution took a like advan-

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[174] Des-Vignol. ibid. p. 369, 370, 371.

[175] Petav. Uranolog. Var. Diss. lib. II. iv. p. 78.

[176] Stanl. Philos. Orient. lib. I. S. II. cap. xix. p. 230. ed. Cleric.

[177] Ptol. Magn. Syntax. III. vii. p. 77. b.

[178] Stanl. ubi supr. cap. xx. p. 231. Calcashen. ap. Hyd. Rel. Vet. Pers. cap. v. p. 125.

[179] Macrob. Saturn. lib. I. xiii. p. 176. xiv. p. 179.

[180] Scalig. Emend. Temp. iii. p. 198. c. Usser. Annal. A. C. 747. p. 88.

[181] Stanl. ut supr. cap. xvii. p. 222.

[182] Id. ibid. cap. xxxvii. p. 273. conf. cap. xx. p. 231.

[183] Vid. ut supr. n. 174.

tage of the celestial appearances to effect it, with that which was employed in the contrary transfer of power from the Assyrians to the Babylonians, by which it was preceded.[184]

In the connexion which has been traced in the preceding investigation, between the Ancient Cycles acknowledged by the Chaldeans, the alliance is not more deserving of remark, than the gradations which mark its advancement from the earliest period. The first or fabulous epoch of the Assyrians falls within the patriarchal times; its connexion with the radical date, J. P. 981, is accordingly maintained by a *sabbatical* cycle; the epoch J. P. 2381 evincing its alliance to this date, by returning after 200 revolutions of that patriarchal period. As the historical epoch, J. P. 2481, which succeeds in the chronological scale, is coincident with that of the Babylonian astrology;[185] of a correspondent character is the cycle by which its dependence is maintained with the same point of suspension; as the connexion is only to be traced by the return of the *genethliacal* period. In the two last epochs, which mark the time when the monarchy was subjected by a foreign power, J. P. 3841, and was restored under a native ruler, J. P. 3967, the cycles used as links in the great chronological chain are properly Egyptian; conformably to the testimony of history, which informs us that in the interval by which they are divided, the superstitions of this people had been transplanted to Babylon.[186] The extent to which the foreign cycle has been adopted, at each of those epochs, coincides with the time and circumstances of its admission; the Canicular period having been at first merely followed in determining the length of the Great Year, but at last altogether adopted from the day on which it commenced.

The adequacy of the test, which has been thus far proposed, in the Ancient Cycles, for discriminating between the genuine and spurious epochs of the early Chronology, must now be apparent, without extending this induction beyond the preceding examples. The difficulties, with which chronologists are generally embarrassed, consist merely in the discovery of a few elementary dates, from the establishment of which all others may be directly ascertained; by those which have engaged our attention, the entire scheme of the Assyrian and Median Chronology admits of an easy adjust-

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[184] Vid. ut supr. p. 48. n. 170.

[185] Vid. supr. p. 40. n. 140. p. 41. n. 146.

[186] Vid. supr. p. 47. n. 168.

ment. As the validity of the principles on which those dates have been determined is only to be shaken by deducing the coincidences on which they are grounded from adequate causes; in supposing them to proceed from accident or design, the alternative we are compelled to adopt is as obvious as it is conclusive. For those coincidences have been traced, not merely in a solitary date, but in a series of dates which are the elements of a system. Every epoch of the Assyrians, from the rise and foundation to the decline and restoration of their empire, possesses not merely extraordinary characters, but such as peculiarly belong to the revolution of which it marks the era. And these characters have not merely a relative but a positive appositeness; as they are not deducible from dates of merely arbitrary assumption, but depend on cycles which have been generally and positively adopted. The solar, bissextile, sabbatical, and canicular periods,[187] with the return of which each epoch has been observed to coincide,

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[187] The great advantage of the J. P. so much insisted on by chronologists, consists in the peculiarity, that no two of the years in it possess the same cycles, during the period of 7980 years to which it extends; and that the cycles of any assumed year may be ascertained, by the simple process of dividing it by the number of years in any of the smaller cycles of which it is the product. It has besides a positive and unchangeable connexion with the great epoch from which we compute the lapse of time, either in descent to the present day, or in ascent to the creation; the first year of our vulgar era coinciding with its year 4714, not merely from the universal consent of chronologists, but by its internal structure. And this connexion is not merely arbitrary or factitious, but arises out of the use of the smaller cycles which compose it; which are still used, as they have been employed from the most remote periods, in equating the year and determining the anniversary of religious festivals. So obviously is this the case, that the peculiar character of the cycles current at the commencement of the vulgar era, made it necessary, that its epoch should be identified with the year 4714 of that great period, which rests on it as its fulcrum. At that time, the year 10 of the solar cycle, the year 2 of the lunar cycle, and the year 4 of the indiction, were current; and as there is but the *one year*, 4714, in the J. P. with which those characters coincide, it was necessarily identified with the epoch in which they were concurrent. The cycles of the moon and indiction are confessedly of modern contrivance; but those of the sun, of which alone use has been made in this discussion, are of the remotest antiquity. The Greeks and Romans, in referring the olympiad and lustrum to the earliest period of their history, carry back the knowledge of the bissextile cycle to the earliest times of which they possessed memorials. The Jews ascribe equal antiquity to the sabbatical period; which entered as an element with the bissextile into the common solar cycle, incorporated in the Julian Period. When a single year of any cycle is identified with its equivalent in this period; the precise date of every other

are cycles that were positively used by the ancients; and, as such, enter, as elements, into the Julian Period, to which each date has been reduced. Those principles have been likewise exemplified but in the single system of Scaliger: to the correspondent dates in the schemes of Ussher and Des-Vignolles, with one reserve, they have not the least application; which involves no slight presumption that chance has had no effect in producing the results at which we have arrived. The remarkable exception of the last epoch, in which their systems are agreed, affords a striking instance of the efficacy of the test, which is proposed for reconciling the differences in which they are generally opposed. The accuracy with which this date is determined has originated in the accident of its being marked by a cycle; which rendered its chronological characters too obvious to be mistaken or contravened.

4. Historical evidence, it must be however admitted, has been adduced, in support of the different schemes of Assyrian Chronology, which have been superseded by the antecedent observations, to the exclusive establishment of that which has been constructed by Scaliger. For the security of the general principle, which is proposed for clearing up chronological differences, it seems therefore expedient to inquire into its validity. When examined more closely, it proves to be not merely inadequate to the purposes for which it is adduced, but it unfortunately leads to the subversion of the conclusion which it is advanced to establish.

(1.) The scheme by which Ussher undertook to discover landmarks in this department of the science, which the penetrating views of Scaliger had overlooked, must be admitted to be a failure. He seems to have fallen as much below him in the Assyrian, as he surpassed him in the Hebrew Chronology. In lowering the great epoch of the monarchy to the year of J. P. 3392, and limiting its duration from the accession of Ninus to 520 years, he avows himself to have been influenced by the united authority of Herodotus, Appian, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus.[188] But the irrecon-

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year may be infallibly determined by the simple process noticed at the commencement of the present note. On the certainty of the results which are thus attained, by principles which are of the utmost facility in their application, the observations which are hazarded in this discussion rest their stability.

[188] Usser. ut supr. ad A. M. 2737. p. 43. conf. ad A. M. 3347. p. 111.

cileable opposition between his system and the common testimony of antiquity, on the origin and continuance of the empire, deprives it of all claim to implicit respect. And so fully has this objection to it been substantiated by Des-Vignolles,[189] as to render an additional observation on the subject wholly superfluous. In making this acknowledgment, I would not be however understood to acquiesce in his sentence, as far as it implicates Herodotus, whom this learned chronologist labours to convict of error, on the concurrent weight of that testimony.[190] In fact, a little attention to a distinction, which appears to have been overlooked by both these chronologists, will bring round the suffrage of Herodotus to the common voice of the ancients, and withdraw from the Assyrian chronology of Ussher the historical support on which it mainly or exclusively rests.

In the passage wherein the authority of Herodotus is cited by Ussher,[191] the historian's object was obviously not to state the duration of the Assyrian empire, as the chronologist imagined, but to account for the origin of the Persian and Median. With this object, his declaration is confined to the part of Asia which was occupied by the latter nations, and over which the authority of the former extended at a period comparatively late. In this view also, his observation is illustrated by his description of Asia; in the upper regions of which he places the settlement of the Medes.[192] On

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[189] Des-Vignolles, ut supr. liv. IV. iv. § 7. tom. ii. p. 199. seq.

[190] Id. ibid. § 6. p. 190. comp. p. 175.

[191] Herod. lib. I. xcv.

[192] This question is easily decided by the Asiatic geography of Herodotus, who is full and explicit in his delineation of the continent: lib. IV. xxxvii—xl. He divides it into three parts; one of which, extending from the Persian Gulf *northward* to the Caspian Sea, contained four nations including *the Medes* and *Persians*; another, extending from the Phasis, *westward*, to the Hellespont, contained forty nations; and another, extending from Persia *southward*, to the Arabian Gulf and Egypt, contained three nations, including *the Assyrians*. The ancient empire of the Assyrians was properly confined to the last; over the first it extended at a comparatively late period. When Herodotus therefore declares, lib. I. xcv. *Ἀσσυρίων ἀρχόντων τῆς ἄνω Ἀσίης ἐπ' ἔτεα εἴκοσι καὶ πεντακόσια, πρῶτοι ἀπ' αὐτῶν Μῆδοι ἤρξαντο ἀπίστασθαι*; it is to the first division of Asia that he must exclusively allude, as he states that it included the Medes; this region as extending *northward*, he distinguishes under the terms *τῆς ἄνω Ἀσίης*, the *upper* Asia. But to the foundation and continuance of the Assyrians, in the last division of the continent, which contained the early seat of their empire, his words have not the most remote allusion: vid. infr. n. 199.

distinguishing, on the one hand, between the foundation of the Assyrian empire, and its duration in lower Asia, to which Herodotus does not allude; and the establishment of its rulers in "upper Asia," on the other hand, to which his remarks are properly confined; the apparent contradiction between his observation and the general testimony of antiquity directly disappears; as it is obvious the extension of the empire in the upper region of the continent might have been late, though its foundation had been laid in the lower region from the earliest epoch.

To this solution of the difficulty, the testimony of Dionysius of Halicarnassus[193] brings the fullest confirmation; however it may have been wrested by Ussher, in support of the contrary conclusion. In the comparison which he institutes between the dominion of the Assyrians and Romans, his observation is not strictly confined to the duration of their authority, but comprises the extent of their territories. The high antiquity of the eastern empire he explicitly admits, in deducing it from the fabulous times: in limiting its duration to a short period, he confines his observation to the time in which it merely extended over an inconsiderable portion of Asia.[194] His observation is therefore so far from affording support to the inference of Ussher, that it forms the best commentary on the previous exposition of Herodotus, by which it is subverted. Appian indeed, on whose testimony the learned primate equally relied, has taken a different view of the subject;[195] by which it is obvious, the modern chronologists have been misled, particularly in the estimate which they have formed of the views of Herodotus on this subject. He confines the duration of the Assyrian empire within the narrow limits ascribed by the Greek historian to the reigns of those monarchs of which he was able to obtain information.[196] The futility of this attempt is so palpable, as to require no exposure. The

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[193] Dionys. Antiq. Rom. lib. i. p. 2, 26.

[194] It is singular, that Des-Vignolles, in contending that Dionysius should be struck off the list of authorities which countenance Ussher's hypothesis, exemplifies the antiquity which the historian allows to the Assyrian Empire, by the epoch assigned it by Scaliger; and thus throws the weight of that early and accurate writer's authority on the side of this great chronologist: Des-Vignol. ut supr. tom. ii. p. 178.

[195] Appian. Rom. Hist. Præf. cap. ix.

[196] Des-Vignol. ubi supr. p. 177.

sentence, therefore, which Scaliger passes upon his pretensions, to which Des-Vignolles in the present instance accedes,[197] if it be severe, is not unmerited: "Valde infantem in historia Appianum fuisse necesse est."[198]

The system of Assyrian Chronology, as constructed by Ussher, is therefore destitute of any historical support; unless the countenance it derives from Appian, in a palpable misrepresentation of Herodotus, be received as authority.[199] And the instability which it betrays in its foundation has so generally spread to the superstructure, that instances may be easily produced, in which it exhibits its incompetence, by a violation of all historical truth. The identification of Belesis with Nabonasar against the common consent of chronologists has been already intimated: as by this misconception two monarchs are confounded, between the times of whose accession a period of one hundred and twenty-six years intervenes; it forms a striking exemplification of the preceding remark. Another instance, alike at variance with history sacred and profane, may be adduced from the Median Annals, in corroboration of the charge.

Eupolemus, who was equally versed in the history of the Ethnics and Jews, represents Astibaras king of the Medes, whom chronologists identify with the Cyaxares of Herodotus, as leagued with Nebuchadnezzar in the spoliation of Jerusalem.[200] By Ussher the death of Nebuchadnezzar is placed in J. P. 4152,[201] and the accession of Astibaras, two years later; but the spoliation of the Temple, and captivity of Jehoiachim, in J. P. 4115.[202]

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[197] Des-Vignol. ibid. [198] Scalig. Animadv. in Euseb. n. 2139. p. 193.

[199] No difficulty of moment arises in the view which I have taken of Herodotus, supr. n. 192. from the date ascribed by him, lib. i. clxxxiv. to Semiramis, whom his present text makes but five generations anterior to Nitocris, the wife of Evilmerodach and mother of Nabonedus. The passage of Herodotus, as his editors acknowledge, is manifestly corrupt, and can therefore afford no ground for any conclusion. In the authorities on which Ussher builds his inference respecting the age of Semiramis, the object of comparison, whereby it is relatively determined, is unfortunately misconceived; the old and the new Babylon, as Seleucia was termed, being compared in them; and not, as the learned author imagined, Babylon and Semiramis, after whom this city was called, as its founder or enlarger. These authorities, when properly read and understood, add the fullest confirmation to the present chronological system.

[200] Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. ix. xxxix. p. 454. c.

[201] Usser. ut sup. A. M. 3442. p. 136. [202] Id. ibid. A. M. 3405. p. 123. 124.

According to this disposition, Jerusalem was taken thirty-nine years, and Nebuchadnezzar was dead two years, before Astibaras ascended the throne; which gives a direct contradiction to the testimony of Eupolemus, who represents that event as occurring in the reign of both monarchs. While the statement of this writer is thus irreconcileably opposed to the scheme of Ussher, it is singularly verified in the system of Scaliger. As this chronologist places the accession of Astibaras in J. P. 4083,[203] and it appears, from the statement of Ctesias and Diodorus, that he reigned forty years; [204] the spoliation of Jerusalem, in J. P. 4115, must have occurred in the thirty-third year of his reign. By the testimony of Eupolemus, as preserved by Eusebius, the accuracy of Scaliger's Assyrian chronology is of course as strikingly confirmed, as the inefficiency of Ussher's is demonstrated.

(2.) The hypothesis devised by Des-Vignolles, for disposing of the difficulties of this chronology, as it is partially founded on the authority of Ctesias, has a nearer approximation to fact, than that which has been constructed by Ussher. In confident reliance in the strength of the principles on which it is built, its author offers it in the shape of a demonstration; justifying its claims to this character, on its supposed confirmation by an eclipse, which is recounted by Herodotus as predicted by Thales.[205] As we might naturally conclude, from the consistency of truth, the same principles, when accurately applied and pursued to legitimate deductions, end not less remarkably, in confirming the system of Scaliger, than in subverting the hypothesis of Des-Vignolles, which we proceed to examine.

The basis of the Median Chronology is laid by Des-Vignolles in the celebrated eclipse, which has been intimated, and the date of which he has accurately fixed in the year of J. P. 4129.[206] In identifying with this year the accession of Astyages,[207] the last of the Median monarchs, as the length of the preceding reigns is accurately known, the time when each of his predecessors ascended the throne is easily determined. From this single date the whole scheme of the Median chronology is accordingly digested.

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[203] Scalig. Can. Isag. lib. ii. p. 132. d. [204] Diodor. lib. II. xxiii. p. 78.
[205] Des-Vignolles, ubi supr. p. 235. seq. conf. p. 260. [206] Id. ibid. p. 252. 254.
[207] Id. ibid. p. 259.

But no position admits more easily of refutation, than the supposition on which this system is rather gratuitously built; the authority of the two historians, who are principally cited in its support, contributing in no inconsiderable degree to its subversion. Herodotus, who is servilely copied by Justin in his account of Cyrus' early years, refers to the same year this monarch's birth, and Astyages' accession.[208] From Dinon, who as a native Persian is entitled to some credit on this subject, we learn that Cyrus was seventy years old when he died ; [209] and the year of his death is at once determined by the date of Cambyses' accession, as fixed in the Astronomical Canon.[210] If from the year of J. P. 4185, thus ascertained as the epoch of Cyrus' death, seventy years be subducted ; the date of his birth and Astyages' accession will fall in the year of J. P. 4115. Between this year and that assigned by Des-Vignolles to the same event, J. P. 4129, there is a difference of fourteen years, by which the period of Cyrus' life is virtually reduced to fifty-six years, though extended, as we have observed, by a native Persian historian to seventy. There can therefore be no ground of doubt, that the basis of the Median chronology, as identified with the year of Cyrus' birth, is advanced several years in Des-Vignolles' hypothesis.

Respecting the authority of Herodotus, we may however venture to pronounce, (and the sentence is borne out by the learned chronologist's concessions,[211]) that on the subject of the Median chronology, he is not entitled to implicit credit. In placing the disputed eclipse in the reign of Cyaxares,[212] his statement is opposed to that of Cicero, Pliny, Solinus, and Eusebius, who refer it to the reign of Astyages, his successor.[213] When we consider that the sources of his information were nearly confined to reports furnished by verbal inquiry, we shall have greater reason to be surprised at the extent than the deficiency of his knowledge. Circumstantial evidence may, however, be adduced, to prove a transposition, if not in the

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[208] Herod. lib. i. cvii. cviii. Justin. Hist. i. iv.

[209] Cicero de Div. i. xlvi.

[210] Vid. Calvis. Isagog. cap. xi. p. 102. Des-Vignolles, tom. ii. p. 349.

[211] Des-Vignolles, ubi supr. p. 190. [212] Herod. lib. i. lxxiv.

[213] Cicero ubi supr. cxii. Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. ii. xii. Solin. Polyhist. cap. xx. Euseb. Chron. n. 1430. It may be observed, that the authority of Solinus, as the servile copyist of Pliny, determines between the various readings "*Alyatte* rege" and "*Astyage* rege," in this writer, that the *latter* is genuine.

order, in the titles of the Median princes, as detailed in his history; by which numberless chronologists have been misled, and which is the main source of the unsoundness in the basis chosen by Des-Vignolles for the Median chronology. Cyaxares, whom the historian makes father and predecessor to Astyages,[214] was in reality his son and successor. For Ctesias, the sources of whose information were purer, as derived more immediately from the fountain-head, represents Astibaras as the father of Astyages;[215] and Xenophon, whose opportunities of ascertaining the truth were equally good, makes Astyages father to Cyaxares, and uncle to Cyrus.[216] It would seem that Herodotus having ascertained, by the imperfect means of inquiry which he possessed, that Astyages and Cyaxares were related in the degree of father and son, unfortunately mistook the order of succession, in which they stood to each other, which Xenophon has accurately stated. And in this error, which the indefinite titles of the oriental monarchs rendered difficult to detect, he was probably confirmed by some ambiguous circumstances in the history of Cyaxares and Cyrus.[217] Consequently, if following the

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[214] Herod. ubi supr. lxxiii. [215] Ctes. ap. Diodor. lib. II. xxxiv. p. 84.

[216] Xenoph. Cyropæd. I. p. 57. ed. Huds.

[217] On comparing Herodotus with himself, we acquire internal evidence for concluding, that many of the improbable incidents recorded of Astyages and Cyrus have, in consequence of some confusion of names or persons, been transferred to Cyaxares; whom Xenophon represents as Cyrus' companion and fellow-soldier. In the fabulous accounts of those princes, we have the same incredible incidents related, respecting the great military expeditions in which they engaged; which were both undertaken in consequence of a child being cooked and served up at a banquet; comp. Herod. I. lxxiii. with cxix.: and terminated by the same trick of seducing the enemy to a banquet, and cutting them off while intoxicated; comp. Herod. ib. cvi. with ccxi. If any credit be given to the account of Cyrus' age, which is most circumstantially related, and which was received as unquestionable by the most competent of the ancients, (vid. supr. p. 57. n. 209.) it is impossible to reconcile Herodotus with himself, or his account of the eclipse predicted by Thales, with the date assigned it by Des-Vignolles. Cyrus, it is undisputed, was born in Astyages' reign; Herod. ib. cviii. Just. I. iv.; and according to the previous observations, the year of his nativity was J. P. 4115, when of course Astyages was on the throne. But this prince succeeded to the kingdom on the death of Cyaxares, Herod. ibid. cvii.: it is impossible therefore that the eclipse which occurred at least 14 years subsequently to that event, in J. P. 4129, could have happened in his reign: Herod. ib. lxxiv. In fact, by bringing the eclipse within the reign of Cyaxares or Astibaras, the time of Astyages' accession must be advanced, so as to become utterly irrecon-

authority of Xenophon, who assigns the reign of Astyages to the earlier date, and of Cicero, Pliny, and Solinus, who refer the eclipse predicted by Thales to his reign; we conclude, that in consequence of a transposition in the title of this monarch and his son, no other prince is meant likewise by Herodotus, under the name of Cyaxares, every contradiction in their respective accounts will directly vanish. The authority of the father of history will thus be withdrawn from the hypothesis of Des-Vignolles, who places the eclipse at the close of the reign of Astibaras; and range itself on the side of Scaliger, who refers it, with the writers already named, to the sixth year of Astyages, his successor.

But whatever conclusion be formed on the accuracy of Herodotus, it is not less true, that, when estimated by his authority, Des-Vignolles is convicted of error. The order of the incidents in the historian's narrative, and in the chronologist's demonstration, are so far from coinciding, that they are irreconcileably opposed to each other. Herodotus places the expedition of the Median monarch against Lydia, and the occurrence of the eclipse, by which it was terminated, at the commencement of his reign; and refers to the end of it the incursion of the Scythians,[218] who were enemies of too formidable a character to admit of his entering on a remote expedition against Alyattes. The Lydian war was in fact undertaken by him, in prosecuting the schemes of ambition pursued by his father, and accordingly engaged his earliest attention after his accession; but the Scythian incursion is expressly represented as subsequent to it;[219] and was apparently occasioned by the occupation of the Median king on a distant and perilous enterprise. In the demonstration of Des-Vignolles, the order of events, rendered thus obvious by the nature of circumstances, is precisely reversed; with the palpable object of closing, at the time of the eclipse, the Lydian war and

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cileable with the accounts of Cyrus' birth, death, or achievements. The irremediable embarrassment which this confusion has introduced into these incidents, has led the Benedictines or their posthumous followers into an extraordinary contradiction. They first reject the eclipse, selected by Ussher, as that predicted by Thales, on account of its not being sufficiently great; L'Art de Vérif. les Dates, p. 123.: but discovering that when it occurred, Cyaxares must have been dead, they abandon their first choice, and adopt that recommended by Ussher, which they had so unceremoniously discarded. Ibid. p. 261. n.

[218] Herod. I. ciii. [219] Id. ibid.

the reign of Astibaras or Cyaxares. In the first twenty-eight years of his reign, the incursion of the Scythians is placed by the chronologist; and in the last six, the expedition against the Lydians. Ussher is indeed cited by him, in support of this convenient substitution,[220] whose authority is overlooked where it might be more effectually quoted.[221] It is almost superfluous to observe, that this learned and accurate writer pursues the diametrically opposite road to that chosen by Des-Vignolles; as he scrupulously follows the order assigned the events, in the narrative of the historian.[222]

On adopting the circumstances of the Lydian war from Herodotus, abstracting the error in the monarch's title by whom it was sustained, the eclipse of Thales affords a basis, by which the demonstration of the Median chronology, in which Des-Vignolles has failed, may be effectually applied to the system of Scaliger. The historian appears to have been accurately informed, in asserting that the war commenced in the reign of Astyages' father, that it continued for the space of six years, and terminated with the marriage of that prince to Ariene the daughter of Alyattes.[223] It appears also from the testimony of Pliny and Clemens Alexandrinus, who fix the eclipse which happened at the close of the Lydian war in Ol. xlviii. 4.[224] and from the calculations of Kepler, Newton, and Scaliger, who identify it in a total eclipse which happened in that year,[225] that it occurred in J. P. 4129, the time to which Des-Vignolles has justly referred it. In this year the sun was totally eclipsed on May 28th, at 5 P. M. in the latitude of Sardis,[226] where the opposing armies were engaged. And this eclipse

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[220] Des-Vignolles ut supr. p. 258.

[221] Usser. ad A. M. 3405. p. 125. [222] Id. A. M. 3369. 3370. p. 112. 113.

[223] Herod. ib. lxxiv. Scalig. Animadv. in Euseb. n. 1430. p. 83.

[224] Plin. ut supr. p. 57. n. 213. Clem. Alex. Strom. i. p. 221. b. al. 302. a. To which the authority of Eusebius n. 1430. may be added, according to Scaliger, who adopts it in his edition of Eusebius, and to a MS. of M. Pontac. vid. Des-Vignol. ib. p. 247. Scalig. ut infr. n. 225. Pontac. n. in Euseb. col. 377. It would appear from the statement of Clement, that for the identification of this eclipse with the year of the Olympiad in which it occurred, we are indebted to Eudemus, who published it in his "Astronomical History."

[225] Scalig. Euseb. n. 1430. Animadv. p. 83. b. Kepler, Astron. Opt. VIII. ii. p. 290. L'Art de Vérif. les Dates, Chronol. des Eclips. au A. J. P. 4129.

[226] L'Art de Vérif. les Dates, ib.

seems to be further identified with that which Thales foretold ;[227] as it might be easily predicted by any one who was acquainted with the Chaldee lunar saros of eighteen years; with the revolution of which the succession of eclipses is restored.[228] For one of equal magnitude had occurred in the same latitude, and at the distance of that cycle with which the Ionian philosopher was probably acquainted; the sun having been in the same manner totally obscured at Sardis, at half-past 9 A. M. on May 18th in J. P. 4111.[229] Now as Ctesias ascribes to the reigns of the eight Median kings who preceded Astyages the exact period of 282 years;[230] if to this period be added the six years through which the Lydian war was prosecuted under this prince; and the sum, amounting to 288 years, be then subducted from J. P. 4129, the date of the eclipse by which it was then brought to a close; the remainder, corresponding with J. P. 3841, will express the proper epoch of the Median monarchy. In this year precisely is it placed, by the calculations of Scaliger, as may be seen in the preceding scale of dynasties which succeeded to the sovereignty in the continent of Asia. This celebrated eclipse being thus taken as a basis, the demonstration founded upon it tends exclusively to establish the system of Median Chronology constructed by him, upon an independent and historical foundation.

Nor can the consideration be deemed light in confirming the preceding conclusion, that in the views which are taken in it, the difficulties of a subject unusually perplexed are satisfactorily unraveled, and by an appeal to the highest authorities. As Solinus is followed, in supposing that the Lydian war was carried on by Astyages; and Cicero, Pliny, and Eusebius, in supposing that the eclipse happened in his reign; the question is determined by those writers, whose opportunities of deciding upon its merits embraced every advantage to be derived from the accounts of their predecessors, which it is not to be presumed they would desert for light and inadequate reasons. The inaccuracy imputed in it to Herodotus is merely such as he may be naturally conceived to have committed; as he might be deceived in supposing the war terminated by the monarch under whom it commenced, more particularly so, as he makes Astyages a party to the terms by which it was

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[227] Herod. ut supr. lxxiii.

[228] Phil. Trans. A. D. 1691. p. 537.

[229] L'Art de Vérif. les Dates, ib. J. P. 4111.

[230] Vid. supr. p. 40. n. 138.

amicably adjusted,[231] and so far corroborates the statement of Solinus. The preference which is shown to the authority of Ctesias, above that of Herodotus, has also the judgment of Diodorus Siculus in its support; who, while his various reading must have supplied numerous tests by which their respective claims might be decided, has not only taken the later historian as his guide on the Median affairs, but asserts that his accounts were derived from the highest source, as drawn from the ancient Persian records.[232]

An attempt has been indeed made by Des-Vignolles, to reconcile the period of 317 years ascribed by Ctesias to the Median kings, with the length of 350 years, assigned the Median monarchy by Justin,[233] whereby a greater error has been introduced into the superstructure of his chronology, than that which has been detected in its foundation. To adapt the time of its duration to the limit thus assigned it, a king is interjected in the succession of monarchs, and is assigned a reign of 33 years,[234] amounting to the difference between the numbers in Justin and Ctesias. To be sensible of the violence offered to all historical probability, by this interpolation, it is merely necessary to inspect the extract from Ctesias' history, which is published by Diodorus.[235] It however receives a direct contradiction, from the succession of Median kings, which has been copied from that historian by Syncellus;[236] and as this writer preceded Photius, in whose times Ctesias' work was extant,[237] and probably preserved in the library of Constantinople, his statement must be received as directly drawn from the original. In fact, a various reading of one of the kings' titles, in the respective lists of the Median succession, preserved in Diodorus and Syncellus, affords the only authority for this unwarrantable derangement of the chronology of this ancient nation. The fourth prince, whom Diodorus terms Artyas, is erroneously entitled Artycas in Syncellus; and this pal-

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231 Herod. ibid. lx.

232 Diodor. lib. II. XXXII. p. 84. al. p. 118. b.

233 Just. Hist. I. vi.

234 Des-Vignolles ut supr. p. 243. 261.

235 Diodor. ut supr. p. 61. n. 230.

236 Syncel. ut supr. p. 197. d. 212. d.

237 Phot. Bibliothec. n. lxxii. Syncellus was chancellor to Tarasius, elected Patriarch of Constantinople A. D. 785; but Photius was grandson to Tarasius, and raised to that see A. D. 858: he consequently flourished in the century after Syncellus; and as he has epitomised the Persian history of Ctesias, it was necessarily extant in his times.

pable variety in the reading of the same name, Stephens had inserted in the margin of Ctesias' fragments,[238] which he collected from Diodorus and other ancient compilers. Such virtually is the authority on which we are required to admit the existence of the supernumerary king, with whom Des-Vignolles interpolates the ancient line of monarchs preserved by that writer. And thus, on no firmer foundation, than the error of some illiterate scribe, the computation is grounded, on which the commencement of the monarchy is antedated thirty-three years to the proper epoch. It is true the author of this interpolation offers, as some excuse for it, a conjecture of Marsham's;[239] who supposes that Justin, in ascribing a duration of 350 years to the Median empire, has followed the authority of Ctesias. It would be, however, useless to waste a remark in subversion of this supposition; as the direct contradiction which it receives in the extracts from that historian, transmitted by Diodorus and Syncellus, has been already noticed.

With respect to the testimony of Justin, on the duration of the Median dominion, by which Des-Vignolles has been chiefly misled in antedating the proper epoch of the monarchy; it appears to extend not merely to the time in which this people maintained the empire of Asia, but to that in which they held the sovereignty of Media. Thus much is indeed intimated by Justin, who declares that Astyages, the last of the imperial line, was partly reinstated in his dominions by Cyrus; though he declined holding the seat of his government in Media, and transferred it into Hyrcania.[240] It is indeed probable, not merely from this testimony, but from the relationship which subsisted between the last of this dynasty and the reigning princes of Persia, Cyrus and Cambyses;[241] that this authority continued under Astyages and his son Cyaxares, until the accession of a new race to the Persian throne in Darius, under whom they revolted.[242] And this view of the subject is alone consistent with the common designation of the people in whom the sovereignty was vested; which was not limited to the Persians, but extended to the Medes and Persians.[243] Now, if we follow Herodotus, whom Justin

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[238] Vid. Fragm. Ctes. ed. Steph. p. 681, 10. ed. Gale. Conf. Syncel. p. 197. d.

[239] Des-Vignolles ut supr. p. 241. conf. Marsham, p. 492.

[240] Just. ib. vi. ad fin.

[241] Xenoph. Cyropæd. i. p. 57. v. p. 630. 635.

[242] Herod. ib. i. cxxx.

[243] Dan. vi. 8. 26. Xenoph. ibid. v. p. 690. conf. Usser. A. M. 3466. p. 145.

servilely copies in his epitome of Median affairs, and assign but seven years to the reign of Cambyses,[244] instead of the eight assigned it in the Astronomical Canon;[245] and suppose that upon his death, and the usurpation of Darius, this effort of the Medes to subjugate the Persians, and regain the sovereignty of Asia, took place, which ended in the subversion of the ancient dynasty of the revolters, and the reduction of their territory to a mere satrapy of Persia; the period between this revolution and the proper epoch of the monarchy will wonderfully accord with that assigned to its duration by Justin. For 350 years precisely intervene between the foundation of the monarchy in J. P. 3841 under Arbaces, and the usurpation of the Persian throne in J. P. 4191 by Darius and the Magians, on the death of Cambyses.[246] The declaration of Justin being thus understood in the more extensive sense, and in any other sense it is utterly irreconcileable with the history of Ctesias; his suffrage will then coincide with the general voice of antiquity, and bring additional confirmation to the system of Median Chronology, which the tests proposed in this investigation have identified as solely deserving of credit.

The perplexing difficulties in which the Median Chronology is embarrassed being removed, the chronology of the nations, which acknowledged the supremacy, or succeeded to the authority of the Assyrians, offers little to detain our attention. In determining the epoch and succession of the Persian monarchs, to whom the empire of the East descended after the Medes, chronologists are so generally agreed, as to furnish no contradictions, requiring the application of that assay by which it is presumed they may be remedied. The coincidence is so remarkable, which is observed to exist among the ancients in fixing the epoch of Cyrus' accession, by whom the monarchy was founded; that it has recommended a date so singularly attested, as a basis for various chronological systems.[247] And the reigns of his successors are so accurately determined in the Astronomical Canon of Ptolemy, the authority of which is confirmed by several eclipses,[248] that it

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[244] Herod. III. lxvi.

[245] Vid. supr. p. 57. n. 210.

[246] Vid. Usser. uti supr. J. P. 4191. p. 154. As Darius was among the conspiring Magi who seized the government at Cambyses' death, (Ctes. ap. Phot. Excerpt. xiv.) the subjection of the Medes is dated from the time of this usurpation.

[247] Usser. A. M. 3445. p. 138. Marsham, Chron. Sæc. xviii. p. 580. Petav. Rat. Temp. P. ii. 176.

[248] Petav. ibid. p. 177.

nearly precludes all ground of controversy on matters so satisfactorily determined. It is, however, worthy of remark, that the discrepancies and contradictions, which the present essay is intended to clear up, have been obviated in this department of chronology, by the accidental application of the principle which is now proposed as a test for distinguishing, amid a multitude of spurious dates, that which is exclusively genuine. The chronological scale, by which the reigns of those monarchs are digested in the Astronomical Canon, is a proper cycle; the era of Nabonasar, by which they are dated, being nothing but an extension of the Great Canicular Period, which the Babylonians borrowed from the Egyptians.[249]

In the early cycles, which were used by the primitive people, that generally rank under the name of Assyrians—the Sabbatical, which was employed by the Patriarchs, and the Genethliacal, which was devised by the Chaldeans—I now venture to conclude a test is ascertainable, which is adequate to settle the difficulties that perplex their chronology. Under that title, by which the earliest of the oriental empires is denominated, the nations recognised by history, as well sacred as profane, as of the highest antiquity, may be properly classed. For, as the original race of mankind were the immediate ancestors of the Assyrians, the pristine annals of our species may be properly considered a branch of their history; and that part of the oriental population, to whom the sacred records particularly relate, were the immediate descendants of that ancient nation. Between the great epochs of the annals of a race thus intimately allied, and the cycles by which they computed the lapse of time, it has been my object to trace that connexion, which leads to the establishment of the most remarkable dates by the revolution of peculiar periods. In proposing this principle as a criterion, by which the difficulties wherein their chronology is involved may be removed; I have preferred exhibiting it in its practical uses to evincing its fitness by abstract proofs. The internal consistency and appositeness which it displays, in its application to the elementary dates of the primitive chronology, as they cannot be imputed to accident, afford a sufficient evidence of its validity. It might have likewise received considerable illustration and support from an inquiry into the nature and

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[249] Vid. supr. p. 48. n. 172.

antiquity of those cycles, and their connexion in periods of greater extent. But the investigation would require more time than I could now venture to claim for a subject of such abstruseness and intricacy, from this learned Society, on whose patience I am sensible I have already too largely drawn. If indulged with their attention, on some future occasion, it is my purpose to submit my observations on those subjects to their judgment, as preparatory to the further development and adaptation of a principle which applies to every branch of ancient chronology.

With a view to the more easy comprehension of the preceding system, the subjoined successions of the patriarchs and oriental sovereigns are added, after the example of Scaliger and Petavius.

SUCCESSION I.

PATRIARCHS.

J. P.	Patriarchs.	Intervals. Years.	A. M.	B. C.
710	Adam created .	130	1	4004
840	Seth born . .	105	130	3874
945	Enos . .	90	235	3769
1035	Cainan . .	70	325	3679
1105	Mahaleel . .	65	395	3609
1170	Jared . .	162	460	3554
1332	Enoch . .	65	622	3382
1397	Methuselah .	187	687	3317
1584	Lamech . .	182	874	3130
1766	Noah . .	502	1056	2948
2268	Shem . .	98	1558	2446
2366	DELUGE . .	2	1656	2348
2368	Arphaxad . .	35	1658	2346
2403	Salah . .	30	1693	2311
2433	Eber . .	34	1723	2281
2467	Phaleg . .	30	1757	2247
2497	Reu . .	32	1787	2217
2529	Serug . .	30	1819	2185
2559	Nahor . .	29	1849	2155

J. P.	Patriarchs.	Intervals. Years.	A. M.	B. C.
2588	Terah . .	130	1878	2126
2718	Abram . .	74	2008	1996
2792	Divine Vocation .	26	2082	1922
2818	Isaac . .	60	2108	1896
2878	Jacob . .	77	2168	1836
2955	Jacob's Vision at Luz	1	2245	1756
2956	Reuben . .	1	2246	1758
2957	Simeon . .	1	2247	1757
2958	Levi . .	1	2248	1756
2969	Joseph . .	30	2259	1745
2999	Joseph's exaltation .	9	2289	1715
3008	Jacob's descent into Egypt	71	2298	1706
3079	Joseph dies .	60	2369	1635
3139	Aaron . .	3	2429	1575
3142	Moses . .	80	2432	1572
3222	Divine Legation .	.	2512	1492

SUCCESSION II.

CHALDEES.

J. P.	Chaldees.	Intervals. Years.	A. M.	B. C.
710	Alorus . .	120	1	4004
830	Alasparus . .	36	120	3884
866	Amelon . .	156	156	3848
1022	Amenon . .	144	312	3692
1166	Megalarus .	216	456	3548
1382	Daonus . .	120	672	3332
1502	Euedorachus .	216	792	3212
1718	Amphis . .	120	1008	2996
1838	Otiartes . .	96	1128	2876
1934	Xisuthrus . .	216 + 7	1224	2780
2157	Euechous . .	6	1447	2557
2163	Chosmasbolus .	7	1453	2547
2170	Porus . .	35	1460	2544
2205	Nechubes . .	43	1495	2509
2248	Abius . .	48	1538	2466
2296	Oniballus . .	40	1586	2418
2336	Zinzirus . .	45	1626	2378

SUCCESSION III.

ASSYRIANS.

J. P.	Assyrians.	Intervals. Years.	A. M.	B. C.
2381	Belus . .	55	1671	2333
2436	Ninus . .	52	1726	2278
2488	Semiramis . .	42	1778	2226
2530	Ninyas . .	38	1820	2184
2568	Arius . .	30	1858	2146
2598	Aralius . .	40	1888	2116
2638	Xerxes . .	30	1928	2076
2668	Armamithres .	38	1958	2046
2706	Belochus . .	35	1996	2008
2741	Balæus . .	52	2031	1973
2793	Sethos . .	32	2083	1921
2835	Mamythus . .	30	2115	1889
2855	Aschalius . .	28	2145	1859
2883	Sphærus . .	22	2173	1831
2905	Mamytus . .	30	2195	1809
2935	Sparthacus . .	42	2225	1779
2977	Ascatades . .	38	2267	1737
3025	Amyntes . .	45	2305	1699
3060	Belochus . .	25	2350	1654
3085	Baletores . .	30	2375	1629
3115	Lamprides . .	30	2405	1599
3145	Sosares . .	20	2435	1569
3165	Lampraes . .	30	2455	1549
3195	Panyas . .	45	2485	1519
3240	Sosarmus . .	22	2530	1474
3262	Mithræus . .	27	2552	1452
3289	Tautanes . .	32	2579	1425
3221	Teutæus . .	44	2611	1393
3365	Arabelus . .	42	2655	1349
3407	Chalaus . .	45	2697	1307
3452	Anebus . .	38	2742	1262
3490	Bibius . .	37	2780	1224
3527	Teutamus . .	30	2817	1187
3557	Dercylus . .	40	2847	1157
3597	Empacmes . .	38	2887	1117
3635	Laosthenes . .	45	2925	1079

J. P.	Assyrians.	Intervals. Years.	A. M.	B. C.
3680	Pertiades . .	30	2970	1034
3710	Ophratæus . .	21	3000	1004
3731	Ephecheres . .	52	3021	983
3783	Acraganes . .	42	3073	931
3825	Sardanapalus .	15 + 1	3115	889

SUCCESSION IV.

MEDES.

J. P.	Medes.	Intervals. Years.	A. M.	B. C.
3841	Arbaces .	28	3131	873
3869	Mandauces . .	50	3159	845
3919	Sosarmes . .	30	3209	795
3949	Artyas . .	50	3239	765
3999	Arbianes . .	22	3289	715
4021	Artæus . .	40	3311	693
4061	Artynus . .	22	3351	653
4083	Astibares . .	40	3373	631
4123	Apandus or Astyages .	35	3413	591
4158	Cyaxares . .	33	3448	556
4191	Darius and Magi .	.	3481	523

SUCCESSION V.

BABYLONIANS.

J. P.	Babylonians.	Intervals. Years.	A. M.	B. C.
3967	Nabonasar . .	14	3257	748
3981	Nadius . .	2	3271	733
3983	Chinzirus and Porus .	5	3273	731
3988	Jugæus . .	5	3278	726
3993	Mardocempad .	12	3283	721
4005	Arcianus . .	5	3295	709
4010	Interregnum I. .	2	3300	704
4012	Belibas . .	3	3302	702
4015	Apronadius .	6	3305	699

J. P.	Babylonians.	Intervals. Years.	A. M.	B. C.
4021	Rigebelus . .	1	3311	693
4022	Messessimordach .	4	3312	692
4026	Interregnum II. .	8	3316	688
4034	Asaradon . .	13	3324	680
4047	Saosduchæus .	20	3337	667
4067	Cynilidanes .	22	3357	647
4089	Nabopolasar .	21	3379	625
4110	Nabocolasar .	43	3400	604
4152	Evilmerodach .	2	3443	561
4153	Nericosolassar .	4	3445	559
4159	Nabonadius .	17	3449	555

SUCCESSION VI.

PERSIANS.

J. P.	Persians.	Intervals. Years.	A. M.	B. C.
4176	Cyrus . .	9	3466	538
4185	Cambyses . .	8	3475	529
4193	Darius I. . .	36	3483	521
4228	Xerxes . .	21	3518	486
4249	Artaxerxes I. .	41	3539	465
4290	Darius II. .	19	3580	424
4309	Artaxerxes II. .	46	3599	405
4355	Ochus . .	21	3645	359
4376	Arogus . .	2	3666	338
4378	Darius III.. .	4	3668	336

II. *Report on the System of Hieroglyphic Interpretation proposed in a Treatise entitled "Alcune Questioni sui Geroglifici degli Egizii da servire di estratto a quella parte dell' Opera del Signor Jannelli che tratta di essi," which has been submitted to the opinion of the Royal Society of Literature.* *By* I. CULLIMORE, ESQ.

Read May 28th, 1834.

PREVIOUSLY to the examination of a new system of hieroglyphic interpretation, on which the Society have been called to give judgment, it is necessary to say something of that which they have sanctioned and promoted since its origin, and to which the views now to be considered are opposed.

The discoveries of Dr. Young in the hieroglyphic literature of Egypt, first fully promulgated in the Supplement to the Encyclopedia Britannica, in the year 1819, replaced the former speculations on this mysterious department of research, by a limited number of established facts, which at once revolutionized the method of investigation. The simpler and more certain process of analysis, or the ascent from the known to the unknown—from results to principles—became adopted, instead of the uncertain conjectures on unknown principles, which had occupied the minds of the learned from the days of Kircher until the commencement of the nineteenth century, and regarding which few writers were enabled to agree in their general conclusions. The state of the question till Young lifted the veil, was analogous to that on the laws of the universe, before the time of Newton, with, however, this difference—that the natural philosophers had always the germ of analysis before their eyes in the planetary motions; whereas, the hierologists had none whatever, until the discovery of the name of *Ptolemy*, in the ellipsis of the Rosetta tablet, and were therefore wholly thrown on their mental resources; for the results sufficiently demonstrated how little initiatory assistance was derivable from the variously understood and heretofore obscure data supplied by ancient writers.

Since then the progress has been uniform, and to a given extent certain, in the hands of the more strenuous and sober-minded followers of the first discoverer (for all who admit the orthography of the hieroglyphics composing the names Ptolemy and Berenice, must be classed among his disciples; and, although Dr. Young did not succeed in determining the values of more than half the phonetic characters which compose these names, he laid the foundation from which all subsequent discovery has proceeded); who, adhering to the principles stated by Clemens, which were at no former period understood, that the inscriptions were composed both of phonetic, and symbolic characters of several classes, soon penetrated the obscurities of hieroglyphic history, and succeeded in raising a fabric of no mean importance on the foundation laid by their preceptor, whose oversights, inseparable from the first development of an untried and complicated system, were speedily replaced by unanswerable facts.

The phonetic alphabet, founded by Dr. Young, and reduced to system and extended by the labours of Champollion and other archæologists, was found to develop the mass of Greek, Roman, and Persian names, contained in the inscriptions, with the like precision as it had those of Ptolemy and Berenice; and the same characters which spelt the names of the Ptolemies and Cæsars, were found adapted to those of the ancient Pharaohs. Not only were the contemporary hieroglyphics of all the celebrated kings of Egypt mentioned in history, recovered, but, through the indefatigable zeal of Mr. Wilkinson and Mr. Burton, whole series of them, as they appear in ancient writers. The attempts, and even the *hopes* of the original discoverer, were far outstripped; for, although Dr. Young was the first to identify one or two of the Diospolitan monarchs, by happy conjectures, rather than through the aid of his principles of decypherment, he appears, until his death,[1] to have been far from sanguine that the ages anterior to the Persian dynasty would be penetrated with any degree of certainty.

Full demonstration was thus obtained of the validity of the system, as to its results, and although the principles on which the hieroglyphic characters are appropriated, may be but imperfectly understood—although it may still

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[1] See 'Rudiments of an Egyptian Dictionary,' 1830, Advertisement, pp. vi. x. and the 'Astronomical Chronology of Egypt,' which follows, p. 2. The proofs of this work are understood to have been revised on the death-bed of the learned and estimable author.

be a question whether the phonetic alphabet be altogether founded on the initial letters or intonations of words, we have facts before us; and a single fact, though its origin be involved in mystery, is worth a thousand conjectural principles or laws, without results to substantiate them.

Without even the necessity of assuming any positive acquaintance with the *language* of the hieroglyphic inscriptions, we thus possess a contemporary series of royal names which are nearly the same in all languages,—a series which ascends, at the latest, to the age of the patriarch Joseph, and by the aid of which all the important remains of the best ages of Egyptian art may be referred to their relative places in time. We have recovered, on the one hand, a contemporary record of the nation, which, next to the Jewish, is most intimately connected with the inspired records; and on the other, a chronicle of the progress of the polite arts in ages long anterior to the arts of Greece. This is therefore no merely dry and uninteresting catalogue; and, were the consequences of Dr. Young's labours for ever limited to its recovery, these consequences would for ever be stamped by religion, scholarship, and good taste, as among the noblest literary achievements of any age; nor have they been impugned by any who have examined and understood them. They have possessed us of a grand contemporary historical outline and index, which the most perfect acquaintance with the hieroglyphic language could not replace, and which will render that language available should it ever be recovered; but without which, the language itself, in reference to the events of remote ages, to which the great mass of the hieroglyphic remains belong, would be of little comparative utility.

The inscriptions, besides, address the senses by ideographic signs both proper and symbolic, and principles of notation, which convey nearly the same ideas in all ages and countries, and which, connected as they now are, by an established system of phonetic names, direct us to the general import of the inscriptions, independently of the changes of language. The lights derived to ancient mythology, the clear elucidation of the habits of civilized life from contemporary sculptures, and the restoration of the hieroglyphic physical notation of the year, are likewise to be added to the proved results of the system.

Such are the *facts* which it seems necessary to insist on by way of

introduction to the present analysis; for, although more is perhaps known of the language of ancient Egypt than many are willing to allow, it is certain that more has been assumed by several archæologists than can possibly be known; and this is, accordingly, the weak point against which attacks have for the most part been directed—not against the system itself, as its depreciators would infer, with which they have really no concern; nearly all who have made them, having taken their stand with the pillar of Rosetta, and on Dr. Young's foundation, and levelled their principal shafts at the ill-judged ornaments of the superstructure.

The learned writer of the treatise now to be discussed is perhaps the most decided exception to this; and let us hope, that, engrossed by his own ingenious hypothesis, he has but partially investigated the system which he opposes at every step; asserting that nothing whatever has yet been done towards clearing up the mystery of the Egyptian hieroglyphics, that no inscription has yet been interpreted, that the hieroglyphic ellipses do not contain the phonetic names of kings, that facts confirmed by the successive discoveries of fifteen years must be rejected, and new principles of interpretation invented, before we can hope for any result;—in a word, that we must throw our ideas back to the time of Kircher, and find laws for extracting information from the pillar of Rosetta different from that which the triliteral inscription unfolds to us.

It were desirable that we had access to his special work on the Rosetta tablet, which is frequently referred to by the author, before finally deciding on the system. This has been ineffectually sought for in the public libraries of London. As, however, the present treatise is put forth as a general synopsis of the learned writer's views on Egyptian hieroglyphics, we must rest satisfied with drawing our conclusions from the criteria supplied by it, which are, doubtless, in the author's estimation, adequate to the establishment of his ingenious hypotheses; and must endeavour to profit by the opportunity which the examination may afford, of noticing points that are likely to promote the subject of hieroglyphic research.

Admitting no results, and treating those founded on the bilinguar and the monolinguar inscriptions with like respect, Signor Jannelli commences at the point which most other inquirers propose for the end of their labours, propounding laws for interpretation, according to which, facts however

stubborn, and the evidence of antiquity must be moulded; as will be manifest from the following general view of the Twelve Questions or Positions into which his ideas on the hieroglyphic system of Egypt, deduced from his other works,[2] are here distributed.

I. Three general and *exclusive* methods are proposed, whereby the hieroglyphics may possibly be interpreted. 1. The Ideographic. 2. The Alphabetic. 3. The Lexeographic.

II. The writers are enumerated, who have, in the author's estimation, respectively adopted these methods. The first, Kircher, Palin, Riccardi, Champollion, Peyron, Gazzera, Sanquintino, Rossellini. The second, Lacour, Seyffarth, Young, Champollion. The third, Sickler.

III. The rational and logical interpretation of the hieroglyphic inscriptions should originate in an analysis of the physical and mathematical characteristics and names of the symbols, in which the dogmas, customs, and traditions of the Egyptians must be kept in view; a definition of each in a physiological lexicon, &c. Of the 900 or 1000 known hieroglyphic characters, about 200 are stated to be fundamental, analogous to the 214 keys or radical characters on which the Chinese language is founded. These, multiplied by their homophones and synonyms, and further expanded by the secondary hieroglyphics, are held adequate to the construction of a language expressed by the juxta-position or grouping of the hieroglyphics.

IV. It cannot be shewn that any monument has hitherto been rationally and legitimately interpreted, because no attention has been paid to the foregoing laws and conditions.

V. The absurdity of the ideographic, or first proposed method, in consequence of the insufficiency of a few hundred characters directly to represent

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[2] 1. Fundamenta Hermeneutica *Hieroglyphicæ* Crypticæ Veterum Gentium, sive Hermeneutices Hierographieæ libri tres, etc. Neapoli 1830.

2. Hieroglyphica Ægyptia ex *Horo-Apolline*, etc. ex *Obelisco Flaminio*, etc. Neapoli 1830.

3. *Tabulæ Rosettanæ Hieroglyphicæ*, et Centuriæ *Sino-grammatum* Interpretatio tentata, etc. Neapoli 1830.

4. Tentamen Hermeneuticum in *Hierographiam* Crypticam Veterum Gentium, etc. Neapoli 1831.

the thousands of ideas on theological, liturgical, metaphysical, political, historical, astronomical, medical, and other subjects, required by a language.

VI. The second, or alphabetic method, equally ridiculous, it being impossible to elicit from the hieroglyphics the *definite* characters, criteria, and rational data, necessary to the generation of an alphabet of twenty or twenty-four letters—much more one of fifteen letters, with Young; or, from 140 letter signs to form an alphabet of ten or twelve letter values, with Champollion. The uncertainty of the characters representing the vowels, and the homogeneous consonants B, V, F; — C, G, Q, K; — L, R, &c. are adduced as proof. It is asserted that after ten years' labour by MM. Champollion the younger and elder, Huyot, Henry, Vaucelle, Greppo, Devere, Salt, Drummond, Gell, Bankes, Browne, Burton, Yorke, Leake, Wilkinson, Felix, Lord Prudhoe, Gazzera, Sanquintino, Peyron, Zannoni, Rosellini, Migliarini, Orioli, &c. a single monument has not been construed on this principle; and further, that ancient writers have excluded alphabetic writing from hieroglyphics. The fallacy of supposing that the demotic names of kings are to be found in the ellipses, is insisted on.

VII. The third, or lexeographic method, only remains; and its laws will be found perfectly to agree with those of the Egyptian hieroglyphic writing, provided a radical tongue, as the Hebrew or Arabic, be adopted, the characters, (which are too few in number for the ideographic method (V.), and too many for the alphabetic (VI.), being sufficient for the representatives of homophonous and synonymous *roots*, having their meaning limited by the grouping, as in Position III. Examples from the Hebrew here follow.

VIII. Admitting the popular language of Egypt to have been the Coptic, the proposed roots may nevertheless be found in the hieroglyphic inscriptions, as Hebrew roots are found in the sacred books of the Europeans; as the Arabic is the sacred language of the followers of Mahomet of every race, the Sanscrit of the Buddhists, &c. It is assumed, that the hieroglyphic language could not have been Coptic, the latter (which extended only from *Tanis* to *Syene*) not having been co-extensive with the former (which extended from *Tanis* to *Meroe*) either in *time* or *territory*. The governing language Semitic. The folly of making Coptic Lexicons is here asserted.

IX. Herodotus, Tacitus, Lucan, Apuleius, and Ammianus, adduced as authorities in support of the lexeographic system.

X. Diodorus cited as having more distinctly spoken on the subject.

XI. The principles of the tropical or analogic writing described by Clemens, are discoverable in the lexeographic, and in that alone. Examples from the Hebrew in support of this.

XII. The study of the Chinese writings may most especially assist in the interpretation and comprehension of Egyptian hieroglyphics. Examples to show that the proposed lexeographic method is to be found in the Chinese.

Having stated in general terms, what it is that Signor Jannelli proposes to overturn, together with his materia for replacing it, it remains cursorily to investigate the latter in the order in which they are proposed.

I. and II. The ideographic, the alphabetic, and the lexeographic methods of interpretation, being proposed as respectively exclusive and irreconcileable, the reader should be reminded *in limine*, that Clemens of Alexandria, the only ancient writer who fully describes the hieroglyphics according to the methods taught in the Egyptian schools, classes them as follows:

1. The *Cyriologic* (or *directly*[3] expressive) by the *first elements* (of the names of objects?).
2. The *Symbolic*, subdivided into
    1. The Mimetic (or *Cyriologic*) by *imitation* of objects, (i. e. the figurative).
    2. The *Tropic*, (or *indirectly*[3] expressive) by metaphor, figure, analogy, &c.
    3. The *Ænigmatic*, (or expressive by the *properties* of objects) i. e. the properly symbolical or typical.[4]

Porphyry's definition of hieroglyphics is more general—the hieroglyphic or cœnologic, and the symbolic or allegoric; the former manifestly including

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[3] The word *directly* is here adopted (in preference to *eminently and peculiarly*, with Sir W. Drummond and the Edinburgh Review), because clearly implied by the context of the two cyriologic classes.

[4] —— *την* Ιερογλυφικην, *ης η μεν εστι δια των* Πρωτων Στοιχειων Κυριολογικη. Η δε Συμβολικη, *της δε* Συμβολικης *η μεν* Κυριολογειται *κατα* Μιμησιν. Η δ' *ωσπερ* Τροπικως *γραφεται*. Η δε, *αντικρυς* Αλληγορειται *κατα τινας* Αινιγμους, etc. Strom. l. v.

the two cyriologic classes of Clemens, and the latter the tropic and ænigmatic classes. As there is some apparent confusion between the statement of Clemens and that attributed to Porphyry, (on whose division of the whole system of Egyptian writing into the epistolographic, hieroglyphic, and symbolic only,[5] M. Letronne remarks,[6] "Cette division annonce evidemment que l'auteur n'a rien su de ce qu'il voulait dire,") it may be advisable to combine the data supplied by both writers in a tabular form, by which it will appear that the classification of the latter is merely more concise and general, and that Clemens and Porphyry mutually explain and illustrate each other.

Clemens.			Porphyry.
1. Epistolographic	(The demotic or vulgar writing on *Papyri*)	1	1. Epistolographic.
2. Hieratic	(The sacerdotal writing on *Papyri*)	2	
3. Hieroglyphic (or *sculptured*)	1. The *cyriologic* (or *directly* expressive) by the *first elements* of objects	1	2. Hieroglyphic, or *cœnologic* by *imitation*.
	2. The *symbolic* — 1. The *cyriologic* (or *directly* expressive) by *imitation* of objects	2	
	2. The *tropic* (or *indirectly* expressive) by the *analogies* of objects, &c.	1	3. Symbolic, or *allegoric* by *ænigmas*.
	3. The *ænigmatic*, (or expressive) by the *properties* of objects	2	

Here it will be manifest, I. That the epistolographic of Porphyry is a general term, including the vulgar and sacerdotal manuscript of Clemens. II. That the hieroglyphic (or sculptured) as explained, (cœnologic—com-

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5 — Επιστολογραφικων τε και Ιερογλυφικων και Συμβολικων· των μεν Κοινολογουμενων κατα Μιμησιν, των δε Αλληγορουμενων κατα τινας Αινιγμους. De Vita Pythag. c. 11. 12. It will be perceived that the symbolic class of Porphyry, and the third symbolic class of Clemens (see p. 77.) are explained nearly in the same words in the originals. The slight distinction made in the tabular statements, seems, however, required by the double character of the former.

6 Champollion, Précis, p. 386. Ed. II.

mon, plain, direct, as opposed to the allegoric,) includes the two cyriologic, or directly expressive classes. III. That the symbolic, as explained, (allegoric,) includes the two abstract classes of the symbolic of Clemens; and that, on the whole, the more general classification is the most critical; for, although the symbolic order belongs to the hieroglyphic, it is founded on *understood* properties of objects, which cannot be *expressed* but by the cyriologic method of sculpture, and from it the direct mimetic method is therefore not improperly excluded.

Sanchoniatho, the oldest translator of the Hermaic writings, gives the order of the inventions of Taaut the first Hermes, to whom Plato, Manetho, and ancient writers in general, agree in ascribing the origin of hieroglyphics, nearly as they were taught according to Clemens.

1. He invented the writing of the first elements.
2. He *imitated* or portrayed the god Uranus.
3. He *typified* the sacred characters of the other elements, &c.
4. He contrived symbolic ensigns for the gods.[7]

Here we have, first, the cyriologic by the first elements of objects. Secondly, the mimetic or cyriologic by imitation of objects. Thirdly, the typical or ænigmatic, (while the fourth may represent the tropic or metaphoric,) nearly in the order in which Clemens has stated them. It is, however, improbable, that the system was matured as well as invented by the same personage; and accordingly, another passage of Sanchoniatho (see Anc. Frag. p. 16.) seems to bring the allegoric or indirect classes several generations lower,—to the time of the son of Thablon, the first hierophant. The claims of Taautus may therefore perhaps be limited to the cyriologic, or directly expressive classes of hieroglyphics. Other ancient writers are not so express in their definitions, if we may except Diodorus in reference to the tropic or metaphoric class of hieroglyphics, to be hereafter noticed. The inconsistency therefore, of setting up three opposite and exclusive principles of interpretation at the outset, is self-evident, when we have the express and uniform testimony of antiquity, that several methods of writing hieroglyphics were co-existent, and which, however they may be

[7] Απο Μισωρ Τααυτος, οι εορε την των πρωτων στοιχειων γραφην.—Ταυτος μιμησαμενος τον Ουρανον, των Θεων οψεις Κρονου τε και Δαγωνος, και των λοιπων διετυπωσεν τους ιερους των στοιχειων χαρακτηρας. επενοησε δε και τω Κρονω παρασημα βασιλειας, etc. Euseb. Pr. Ev. l. i. c. x. Cory's Ancient Fragments, pp. 9. 15. Ed. II. 1832. where see the passages at length.

mixed in the inscriptions, it is clear that no explanation can reduce to one uniform principle.

III. If the analysis here proposed could be realised, it would doubtless assist us in ascending from known results to the principles of the hieroglyphic system; although it may be doubted whether, as the basis of investigation, it would ever conduct any two inquirers to similar results. Had Signor Jannelli's system of homophonous and synonymous roots been proposed before a practical foundation for hieroglyphic inquiry was laid by Dr. Young, its ingenuity might perhaps have caused its reception as the basis of research, at a time when all was uncertainty and speculation. The most accurate acquaintance with the physical elements of the characters representing these homophones and synonyms, would, however, be primarily useless without a perfect knowledge of the language in which they are to be found; yet the latter becomes more a point of speculation in the present theory, than in most others that have been advanced, as will be evident when we come to discuss Signor Jannelli's seventh position. We must hence prefer a system which gives us the absolute force of a great number of characters, although it may leave us in ignorance of their physical elements, before one which merely proposes a method of finding these elements, leaving the definite force still to be sought; and presupposing erudition, which cannot, in the present state of knowledge, be realised, were the views advanced otherwise unobjectionable. Neither does the analogy of the Chinese system of radicals and branches assist us on the proposed principles. It is probable that both it and the Egyptian had their origin in simple mimetic hieroglyphics: yet both arrived at maturity in distant ages and countries. The former seems capable of indefinite combination and extension, and is the growth of more than three thousand years; whereas the Egyptian combinations are unquestionably limited, and have clearly been uniform, or very nearly so, from the time of their first application to the purposes of sculpture, more than three thousand years ago, and in an age but little removed from that of the origin of writing. The one system has been progressive, and the other stationary during the known ages of history; so that the parallel becomes worse than useless, although the number of Chinese keys or radical characters (214), that of the Ethiopic intonatory characters (202), that of the phonetic hieroglyphics (175, according to Mr. Wilkinson's enlarged alphabet), and that of the enchorial characters (about the same), seem to point to a common original system.

IV. The conclusions arrived at in this position are premature and illogical, the mode by which Signor Jannelli's laws for interpretation may be rendered available, yet remaining to be developed.

It will, nevertheless, readily be admitted, that no merely verbal inscription has yet been fully interpreted—not even a bilinguar inscription, much less a monolinguar; that Champollion was unable to comply with de Sacy's demand for a complete interpretation of the hieroglyphic version of the pillar of Rosetta. We nevertheless know with certainty the general purport of that inscription from proved data, which are equally independent of any question on the hieroglyphic language, and of Signor Jannelli's proposed laws: and thus far the validity of hieroglyphic discovery is agreed to by Champollion's most powerful antagonist Von Klaproth. The want of acquaintance with the language of hieroglyphics may be a lasting bar to our arrival at verbal minutiæ. So long, however, as we are assured that a given inscription is an act, a dedication, the record of a given reign for a given purpose, it cannot be affirmed that no progress has been made in hieroglyphic interpretation.

V. No disciple of Clemens and of Dr. Young infers that inscriptions are capable of interpretation by the ideographic method alone, which may be supposed to include the mimetic or properly figurative, and the ænigmatic or properly symbolic, the phonetic or alphabetic being always joined with these. For it is clear, that the characters are not sufficiently numerous to form a solely ideographic or figurative language—a proof that the language of hieroglyphics is not such. The admixture of the several classes described by Clemens shews that the system, partaking of all, is not confined to any exclusive class; and this fact may perhaps best explain the vague statements of ancient writers, of whom Sanchoniatho, with his commentator Philo, and Clemens, are alone sufficiently explicit.

VI. We must allow that the definite characteristics necessary to the generation of an *arbitrary* alphabet of 10, 12, 15, 20, or 24 letters, cannot be elicited from the Egyptian hieroglyphics, knowing from experience that many different signs represent the same value, of which the most distinct and immediate proof may be found in Mr. Wilkinson's hieroglyphic alphabet compared with his table of the proper names, for the most part Greek and Roman, from whence it is derived. (See Materia, No. 1, and "Notes on Several Hieroglyphic Subjects.") The principles on which this alphabet was originally

formed is not the question. We have the facts before us; and, provided the characters represent the initial letters of words, it may be indefinite as the substantives of the Egyptian language, and yet clear to every comprehension; but subject to laws for the use of appropriate signs, of which we are ignorant, and which the analysis proposed by Signor Jannelli may yet assist in unveiling. If, on the other hand, the characters represent the primary intonations rather than the primary letters, as might be inferred from the frequent omission of the vowel characters, in a language which is probably not altogether Oriental (see VIII. below), as well as from the relative numbers of the Ethiopic intonatory characters, and of the ascertained phonetic hieroglyphics and enchorial characters, as above, the phonetic alphabet will be limited, and its principles more easily determinable. This learned writer therefore imagines the phantom of a definite hieroglyphic alphabet, apparently with no other purpose than that of overthrowing it.

As regards the limited number of letter values discoverable in the hieroglyphics—not exceeding twelve or thirteen—if it be allowable to seek for a primitive, and necessarily incomplete alphabet anywhere, we may reasonably expect to find it in the nation with which, according to the common voice of profane antiquity, writing originated, and whose inscriptions present the same unvarying characters from the age of the patriarchs to that of Constantine: and it is to be remarked, that if the interchangeable sounds or letters of the Coptic alphabet be reduced to their narrowest limits, the number will not exceed that of the hieroglyphic values.

The Phœnician alphabet of Cadmus, which is understood to have prevailed at Athens till the end of the fifth century B.C.[8] (although we know from inscriptions, that the Greek states of Asia Minor had an alphabet of 22 or 24 letters as early as the seventh century B.C.[9]) consisted of 16 letters only; yet we learn from Plutarch that it contained the *Πρωτα και Φοινικεια* (*Γραμματα*), or, as the facts now before us determine, the primitive alphabet, together with the additions made by Cadmus, who is called Isiris by the

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[8] Vide Euseb. Chron. sub Num. 1607. Syncel. Chronogr. p. 257. Ed. Par. etc.

[9] See the inscription from Ebsambol, published by Mr. Yorke and Col. Leake, in the Transactions of the Royal Soc. of Literature, Vol. I. part I. p. 223. and a specimen of the original characters in No. 3. of the Proceedings of the Society. This inscription contains all the Greek letters, Z and Ξ excepted, and Herodot. II. 28. fixes it on the Ionian auxiliaries of the first Psammeticus.

Phœnician historian, and Isiodus by the Byzantine writers.[10] The addition made by Isiris to the primitive alphabet of Taaut, the inventor of the Egyptian hieroglyphics, consisted, according to Sanchoniatho, of three letters—*Ισιρις, των τριων γραμματων ευρετης*:[11]—and this number (as *Γ, Δ, Λ.*—*K, T, P,* &c.) taken from the 16 letters of Cadmus, leaves 13 for the primitive Egyptian alphabet—the *Πρωτα* of Plutarch, and the number of sounds represented by the recovered hieroglyphic alphabet.

As regards the alleged uncertainty arising from the circumstance of several of the vowels, and the homogeneous consonants B, V, F,—C, G, Q, K,—L, R, &c. being respectively represented by the same hieroglyphics, and the examples brought forward;—

Arma virum,	Cæsar,	Claudius,
Alma filum,	Chisel,	Gladius,
Ulmo ferum,	Gaisar,	Gratius,
bilem,	Causal,	Crates,
vilem,	Quesel,	Clarius (?)
felem,		

which Signor Jannelli contends to be as absurd as the idea of making *Virgil* out of *Cicero*;—such objections were hardly to be looked for. These are mere differences in the articulation of homogeneous letters, inseparable from a primitive and necessarily incomplete alphabet, as above; and which, however they might affect the verbal minutiæ of language, at least present no difficulties to the reader of the royal hieroglyphic names, regarding which history is a sufficient guide. No person, for example, would take the phonetic hieroglyphics which read either *Diabolus Chisel*, or *Tiberius Cæsar*, to mean any thing but the latter. The context would settle the distinction between *Diabolus* and the Roman emperor. It may be added, that we have yet to learn the laws whereby the use of the Egyptian vowels was regulated, and whether the sounds represented by the characters do not, as above, include the vowels which are apparently omitted.

Neither has the assertion that ancient writers have excluded alphabetic writing from hieroglyphics, a better foundation. The *Κυριολογικη δια των*

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[10] This Isiodus was of the race of *Japhet*, and was the inventor of the Greek letters, says John Malala. Ed. Oxon. 1691. p. 70. See VIII. *infra*, on the probable Scythic modification of the Egyptian language.

[11] Cory's Fragments, p. 16.

πρωτων στοιχειων, or first order of the several modes of hieroglyphic writing described by Clemens, and which this learned author vainly attempts to press into the service of his lexeographic system (for it is clear that if by "*the cyriologic by the first elements*" we are to understand Signor Jannelli's homophonous roots, these roots, represented by natural objects, become likewise "*the cyriologic by imitation*," and the distinction of Clemens, consequently, without a difference), is agreed by all who admit an hieroglyphic alphabet, to refer directly to that alphabet; and the only question is, whether by "the first elements" be intended "the primitive letters" of the alphabet, or "the first or initial letters or sounds" of the words represented by the hieroglyphic characters. Clemens is speaking of the Egyptian writing, and the elements mentioned are therefore the elements of writing. In the same book of his Stromata (the fifth) he speaks of the τεσσαρα και εικοσι στοιχεια, and the words στοιχεια and γραμματα are used in common by the Greek writers, to express the letters of the alphabet, like *elementa* and *literæ* by the Latin. This subject will be found well discussed in Dr. Browne's admirable article on hieroglyphics, in No. VIII. of the Foreign Quarterly Review. It only remained to be shewn, 1st, that Clemens is not singular among the ancients in speaking of the πρωτα στοιχεια of the hieroglyphic writing; and, 2ndly, that in the age of the Alexandrine father the term στοιχειον was, in this case, synonymous with γραμμα. These points were established in the article on Egypt, in No. XXIV. of the same journal; first, from the discoveries attributed by Sanchoniatho to Taaut, the inventor of the hieroglyphic system, among which is the writing of the πρωτα στοιχεια[12] and the other classes of hieroglyphics, mentioned by Clemens, as already noticed; and, secondly, from the circumstance that στοιχειων is replaced by γραμματων in the paraphrase[13] of the passage by Philo Byblius, who translated the annals of Sanchoniatho into Greek before the time of Clemens. This is

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[12] Τααυτος, ος ευρε την των πρωτων στοιχειων γραφην, ον Αιγυπτιοι μεν Θωωρ (al. Θωωθ), Αλεξανδρεις δε Θωυθ, Ελληνες δε Ερμην εκαλεσαν. apud Eus. Pr. Evang. lib. I. c. vii. (al. x.) Cory's Anc. Frag. p. 9. Ed. 1832.

[13] Πρωτος εστι Τααυτος ο των γραμματων την ευρεσιν επινοησας, και της των υπομνηματων γραφης καταρξας—ον Αιγυπτιοι μεν εκαλεσαν Θωθ, Αλεξανδρεις δε Θωθ, Ερμην δε Ελληνες μετεφρασαν. Eus. Pr. Ev. l. I. c. vi. (al. ix.) The critical distinction here observable in the use of εκαλεσαν and μετεφρασαν, shews the strict sense to have been Philo's object.

conclusive; and it will be recollected that the Phœnician annalist, when speaking of the three letters added to the Taautic alphabet by Isiris, calls them, according to Philo's translation, *letters*—γραμματα, in contradistinction to the πρωτα στοιχεια, or first alphabetic elements of Taaut, of which the former and all subsequent additions were but variations.

Thus it appears that Clemens is not alone, as heretofore supposed, in describing the πρωτα στοιχεια of the Egyptians: and we have positive and uncontradicted evidence that γραμματα is as clearly to be understood as if expressed in the passage which has excited so much controversy—which Dr. Young pronounced "obscure and inexplicable," and Dr. Browne calls "the great puzzle still unsolved."

As to the reiterated assertions that no monument has yet been interpreted on the alphabetic principle, and that the hieroglyphic ellipses do not contain the phonetic names of the kings, the negative to these is so consequential on what has been already said, and on the recovery and interpretation of the hieroglyphic chronological tablets, that it can acquire no further enforcement. The plate entitled "Chronologia Hieroglyphica," in Vol. II. Part II. of the Royal Society of Literature's Transactions, in which the original titular tablets are incorporated, and accompanied by the corresponding phonetic names of the kings, and probable orthography, together with the corresponding names from history, it is hoped may supply a convincing answer to Signor Jannelli on these questions. These tablets, with their corresponding phonetic ellipses, furnish forcible examples of symbolic and phonetic combinations.

VII. The lexeographic method only remains. If Signor Jannelli's laws were the laws of the Egyptian hierophants, it would follow, that all the hieroglyphics being lexeographic, but not sufficiently numerous to express the words of a language, they must necessarily be expressive of synonymous and homophonous radicals, whereby the powers of each character would be greatly multiplied. The physical characteristics and the names of the hieroglyphics must first be individually determined according to the laws stated in his third position; and the radical tongue expressed by the groups fixed by the present one: so that if interpreters could agree in the formation of the physiological lexicon of characters, this would, as already mentioned, be labour lost without a knowledge of the radical language, in a case where all is admitted to be involved

in uncertainty. This it must be confessed holds out no very encouraging prospect to the uninitiated. But, as the Hebrew has been adopted by this learned writer, let us see how this system (for writing rather than for interpreting hieroglyphics,) operates in the four shortest of the eleven not easily understood examples which follow, and the difficulties of which are augmented by the omission of the Hebrew characters. Of these the most general idea is all that I can presume to attempt with reference to the proposed system; while, with reference to the ideographic representatives of the homophones and synonyms, the reader will perceive that these, aided by the context of inscriptions so composed, would direct him to the general sense with at least as much certainty as an assumed language, and, so far as the following examples go, with perhaps less difficulty.

1. To express a fountain, *Oin*, we must write the hieroglyphic character for *an eye*, *Oin* (), and that it may not be understood in its literal sense, join the sign for water, *Oin* (), and we shall have *Oin Oin, an eye of water*—or a fountain. On this example it may be remarked that the group (), whether viewed as homophonous or as simply ideographic, would equally express *an eye of water* and *eye-water*, whereas ideographically, and under the admitted uncertainty of language, it might as well mean *the water of the eye* or *a tear*,—not a happy example of a system intended to replace the ideographic.

3. To express *convocare*, to call together a congregation, *Qra*, write the sign of a partridge, *Qura* (the participle active of קרא) whose cry is *Qra Qra*,[14] and add the homophonous sign of a mouth, *Qra*, which will limit the group (), *Qra Qra*, to the sense required. Here the group would, independently of the limitation of an uncertain language, as plainly express *the mouth of a partridge*, or *to eat a partridge—a meal*, on the same unaided ideographic principles.

5. To express a *commanded law*, *Tzue MD*, write the character for *a measure, law* (?) or *rule*, *MD*, affixing the sign of a mouth (in which is *Dbr*, a precept, and *Tzue*, a command?) with the addition of a vase, *Kli*—the symbol of a measure, *MD*, Thus ()? Here the illustration is not so directly apparent. We have however a synonymous and ideographic group, which, viewed in either way, may equally express *the physical measure*

[14] From this cry the Karaite Jews take their name.

of the mouth, or *a proclaimed measure* or *law*, for any thing that appears to the contrary; while ideographically, and under the admitted uncertainty of language, as before, it might likewise express *the mouth of a measure* or *vase*.

8. To express the year, *Scne*, or period of the sun's course, take the character of a spine, *Sne*, a curved rod, *Scn*, &c., homophones of *Scne*, a year: add the sign of the sun, and we shall have the sense of *Sne* and *Scn*, the homophones of *Scne*, fixed as required. Might not this group (𓇋 ⊙)?, whether viewed as homophonous or ideographic, equally give us *the sun's course* and the *coup de soleil?*

Thus in three cases out of four, the assumed language affords no effective limitation to the sense, independently of the context, which, in reference to inscriptions so composed, would, as above, go far to decide between the different senses in all the cases adduced, independently of the homophones and synonyms; and this makes it the more to be regretted that we have not before us Signor Jannelli's Tabula Rosettana, which is referred to throughout; for, without some such guide, the isolated examples adduced seem calculated but to embarrass simple picture writing, which is always liable to the modifications of the idiom through which it addresses the senses, without the additional strain on the imagination implied by assumed homophones, &c. Our regret will however be diminished when we remember that the author denies the established meaning of the royal Ptolemaic ellipse, which indeed no writer entertaining his views could subscribe to.

The examples already adduced, without pursuing them further, will afford a general, although probably a very imperfect idea, of the author's application of his system;—clear enough, however, to show that his views go to replace a series of universal ideograms, and what he deems the uncertain phonetic orthography of Young and Champollion, by a system at least as uncertain in principle, incapable of practical proof, and mainly founded on the ideographic method, both figurative and symbolic, which it is intended to overthrow. In a word, independently of the uncertainty regarding the language in which, granting the system to be otherwise valid, the synonymous and homophonous roots must be sought, Signor Jannelli's laws, (for the *writing* rather than the *interpretation* of Egyptian hieroglyphics, as before, and for replacing the proved homophonous elements of the phonetic system by unproved homophonous ideographs,) however ingeniously constructed, seem quite as unsatisfactory a puzzle as the Cheva-

lier Goulianoff's system of acrological hieroglyphics, "the principle of which is, that the figure of any object whatever may represent any other object, provided the names of both, in the spoken language, commence with the same letter."—*Foreign Quarterly Review*, No. VIII. p. 450. A system, strange as it may appear, at one time defended by the sagacious M. Klaproth.

But all other objections to Signor Jannelli's application of his principles become insignificant, compared with the main one, which is the practical assumption of the Hebrew as the radical tongue by which his hieroglyphic synonyms and homophones of every age are to be explained. For, admitting a probable mixture of Hebrew roots in the hieroglyphic, in common perhaps with all other languages, we cannot agree that this is to an extent adequate to the purposes of general interpretation, without preferring this learned man's conjectures to the express authority of Genesis xlii. 23. "and they knew not that Joseph understood *them;* for he spake unto them by an interpreter:" and of Psalm lxxxi. 5. "This (sc. law) he ordained to Joseph *for* a testimony, when he went out through the land of Egypt; where I heard a language that I understood not." Nor if we allow the sacred and vulgar languages of Egypt to have been different, will it lessen the difficulty, unless we can bring ourselves to suppose that while Joseph's demotic speech was unintelligible to his brethren, the latter were enabled to read the Hebrew synonyms and homophones of the monumental inscriptions, which the unquestionable authority of the hieroglyphic physical notation of the year, depicted on them, raises to an age anterior to that of Joseph. It would be equally consistent at once to subscribe to the assertion of Artapanus, that Moses, the propounder of the Decalogue, was the true Hermes, and the first who consecrated the wild beasts, dogs, and ibises of the Egyptian kalendar. (Eus. Pr. Ev. lib. IX. 27.)

VIII. The community and radiation of language in the primitive ages, forbids us to deny that Hebrew or Arabic roots, if not both, may be found in the hieroglyphic, although to a less extent than in the allied Semitic tongues (the Hebrew, the Arabic, the Syriac, the Chaldaic, the Samaritan, the Persic, the Ethiopic, &c.), and certainly not sufficiently to justify the adoption of either of the languages mentioned, as a general key to the interpretation of the hieroglyphic inscriptions.

That the Hebrew and Egyptian languages were essentially different in the early ages of the inscriptions, is manifest from the contemporary

evidence of Gen. xlii. 23. and Ps. lxxxi. 5. before cited. That the Coptic was not co-extensive in *time* with the hieroglyphic monuments, there is no evidence to prove: indeed the contrary seems demonstrable, from the Coptic words in the Hebrew Pentateuch. That this or one of its dialects is the language of the hieroglyphic inscriptions from the age of Joseph and Osirtesen until that of Constantine, subject however to the variations and corruptions of ages, which might give to the primitive and latter Coptic the appearance of different languages, may perhaps yet be proved from the nearly unbroken chain of inscriptions which connects the age of the original Pentateuch with that of the Coptic versions of the Old and New Testaments. These, according to Mr. Tattam, "were among the most early translations" of the Scriptures, and "are supposed to have been made about the second century." Dr. Hincks, in his Treatise on the Enchorial Language of Egypt, would appear to lower them to "the third and fourth centuries,"—still in connexion with the age of hieroglyphics. M. Klaproth (*Examen*, p. 16.) requires a Coptic glossary of the age of Sesostris to justify Champollion's application of that language as at present known, to the interpretation of the early inscriptions. We have however both the inscriptions and the contemporary glossary of the Roman age, at the termination of a nearly unbroken series of Egyptian literature. To the Roman hieroglyphic inscriptions the attention of the learned should therefore be mainly directed, and much more than has hitherto been the case. It is these that must decide whether the Coptic be the language of hieroglyphics or not; and if the affirmative can be proved, we may then hope to trace the changes of the language through the ages of the Greeks and Persians, up to that of the Pharaohs.[15] For we can hardly admit with Signor

[15] This course would appear to have already suggested itself to a learned member of the Royal Society of Literature, Mr. Belfour. It is understood that, aided by the Coptic version of the Bible, this gentleman finds little comparative difficulty in decyphering the inscriptions of the Roman age; that the difficulties increase with the Ptolemaic monuments, and become nearly although not wholly insurmountable in reference to those of the ancient Pharaohs. This is precisely what might be expected, and is analogous with what is experienced in tracing the language of our nation upwards to the age of the Saxons. A collation of inscriptions of the times of the Pharaohs, Ptolemies, and Cæsars, would be of great utility. It would determine whether the combinations have varied, and whether the characters have been increased in number. We know that the *use* of vowels progressively increases in

Jannelli, that because the Egyptian may have undergone essential variations between the time of the fifth Ptolemy (Epiphanes) and the fifth century of Christianity, the popular language of the twelfth century B. C. must be irreparably lost.

It is certain that no other known language possesses equal claims with the Coptic, in its original state, to be viewed as the language of hieroglyphics. The grammatical affinities (if such they may be called) in the use of particles, &c. are indisputable. "The Coptic is," besides, if Dr. Murray is right, "an original tongue, for it derives all its indeclinable words and particles from radicals pertaining to itself," and "its verbs are derived from its own resources." On the whole, therefore, it seems clear, that it is here, and not in the Hebrew, Signor Jannelli should have sought for the synonyms and homophones necessary to make out an interpreting system.

That the Coptic, which is here admitted to have been the national language of Egypt, was co-extensive in territory with the hieroglyphic inscriptions, may also be proved from Signor Jannelli's own definitions, aided by history and the monuments.

The limits of the former were, he contends, from Tanis on the north, to Syene on the south; whereas the latter extended from Tanis southwards to Meroë, the metropolis of Ethiopia, a Semitic territory, in which a Semitic language was spoken. We know that the works of the same Egyptian monarchs line the banks of the Nile from Tanis to Meroë. This would be evident from the identity of the leading hieroglyphics, more particularly the nominal and prenominal ovals, though the names were as much enveloped in mystery as in the days of Kircher, and though we still had no better title for the Ellipses of Ramses the Great than that of "Mophthamendesian tablets." We must therefore admit that, whether the language was Coptic or Ethiopic, the same tongue was spoken by the dominant race throughout this territory.

In agreement with this, Philostratus assures us (lib. III. c. vi.) that Meroë, with both cataracts, was formerly within the limits of Egypt, which included "the fountains as well as the mouths of the Nile;" and, that the

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the phonetic names of the Ptolemies, and becomes still more extended in the names and titles of the Cæsars; while the names of the ancient Pharaohs offer little more than consonants, or, more probably, syllabic intonations.

African Ethiopians were an Asiatic colony which settled in that country long after the foundation of the monarchy, is testified by the same writer, and by Eusebius and Syncellus on the authority of the Egyptian historian Manetho, in agreement with the Asiatic origin of the Ethiopians asserted by the undeviating voice of antiquity. It follows, that there exists no territorial obstacle to the co-extensiveness of the Coptic and hieroglyphic languages. That the governing caste and language were Semitic, is an assumption incapable of historical support, and directly opposed to the evidence of the only account of the origin of nations which is consistent, and contemporary with the events recorded, even did it possess no higher claims to our respect.

Let us conclude the present section by noticing the grand historical causes of change or corruption in the primitive language of Egypt. The first, and probably the most permanent in its effects, was the conquest and extirpating occupation of the country, during two or three centuries, by the Shepherds called Hycsos in Egyptian history. The second *may* have been the settlement of the family of Jacob, and its growth from a few individuals to a nation as numerous as the Egyptians, in the progress of which the language of the former was, however, far more likely to have been modified by that of the latter than *vice versa*. The originality and purity of the Hebrew nevertheless determine that such was not the case; and that the Hebrew should remain unchanged while giving its impress to the Egyptian, is too paradoxical a supposition to admit. It was then, as it continues to be, the *sacred language* of the Jews, who may have used that of the country of their adoption for the common purposes of life,[16] as in after ages at Babylon, in Phœnicia, and in every country throughout which their tribes have been dispersed. The Ethiopian conquest in the eighth century B. C. may have been another cause of change. The effects of this were however, like the Ethiopian dominion, probably but transitory. The Persian, Greek, and Roman dominations, which soon followed in succession, were more permanent; and the seven or eight centuries which connect

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[16] This is however but a possible case in reference to Egypt, where the Israelites, from Pharaoh's grant of the country of Goshen to Jacob, until their departure under Moses, formed a totally distinct nation from the Egyptians (Gen. xlvii. 1. 4. 6. 11. 27. Exod. viii. 22. ix. 4. 26. x. 23. xii. 37.); so that the necessity which forces on changes of language had here no existence.

the first Persian conquest with the age of the close of hieroglyphic literature, and of the Coptic translations of the Scriptures, may therefore perhaps be looked upon as the grand period of corruption in the language of Egypt, as it existed on the expulsion of the Shepherds,—an epoch which must have preceded the existing series of hieroglyphic monuments, if we may rely on Manetho's account of these enemies to the religion and institutions of the Egyptians, as quoted by Josephus, *contra Apion*, l. i. Anc. Frag. p. 170. That the Hycsos were a Japhetian race, and that their occupation of Egypt happened between the times of Abraham and Jacob, was in some measure proved from history and the monuments, in my memoir "On the temple of Ammon," which was read before the Royal Society of Literature in March, 1833. Whatever therefore was the dialect spoken in Egypt in the days of Abraham, and whether or not that Patriarch and the reigning Pharaoh were intelligible to each other, as has been inferred on mere conjecture from Gen. xii. 18, 19, it appears probable that the first great leading modification of the language occurred between that date and the time of Joseph's administration. Its original character may then have been in a great degree lost; and hence the Coptic seems to stand, as it were, alone among the languages of the world. "The remains," observes Mr. Tattam, "which we possess of the Egyptian language, when separated from the Greek, with which it is in some measure mixed up, have no *near* resemblance to any one of the ancient or modern languages." To the age in question we must, as above, refer the earliest of the series of hieroglyphic monuments; and accordingly, to the end of the nineteenth century B. C., or "fifteen years before the reign of Phoroneus," king of Argos, the commencement of the hieroglyphic records is fixed by Anticlides, cited in Pliny, Hist. Nat. l. vii. c. 56, being the clearest historical testimony which bears directly on the subject. We may hence perhaps reasonably conclude that the language perpetuated in the inscriptions, from the expulsion of the Shepherds till the Persian conquest, a period of at least 1200 years, is in its general character the mixed Scytho-Egyptian, analogous to our own Anglo-Norman; and that this descended through the Persian, Grecian, and Roman ages, till it settled into the mongrel Coptic tongue, distinct alike from the languages of Asia and Europe, yet perhaps equally connected with both.[17]

[17] The results of M. Klaproth's philological inquiries fall in with the views here thrown

IX. The *Γραμματα—λεγοντα ταδε* of Herodotus (ii. 106.), the "patrium sermonem" of Tacitus, the "magicas linguas" of Lucan, are all expressions far too general to be adduced in support of any system, and, it will be admitted, are as applicable to one as to another; while the "verba compendiosa" of Apuleius, and the "singulæ literæ singulis nominibus serviebant, et verbis nonnunquam significant integros sensus" of Ammianus, if these expressions possess any definite meaning, can bear only on the ideographic class of hieroglyphics, in which a single figure may express a name, or an idea embodying several words,—a more compendious method of expression, it will be agreed, than Signor Jannelli's homophonous groups, independently of its conformity with the evidence of Sanchoniatho, Clemens, and Porphyry. The words cited from Herodotus merely refer to the sense of an inscription of Sesostris, in the Greek; and those from Tacitus, to the Egyptian language of the inscriptions of King Rhamses, as interpreted to Germanicus. It will be agreed that neither passage throws the smallest light on the original tongue.

X. and XI. The passage quoted from Diodorus in the former (X.) manifestly describes the tropic or metaphoric class of Clemens quoted in the latter (XI.); and this, which, of all the branches of hieroglyphic writing, is least understood, and admits the widest scope for conjecture, is the only one which can be forced into the slightest analogy with Signor Jannelli's lexeographic synonyms, the sense in both cases depending on the peculiar grouping of the characters. The theory, even if admitted in the face of all the obstacles which oppose themselves to its application, would thus become but a single branch of the general system which it is intended to engross to the exclusion of every other class of hieroglyphics, and to the rejection of facts and principles both known and recorded. The learned writer endeavours to support this his last hope, by additional examples from the Hebrew homophones, already sufficiently exploded. It is however manifest that the tropes, metaphors, and anaglyphs of Diodorus and Clemens cannot bear any relation to a method founded, not on the abstract analogies, but on what is assumed to be the positive sense of the hieroglyphic groups.

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out. He has, observes Mr. Tattam, "pointed out the resemblance of a considerable number of Coptic words to some in the dialects of *the North of Asia* and *the North of Europe*: this discovery appears to have raised a doubt in his mind of the African origin of the Egyptians."

XII. That the study of the Chinese writings is likely to assist in that of the Egyptian, seems more than probable; not, however, from the analogy of matured systems which have been for thousands of years disconnected, as already noticed, but rather, by analysing the Chinese characters, and resolving them into the original common hieroglyphics or representations of sensible objects; for such, to adopt the language of Dr. Young, "the hieroglyphics of Egypt, as well as of China, appear clearly to have been at first," although, "in the course of ages, the resemblance seems to have been forgotten in both countries, and imitations of the imitations only were employed, sometimes for denoting the same objects, and sometimes for expressing either the whole or a part only of the sounds of the names which were applied to them:" and assistance may probably be derived from comparing the Chinese radical syllabary with the analogous Egyptian phonetic syllabary, formerly hinted at.

It may be worth while here to adduce a curious instance of the former, which has occurred during the present investigation. Among the examples adduced by Dr. Morrison, of the original hieroglyphics to which the present Chinese characters may be traced, are the following:

1. ⊙ The sun,
2. ☽ The moon,
3. A hill,
4. A horse,
5. An eye,

} now written { 日 月 山 馬 目

The first are Egyptian hieroglyphics of common occurrence, with little or no variation,—1. ⊙; 2. ; 3. ; 4. ; 5. : and that for a horse (being the 187th Chinese key or radical character) may assist us to the meaning of a symbol about which hierographers are not agreed, , which frequently occurs in the royal Egyptian prefixes, and is the principal character of the first group, to which M. Klaproth has directed his remarks in refutation of Champollion's method of interpreting the symbolic class of hieroglyphics.

Kircher took this character for a Nilometer; Dr. Young for the figure of a river, representing the Nile. It has likewise been called a hammer, and an embalming instrument. Champollion explains it by the Greek word εδοκιμασεν, in the phrase ον ο Ηφαιστος εδοκιμασεν, "*whom Phtha approves*," of the tablet of Rosetta, in which, however, this hieroglyphic symbol, if it

ever had a place, no longer exists.[18] He has therefore rendered the prenomen of Ramses the Great, in which this sign appears with well-known hieroglyphics, and is followed by Rosellini. Elsewhere M. Champollion translates the disputed character *choisé, éprouvé, chéri, distingué.* The learned Dr. Hincks, speaking of Hermapion's translation of the obelisk of Ramses, remarks that "ου Ηλιος προεκρινεν, '*whom the Sun has chosen,*' is plainly ." All these explanations being in part conjectural, they hence do not exclude any new illustration.

"*The Sun, the guardian of truth, approved of Phre;*"

If, however, represents *a horse,* as with the ancient Chinese, then the is undoubtedly the *bit,* implying *rule* or *power;* and the meaning of the group might be literally rendered by the Greek word ιπποδαμοιος, and that of the entire group by Ηλιος ιπποδαμοιος, as the Εκτωρ ιπποδαμοιος of Homer, and the *Messapus domitor equum* of Virgil. The whole title in the prefix would then be equivalent to that applied to probably the same Ramses, in Hermapion's version of one of his obelisks, (Σ'τ. *B.*), Απολλων κρατερος ο εστως επ' Αληθειας δεσποτης διαδηματος, Ammian. l. xvii. "Apollo the mighty, who is in Truth appointed the lord of the diadem," or, if, on the supposition of a slight mistake in the Greek translation, we prefer a meaning more in keeping with the inscriptions, and with common sense,

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[18] The expression in question is found near the commencement of the Greek version of the inscription, the hieroglyphic version of which part is lost. I must in candor admit that, on examination subsequently to the composition of the present paper, the words of this title, together with several expressions connected with it, would appear to be translated from the hieroglyphic prænomina of Ptolemy Epiphanes, in which the disputed character is found in connection with the name of the god Phtha or Hephæstus, although not among the remaining hieroglyphics of the pillar of Rosetta. It being, however, otherwise a confessedly mysterious and unexplained character, I leave the Chinese illustration, as it is at least curious, and may, together with Hermapion's apparent translation, help us to determine the reason of the Rosetta version of the symbol. For, "to be approved" of the gods, as the latter has it, and to be "mighty," "powerful," "strong," "courageous," as the former, were in the heathen world nearly synonymous terms; while ιπποδαμοιος, the equivalent for κρατερος, supplied by the Chinese hieroglyphics, seems to go at once to the root of the symbol. The converse of the language of heathenism, to be found in Ps. cxlvii. 10.,—"He delighteth not in the strength of the horse, he taketh not pleasure in the legs of a man,"—farther enforces this illustration: and no judicious critic will despise that which gives a result, in inquiries like the present.

"Apollo the mighty, who is appointed the lord of the diadem of (or the guardian of) Truth."

In the variations of the prefix of Ramses in the tablet of Abydos and elsewhere, the unexplained sign —𓎛— is found to replace the former group; and in this we may probably recognize the dominant symbol, the *bit*, which will therefore of itself stand for ιπποδαμοιος or κρατερος: and this may aid in reconciling the variations of the prefix of Ramses, from which Champollion and Rosellini have made two monarchs, contrary to the evidence of the hieroglyphic tablets.

I must not however trespass on the Society's attention by enlargement on merely incidental illustrations; and it will probably be agreed that the investigation has been already pursued far enough, without following up Signor Jannelli's illustrations deduced from the Chinese system, which being, if I rightly apprehend them, to be understood in the light of analogies with reference to his theory of Hebræo-Egyptian radicals, the utility of the former must be measured by the *quantum* of validity inherent in the latter. On this, it is hoped that the present *seriatim*, although far from perfect, analysis, may enable the reader to arrive at an unprejudiced decision; and it will perhaps be admitted that the majority of inquirers are likely to prefer a system founded on the evidence of the senses, and the testimony of the ancients, confirmed by the results of fifteen years' experience, rather than one, however ingeniously constructed, and learnedly supported, which rejects all these, and sets out on principles which belong to another age, and to the general rejection of which in almost every branch of scientific inquiry, the advancement of knowledge in the present age is mainly attributable. That useful elucidations of the established mode of hieroglyphic interpretation may nevertheless result from the study of Signor Jannelli's extensive researches, to those who may be disposed to undertake that labour, has, it is hoped, been manifested in the present attempt to expound them;—an attempt, which owes much more to the goodness of the cause defended, than to either the learning or the ability which the writer has been enabled to bring into the field to cope with the difficulties of this new system.

I. CULLIMORE.

May 14, 1834.

III. *Letter to W. R. Hamilton, Esq. on the Saxon Names of Places.*

By Sir Thomas Phillipps, Bart.

Read June 11th, 1834.

Dear Sir,

One of the objects of our Society being the study of etymology, I hope the following observations will not be inconsistent with its views, particularly as they may perhaps tend to throw light upon that dark period of our history, the Saxon era.

It has often surprised me that no one has devoted himself to the investigation of the origin of the names of places in this island. We see occasionally, among writers of County Histories, and others, the most absurd conjectures as to those etymologies, ascending in fact to the remotest period when language was formed, instead of being satisfied with the second formation of names, which took place after the conquest of the island by the Saxons.

We learn from history how great the slaughter of the Britons and the desolation of the country must have been, by that fine and energetically expressive complaint, which the Britons sent to Rome—"The Barbarians (Picts and Scots) drive us into the sea, and the waves drive us back to the Barbarians." These had not ravaged the country more than two years, when the Saxons, landing as friends at first, soon became the most violent enemies, and completed the destruction of that which had been left undone by the Picts. "*The private and public edifices of the Britons were reduced to ashes*" by them; so that when they had obtained full possession of the country, they must have found that they had destroyed nearly all the wooden towns of the Britons. Being a strange and barbarous army, and most of them, if not all, ignorant of the language of the country they conquered, they would naturally, on rebuilding the towns and villages, give them names from their own language; (as the English and Spaniards have done in America, by rejecting the Indian names of places and giving their own;) and accordingly we find, that very nearly, if not entirely, all the names of places are compounds of Saxon words, and chiefly of the names of persons, probably of those who built them, or in whose memory or

honour they were built. The periods of conferring these names, however, would vary as population increased, and as men of merit or distinction rose up among them.

The following remarks, therefore, are an attempt to show how this is proved by the existing names, corroborated by the acknowledged and well-known customs of those northern nations which conquered Britain.

The first name upon which we shall make observations will be that of Brixton Deverell in Wiltshire. There have been some etymologists so absurd as to suppose, (if we may judge from their other attempts,) that the meaning of this name would be, "A town where the Saxons made bricks!" But even skilful etymologists might be deceived by the modern orthography, for the termination *ton* is properly a town. In this word, however, it has been corrupted, and should be *stan;* and hence arises a question, how many towns are there in England whose terminations have been changed by ignorant writers from *tan* to *ton*, deceived by the similarity of sound, when spoken as the final syllable? The true termination of this word being *stan*, it should therefore be so written. The first syllable has also been corrupted, being written in the Registers of the Bishop of Salisbury, in the 14th century, "Brighteston;" but the Saxon Chronicle gives the true reading, where we find it translated into Latin by *Petra Egbryta*, "the stone of Egbricht;" alluding, I have no doubt, to a monumental pillar erected to the memory of some Egbert, of whose history we have no farther knowledge. These Registers also show that the change from *stan* to *ton* began at an early period.

From this clew, and by this rule, we should search for the orthography of names in the most ancient records that can be found, and consider that orthography as approaching the nearest to the true signification of the word.

The only volume of any authenticity which gives us a general register of the ancient names of places in this kingdom, is that which was compiled upon the change of dynasty from the Saxons to the Normans, which is now called Domesday Book. In this are very numerous instances of the Saxon origin of places, I may say perhaps, of all; for I believe there is not one of Norman origin in it. It must be observed, that William, conquering the country so easily as he did, without destroying a town, could have had no motive for changing the names of places, independently of the difficulty of doing so. Coming into possession of a new country and new language, the

general government of the nation made it absolutely necessary to compile such a work as that of Domesday Book; and the commissioners could do no otherwise than adopt the same names which the inhabitants gave them, which they appear to have been scrupulous in spelling as the Saxons informed them, for I have only observed a very slight variation of a vowel or consonant, where two places of the same name occurred, which was probably done to give a greater certainty of distinction between them; although in many instances they seem to have trusted that the difference of the possessor would form a sufficient distinction. From this volume, therefore, we will endeavour to illustrate the history of those places which have been fortunate in possessing names which give clearer indications of their origin, or of the transactions that took place at or near them; commencing with those which point out the burial places of Saxon kings or nobles, which form the great majority, and which were considered in the Saxon times of sufficient importance to give designations to large tracts of territory. Of these there are five different words, denoting the marks or objects which appear to me to point out such graves; namely, *lau, stan, berie, treo, cross.* Among the most conspicuous of these names with the first termination, are

Oswaldslow, in Worcestershire;
Offelow, in Staffordshire;

and of the third,

Brightwaldes barrow, in Gloucestershire.

These names by themselves sufficiently explain, that in these Hundreds were buried three Saxons of the name of Oswald, Offa, and Brightwald, the termination being well known to signify a tumulus or grave. The discoveries of my much esteemed friend, Sir Richard Hoare, have fully proved the use and origin of such tumuli, and therefore we may fairly interpret the origin of the names of the following hundreds in the same way:—

Tamenaslau,	the grave of Tamena,	in Staffordshire.
Bernesedelau,	— ——— — Beornesede,	— Nottinghamshire.
Blachelau,	— ——— — Blache,	— Gloucestershire.
Tremelau,	— ——— — Treme,	— Warwickshire.
Bochelau,	— ——— — Bochi,	— Cheshire.
Patelau,	— ——— — Pate,	— Warwickshire.
Molesoueslau,	— ——— — Molesou,	— Buckinghamshire.
Bliteslau,	— ——— — Blight,	— Gloucestershire.

Belteslau,	the grave of Bald,	in Lincolnshire.
Wimerlau,	— ——— — Wimar,	— Northamptonshire.
Tateslau,	— ——— — Tata,	— Staffordshire.
Aluratslau,	— ——— — Alured,	— Northamptonshire.
Bernedlau,	— ——— — Beornhed,	— Nottinghamshire.
Hilleslau,	— ——— — Hilla,	— Berkshire.
Trepeslau,	— ——— — Treppa,	— Cambridgeshire.
Derunlau,	— ——— — Dering,	— Shropshire.
Botelau,	— ——— — Botta or Bote,	— Gloucestershire.
Dunslau,	— ——— — Dun,	— Wiltshire; with many others.

The second termination, *stan*, has just been proved to be the memorial of a Saxon. Others of a similar nature are the following;—each of them pointing out something relative to the Saxon whose name it bears, and, from our knowledge of the customs of the ancient Danes and Saxons in setting up monumental stones with Runic inscriptions, we are justified in believing such stones to have been once standing in this country, (and some perhaps are so at this day,) in those places which have now received a permanent appellation from them: as,

Cudolvestan,	the stone of Cudolf, or Cuthwlf,	in Staffordshire.
Colvestan,	— ——— — Ceowlf, or Colf.	
Guthlacistan,	— ——— — Guthlac,	— Leicesterhire, perhaps St. Guthlac.
Dudestan,	— ——— — Dudda,	— Gloucestershire, probably of Doddo, the founder of Tewkesbury abbey.

Another Dudestan, in Cheshire.

Ennestan,[1]	the stone of Enna,	in Oxfordshire.
Morelestan,	— ——— — Morele,	— Derbyshire.
Colmestan,	— ——— — Ceowhelm, or perhaps Colm.	
Tetbaldestan,	— ——— — Tetbald,	in Gloucestershire.
Brixistan,	— ——— — Brichswi,	— Surrey.
Berricestan,	— ——— — Beorhric,	— Warwickshire.
Willavestan,	— ——— — Wullaf,	— Cheshire.
Edredestane,	— ——— — Edred,	— Gloucestershire.
Tatemanstan,	— ——— — Tateman,	— Staffordshire.
Herstingestan,	— ——— — Hersting,	— Huntingdonshire.
Osulvestan,	— ——— — Osulf,	— Middlesex.
Elboldstan,	— ——— — Ealhbald, or Aldbold,	— Northamptonshire.
Witestan,	— ——— — Wite,	— Gloucestershire.
Achestan,	— ——— — Achi,	— Kent.
Rolvestan,	— ——— — Rolf,	— Wiltshire.
Chenowarestan,	— ——— — Kinware,	— ———

[Of this termination there is a multitude of other instances.]

[1] At Enstone in Oxfordshire, a cromlech is still standing.

The third termination is the word *berie*, in several instances spelt *berg*, in which the *g* is the Saxon soft *g*, and must be pronounced like *y*, as it was formerly in the word *gate*, which was written *gate*, but pronounced *yate;* and that the *g* should be soft, we have another example in *lege*, which should be pronounced *leye*, as Farlege, Foxelege, &c. in Domesday, are now pronounced and written Farley, Foxley, &c. And here I must observe that there is a difference between the mode of spelling this word in Domesday, and the word signifying a town, which is *burc; berg* never I think expressing a town, but a hill, as it does at this day in Germany, and therefore applied to a tumulus, or burial place, which consists of a small artificial hill; and that this word has been corrupted into the word Barrow, seems to me to be proved by the Brichtwoldsberg of Domesday, in Gloucestershire, being now pronounced and written Brightwell's Barrow. With this introductory observation, I now give a list of places where Saxons may be presumed to have been buried :—

Havochesberie,	in Sussex,	the burial place of Havoche.
Sarisberie,	— Wiltshire,	— ——— — Saric.
Salemansberie,	— Gloucestershire,	— ——— — Saleman.
Fissesberie,	— Wigorn,	— ——— — Fisc.
Begeberie,	— Gloucestershire,	— ——— — Bega.
Alwardberie,	— Wiltshire,	— ——— — Alward.
Malgaresberie,	— Gloucestershire,	— ——— — Malgare.
Ambresberie,	— Wiltshire,	— ——— — Amrys or Ambrose.
Cheneteberie,	— Berkshire,	— ——— — Chenete.
Blitberie,	— —— ——	— ——— — Blight.
Elesberie,	— Buckinghamshire,	— ——— — Ella.
Borcheldeberie,	— Berkshire,	— ——— — Burghildis or Burcheld.
Langeberge,	— Yorkshire,	— ——— — Lange.
Gisleberg,	— Northamptonshire,	— ——— — Gisil.
Boseberge,	— Hampshire,	— ——— — Boso.
Brictwaldsberg,	— Gloucestershire,	— ——— — Brichtwald.
Honesberie,	— Warwickshire,	— ——— — Hone.
Suaneberge,	— Wiltshire,	— ——— — Suane.
Ramesberie,	— ———	— ——— — Rame.
Brenchésberie,	— ———	— ——— — Brenche.
Malmsberie,	— ———	— ——— — Molmud. [?]
Bedeberie,	— Dorsetshire,	— ——— — Beda.
Celeberg,	— ———	— ——— — Cele.
Langeberge,	— ———	— ——— — Lange.
Hunesberge,	— ———	— ——— — Hune.
Simondesberga,	— ———	— ——— — Simond.

Segesberewe,	in Worcestershire,	the burial place of Segga.
Crookberewe,	— ———	— ——— — Croc.[1]

A fourth mode of pointing out the Saxon graves was (as I am strongly inclined to believe) by planting trees over them. I think instances have been known (but I cannot remember any precise fact) of skeletons having been found under the roots of trees. It appears to me that this is the cause of persons' names being given to trees, and this will account for such trees being of sufficient importance to give names to hundreds and towns, when they grew over the remains of persons of consequence.

Instances of trees being consecrated to particular persons are found in the following names :—

Edwinestreu,	Hertfordshire,	the tree of Edwin.
Witentreu,	Shropshire,	— — — White.
Geretreu,	Leicestershire,	— — — Geri.
Dodingtreu,	Wigorn,	— — — Doddo or Doding.
Gerlestre,	Yorkshire,	— — — Gherli.
Elnodstreu,	Shropshire,	— — — Elnod.[2]
Waldelmestrei,	Sussex,	— — — Waldhelm.
Wimundestreu,	Herefordshire,	— — — Wimund.
Langetreu,	Gloucestershire,	— — — Lange.
Bernintreu,	———	— — — Beorhning. [?]
Helmestrei,	———	— — — Helme.
Colestreu,	Northamptonshire,	— — — Cole.
Ghidenetrai,	Sussex,	— — — Ghida.
Tragetreu,	Herefordshire,	— — — Trec or Trage.
Tollentreu,	Kent,	— — — Toli.
Cuferdestreu,	Dorsetshire,	— — — Cuferth.

In some instances the particular kind of tree is specified : as,

Bremesesse,	Herefordshire,	Breme's ash.
Cutesthorne,	——— ———	Cute's thorn.
Helethorne,	Middlesex,	Hella's thorn.

Fifthly. The termination *cross* appears to be a funeral memorial after the introduction of Christianity, such having been used from the earliest times as memorials of persons dying in the faith of Christ. But it is remarkable that there are only two hundreds with this word attached,

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[1] A very large tumulus still exists here, called Crookbarrow.

[2] This is printed Elnoel in the published Domesday, but I think it should be Elnod.

namely, Osgot Cross in Yorkshire, the cross of Osgod; Sneculf Cross, also in Yorkshire, the cross of Sneculf.

Sixthly. We find frequently the termination *lei* in names of places, which I suspect is nothing more than the word *lau*, perhaps in the plural number, perhaps corrupted. In the opinion that it signifies the same as *lau*, I am confirmed by finding *lau* written sometimes *leu*, and that Coteslai, in Buckinghamshire, is now written Coteslow, which latter fact appears to me to establish the identity of the meaning of the two terminations. I am also inclined to think that there was some connection originally between the old Saxon word *lau* or *lai*, signifying a grave,. and our modern expression of "*laying* out a corpse." The barrow called Silbury Hill, in Wiltshire, I deem to have been either Sutelesberge or Selcheberge, as it is situated in Selchelai hundred, which, I think, must have been the orthography of the present Selkley at the time of the Domesday compilation.

The following then are some of the names which, according to the above theory and argument, mark out burial places by the termination *lai* or *lei*:—

Coteslai or Cotslow,	in Buckinghamshire,	the grave of Cote.
Rovelai,	———————	— —— — Rolf. [?]
Sigelai,	———————	— —— — Sigga.
Baldeslei,	— Sussex,	— —— — Bald.
Weneslei,	— Bedfordshire,	— —— — Wine or Wenes.
Martineslei,	— Rutlandshire,	— —— — Martin.
Cillei,	— Hampshire,	— —— — Cilla.

Besides these, there are many places, the names of which mark the residences of Saxons while living, such as those ending in *thorp*, *hou*, *stou*, *bi*, *stoche*, &c. some of which also point out even the difference of the nations which settled in those parts of the island where such terminations are common. For instance, *bi*, *hou*,[1] and *torp*, are scarcely ever found in the west or south sides of the island, but always in the east, where they are nume-

[1] Mr. Gage, the historian of Hengrave, informs me that he considers *hoo*, or *howe*, to have signified *a burial place*.

rous, clearly marking a difference in the race of men which colonized that quarter.

These observations might be extended to a great length; but I shall be satisfied if the present hints should induce my more learned fellow-members, such as Mr. Sharon Turner, to bring their more critical acumen and greater intelligence to bear upon this point, being convinced that, in more able hands, such an investigation will tend to throw considerable light upon the existence of persons and of customs in that dark period of our history, the reign of the Saxons.

I am, my dear sir,

Very truly yours,

THOMAS PHILLIPPS.

Middle Hill, June 6, 1834.

Royal Society of Literature.

To WM. HAMILTON, ESQ.

IV. *Notice of some curious Remains of Antiquity in the Vicinity of Beyrout. With Plates.*[1] By Joseph Bonomi, Esq.

Read June 25th, 1834.

Nahr Alkelb, the ancient Lycus, is situated about two hours north-east of Beyrout. The rocks that sustain the road south of the river preserve the remains of ten monuments, of great interest and of various epochæ. The most ancient, but unfortunately the most corroded, are three Egyptian tablets: on them may be traced the name of Ramses, to which period any connoisseur in Egyptian art would have attributed them, if even the evidence of the name had been wanting, from the beautiful proportion of the tablet and its cavetto moulding.

The next in antiquity, also of great interest, are five Chaldæan tablets, four of which are not less effaced than their more ancient companions; but the highest one is as perfect as the least ancient monument this interesting spot affords, owing perhaps to its being more out of the reach of the spray of the sea, and farthest from the present road: it represents the figure of a man in the long dress of the eastern nations, with a large beard curiously plaited, holding in his right-hand something like a fan, and in his left a stick. Nearly the whole of the background and dress of the figure is covered with the arrow-headed character, which is in many places perfectly well preserved.

The next piece of antiquity is on the present road. It is a Latin inscription inclosed in a tablet bearing the name of Marcus Aurelius.[2] The word LYCO shows that this river has other claims to its modern name كلب *Kelb*, (dog,) than the fanciful Arab tradition would give it.[3]

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[1] See Plates I and II.

[2] A cast of this monument, made by the writer, has been presented to the British Museum.

[3] The Arabs show a rock in the sea, just under the road, which they say is the statue of a dog; there is also a kind of pedestal on the road, to which, they assert, the dog was chained: they show even the hole through which the chain passed.

The last and least ancient monument is a long Arabic inscription, cut in relievo on the rock close to the ground. From the style of the letters, it might be attributed to the fourteenth century, the time of Omar.

The hieroglyphical tablets have been protected by a kind of folding-door, the holes for the hinges of which still remain. This circumstance is not at all incompatible with the stupendous works of the Egyptians, which seem to have been designed to resist the ravages of time, and to record to posterity the glorious deeds of their kings and heroes. Another circumstance, which may perhaps throw some light on the nature of these inscriptions, is, that the Egyptian and Chaldæan tablets are always together. From the first group, which is on the present road, you ascend out of the path to the second, which has also its accompanying Chaldæan figure; and, still higher, are two more. These last are far above the modern road; but from the appearance of the rocks, and the wide flat space about them, it may be concluded that the Egyptian conqueror had cut his path over the mountain in this place, which was afterwards traversed by the Chaldæan hero who took the Jews into captivity. This Akaba, or mountain-road, may easily be supposed to have become impassable during the period of five hundred and fifty years, about which time Marcus Aurelius found it expedient to make the present pass, which has since been repaired by the descendant of the Prophet; and to record which, the large, now illegible, Arabic inscription may have been engraved.

The accompanying drawings, it is hoped, will be sufficient to convey an idea of the subjects and the hieroglyphics that remain: they serve also to show the relative situation of the Egyptian and Chaldæan tablets, which is in some measure interesting; for it will be evident that the Chaldæan sculptor has taken advantage of the rock prepared by the Egyptian, who had already occupied the soundest and best part of it in the execution of his subject.

JOSEPH BONOMI.

Beyrout, Jan. 6, 1834.

Appendix to the Notice of some Remains of Antiquity at Nahr Alkelb.

The subjects of the Egyptian tablets appear very similar. In the first, the king is represented holding in his right hand the collected hair of his victims, while his left is extended to sacrifice the enemies of his country to the deity; which, in this instance, is the god Ptha.

In the second tablet, the king is represented bringing his prisoners to the hawk-headed deity; and in the third, he is in the usual position, about to strike off the united heads in the presence of the god Ammon Ra.[1]

This is one of the most usual compositions that adorn the propyla of Egyptian temples; and, when it occurs in that situation, the subject being repeated on either side the entrance which the figure of the king always faces, he is necessarily made to use his left hand in the subject on the right wing of the propylon. This defect is curiously enough remedied by representing the back of the hand of the raised arm as if it were the right extremity; but it appears it was considered essential to keep up the uniformity of the composition, and certain other laws seem to have influenced the Egyptian artists, so that these defects (in modern estimation) were overlooked.

All the Egyptian tablets of Nahr Alkelb have had several horizontal lines of hieroglyphics under the sculptural composition: in the most perfect one, eleven lines may be counted, and in one part some hieroglyphics are legible; the others, although illegible, are sufficiently distinct to enable a person, accustomed to hieroglyphical inscriptions, to determine that they were also read from left to right. It may be worthy of remark, that in all the Chaldæan tablets the figure faces the left; they are met, as it were, in going from Nahr Alkelb to Beyrout, or in coming from the East: this circumstance, with regard to the Chaldæan figures, may have some allusion to the worship of the Sun; but with respect to the Egyptian, it may probably signify that these monuments record conquests made in that quarter, or that they were erected on the return of the victorious army.

The hieroglyphics and sculptural representations of the Egyptian tablets are in the usual *incavo* style, to which may be attributed in a great measure their distinctness at this remote period. In the Arabic inscription the letters are in *relievo*, and are now illegible.

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[1] See Herodotus, ii. 102.

V. *Notes on a Roman Villa on the Coast of Naples, near the Hill of Pausilippo. With Plates.*[1] By W. R. Hamilton, Esq.

Read November 19, 1834.

During my residence in Naples, between the years 1822 and 1825, I was one morning examining the shores of the bay, under the hill of Pausilippo, between the shore of the Villa Gerace and what is called the Scoglio di Virgilio. My attention was suddenly arrested by a large and lofty edifice, apparently uninhabited, having the form and character of a considerable villa: it was close to the water's edge, and on that side indeed only accessible in a boat. On a nearer approach, I observed that the outward walls of this building presented a surface of masonry in what is commonly called *opus reticulatum*, and which, from its only being in use in the times of the Romans, serves in various parts of Italy at once to designate the antiquity of the walls of towns, citadels, baths, tombs, aqueducts, terraces, and other remains of a period, the extreme points of which are generally considered as the first century before, and the third or fourth century after the Christian era. Never having heard of such a monument of Imperial Rome existing on this part of the coast, although it abounds with smaller remains of the same time and of similar construction, I made my way into the building, and, to my surprise, found that it bore very strong marks of an antiquity of at least seventeen or eighteen centuries. It consisted of three stories: the masonry, as above mentioned, was visible in parts even of the third story; and the whole presented the character of what we may suppose to have been a Roman marine villa. The rock on which it had been built extended to some distance beyond the water's edge; and here it had evidently been excavated under water, so as to form a sort of square port, and thus to admit of the approach of boats to a kind of terrace, or landing-place upon the rock, close under the walls of the house; and here was the principal entrance into the house. A passage running through the building from the water-front to the land-

[1] See Plates III, IV, V, and VI.

front separated the chambers on each side of it, resembling those of a building of more recent times; but these chambers, all built of the *opus reticulatum*, were formed on arched substructions, beneath which the sea-water had thus free passages, one of them larger than the others, which still admits of a boat going right through the whole way under the house to a bath and garden at the other, or land-front. The ceilings also of the chambers had been covered with slabs probably of marble; but these had been all carefully detached from the cement in which they had been imbedded, and removed. The staircase leading to the top of the house was on the outside, and the steps composed of a hard artificial stone or mastic. The accompanying sketches and drawings by Mr. Sidney Smirke, which were made some few years after my observations on the building had attracted the notice of the Neapolitans themselves, and of curious travellers, will give a clear idea of the details of the several parts of the building.

Upon the whole, there can be little doubt, that this is one of the very few, if not the only one, which remains of the houses or villas of the ancient Romans within the limits of the date before noticed,—that is, the first, second, or third centuries of our era. We must except, of course, from this statement the houses of Pompeii and Herculaneum, where the whole houses and streets have been preserved by being buried under the superincumbent mass of volcanic materiel. But the building now under notice stood alone, close by the water's edge, easily accessible, though by a steep descent on the land side; and it must have been for centuries under the eyes of all who passed by in boats or in ships, entering or leaving the bay, in their course between Naples and the islands of Ischia and Procida, and the adjacent coasts; and, surprising to say, the peculiarities of its construction had been unnoticed, until the occasion above alluded to, whether by the natives or by foreigners.

The annexed notes on this singular building have also been kindly communicated to me by Mr. S. Smirke. They will serve to explain the peculiar character of its construction, and they point out with much tact and ingenuity what parts of it are ancient, or, at least, exactly similar to ancient buildings, and what are decidedly modern; for it is evident that the house has been inhabited during the greater part of the period, whatever it may be, which has elapsed since its construction; and that it has undergone many alterations.

NOTES BY S. SMIRKE, ESQ.

ROMAN VILLA (PAUSILIPPO, NEAR NAPLES).

This building is of rough stone-work, with some parts of the exterior and most of the interior in reticulated work: the stones are 4½ inches square, and average from nine to thirteen inches long. Some large patches of plaster exist on the upper part of the walls, but these are, in all probability, recent. The height of the house from the sea may be about forty feet. The roofs are flat, covered with a strong coarse cement; and so shaped as to form a current towards a deep gutter. There is but one flue in the house, and this one appears of modern construction, from the clumsy manner in which it is let into the inner side of the wall. The space *C* on the plan, plate III. No. 3, seems to have been a cistern for holding rain-water, and there are two pipes that appear to have led to it. On the other side of the house, the waste water is carried into a cesspool a little removed from the building, and domed over. The sea passes under the whole building into a vaulted subterranean story, and reaches under the back garden to the baths, from which there is access to the sea. There seems to have been a terrace, arching over the sea in front, and on a level with the ground-floor. The original manner of lighting the ground-floor rooms is very indistinct, for the present windows are very much like subsequent works; indeed, there are many symptoms of the original work having been much changed: at some of the doors, for instance, on the ground-floor, is this, where the semicircular original arch is

nearly cut through, to form the camber-head. The door at the farther end of the entrance-hall is now blocked up, but it formerly led to the garden at the back and to the baths. The staircase on the left was not roofed over, as the means are provided for carrying rain-water from the top landing, which, having a low parapet, became a sort of terrace, two steps lower than the large terrace at the back of the house. On the upper story, there is much that is modern: the plastering is obviously so, as well as the groined soffites, &c.

On the right of the building, facing the sea, is a large subterranean vaulted chamber adjoining the house, with an elliptical arched ceiling. At the farther end is some brickwork, which seems to be two ovens; but from the perfect state of part of them, it is improbable that they are ancient. At the corner of this building, at the end next the house, is a large flue, now blocked up with rubbish; but there are traces of its having been continued up the side of the house; it was probably an earthen flue let into the wall. There is no where any symptom of the original mode of ornamenting the outside or inside of the house. The walls within are every where lined with reticulated work, except at the angles, and at the openings; the ceilings are all semicircular vaults, constructed with small pieces of stone set in strong mortar. In general, the work is done in a manner very little differing from that now in use in Italy. The staircase is exactly like a modern one. The rain-water pipes are placed just as at present. Even the arches are done in the same careless way, trusting entirely to the great strength of the mortar. [N. B. The same may be observed at Pompeii.]

The reticulated work is exactly similar to that seen in the other ancient buildings here: for instance, the chamber called Virgil's Tomb, on the hill above the entrance from Naples into the great subterranean passage or tunnel cut through the hill of Pausilippo by Lucullus or Cocceius, in the century before the Christian æra. It is done with tufo squared at one end, (see plate VI.) and left wedge-shaped and rough at the other, thus . These form the face of the wall; the interior being filled up with irregular pieces of stone, cemented together by very strong mortar. The rain-water pipes have been shaped like those now in use, and are like those seen in many Roman ruins; the baths of Caracalla, for example. It seems likely that, in the lower rooms at least, the walls were not covered with cement, from the very neat manner in which the work is executed.

This mode of construction is thus described by Vitruvius and by Pliny:

De generibus structuræ, et earum qualitatibus, modis, ac locis. Vitr. l. ii. c. 8.

"Structurarum genera sunt hæc: reticulatum, quo nunc omnes utuntur,[1] et antiquum, quod incertum dicitur. Ex his venustius est reticulatum, sed ad rimas faciendas ideo paratum quod in omnes partes dissoluta habet cubicula et coagmenta. Incerta vero cæmenta alia super alia sedentia, inter seque imbricata, non speciosam, sed firmiorem quam reticulata, præstant structuram. Utraque autem ex minutissimis sunt instruenda, uti materia ex calce et arena crebriter parietes satiati diutius contineantur. Molli enim et rara potestate cum sint, exsiccant sugendo e materia succum: cum autem superarit et abundarit copia calcis et arenæ, paries plus habens humoris, non cito fiet evanidus, sed ab his continebitur. Simul autem humida potestas e materia per cæmentorum raritatem fuerit exsucta, tunc calx ab arena discedens dissolvitur; itemque cæmenta non possunt cum his cohærescere, sed in vetustatem parietes efficiunt ruinosos. Id autem licet animadvertere etiam de nonnullis monumentis, quæ circa urbem facta sunt e marmore seu lapidibus quadratis, intrinsecusque medio calcata farcturis vetustate evanida facta materia, cæmentorumque exsucta raritate proruunt, et coagmentorum ab ruina dissolutis juncturis dissipantur."

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[1] *Reticulatum, quo nunc omnes utuntur*] Reticulatum opus dicitur, cum cæmenta non jacentia, sed in latus stantia ponuntur; ea enim structura rete videtur referre: quamvis multo melius, si cæsis fiat lapidibus, ac non potius rudibus et vulgaribus, aut coctilibus laterculis quadratis, sed in angulum stantibus. Cujusmodi Romæ et extra urbem videntur in multis ruinis ex topho, parte tantum quæ extaret, sive tectorio proxima esset, speciosa et quadrata; quæ autem in interiorem structuram videretur, temere et vulgariter ducta aut cæsa. Reticulatum opus Græci δικτυόθετον vocant, ut tradit Plin. toties memorato cap. XXII. sed et illi δικτυωτὰ dicunt retis in modum structa et quasi cancellata, ut hic in mausoleo Augusti, et in vestigiis palatii Pincii senatoris, quod est non ita procul a porta Pinciana, cui olim fuit nomen Collatinæ, videre licet; præterea in monumento Virgilii, quod qui Neapolim petunt, suspicientes dextra vident statim quum cryptam egressi sunt; item in sinu Baiano, in castello aquæ quod Centum Camerellas vocant; in piscina mirabili, ac Cumis et Puteolis; in amphitheatro quod Scholam Virgilii vulgus vocat; in castello aquæ quod Labyrinthum dicunt; ad antrum Sibyllæ prope Avernum lacum, et infinitis aliis locis. Vulgo amygdalatum opus vocatur.

Plin. xxxvi. cap. li.

"Græci e lapide duro aut silice æquato construunt veluti lateritios parietes. Cum ita fecerint, isodomon vocant genus structuræ; at cum inæquali crassitudine structa sunt, pseudisodomon. Tertium est emplecton, tantummodo frontibus politis; reliqua fortuito collocant. Alternas coagmentationes fieri, ut commissuras antecedentium medii lapides obtineant, necessarium est in medio quoque pariete, si res patitur; si minus, utique a lateribus. Medios parietes farcire fractis cæmentis, diamicton vocant. Reticulata structura, qua frequentissime Romæ struunt, rimis opportuna est. Structuram ad normam et libellam fieri, et ad perpendiculum respondere oportet."

The house in its present state belongs to the family of St. Pio,—which being in straitened circumstances, have allowed it to be neglected; and since it has attracted public notice, from being frequently visited by the curious, it seems that it has sustained very considerable damage: accidents too have occurred to visitors, which have called for the interference of the police. I am ignorant of the state in which it is at present; but it is most likely that it will become every year worse than before; and that instead of being preserved, as it has been, by ignorance and want of curiosity, assisted by a belief among the neighbours that it was haunted, it will, in all probability, in the course of a few years, totally disappear.

Although it is not the intention of the writer of this paper to speculate on the former proprietors of the house, it may not be uninteresting to add, that the ground immediately at the back of and above it has long been described as the site of the villa of Pollio; and the piscina, in which he fed his fish, is shown there to visitors. The vineyards in the immediate neighbourhood abound in Roman remains, such as fragments of terraces and pottery, evidently of the same period of time as that which we have ascribed to the house of St. Pio; and there is no improbability in the supposition, that this marine villa really belonged to that illustrious friend of Augustus Cæsar.

VI. *On a New Reading in the Second Book of Thucydides.*

By W. R. Hamilton, Esq.

Read January 7, 1835.

I have the honour to submit to the better judgment of the Royal Society of Literature a new reading in the second book of Thucydides, which is of course not to be found in any of the printed editions of that author, and which, though supported by two manuscripts, has hitherto been rejected by all the commentators and translators of the historian.

In the 41st chapter of that book, in the course of the funeral oration delivered by Pericles over the remains of those of his fellow-citizens who had lost their lives in the battles of their country during the first year of the Peloponnesian war, the orator enlarges upon the glory which Athens had acquired in distant parts of the world, and of the monuments she had every where left of her military achievements. In Dr. Bloomfield's translation this sentiment is thus expressed: "Nor need we either a Homer, or any such panegyrist, who might indeed, for the present, delight by his verses, but any idea of our *actions* thence formed, the actual truth of them might destroy: nay, every sea and every land have we compelled to become accessible to our adventurous courage; and every where have we planted eternal monuments *both of good and evil*"—παντὸς δὲ μνημεῖα κακῶν τε κ' ἀγαθῶν ἀΐδια ξυγκατοικίσαντες.

And the learned translator adds in a note, appended to these last words, "eternal monuments both of good and evil," "i. e. for weal or woe; memorials of the evils we have brought on our enemies, and the good we have done our friends. By the *memorials of evil* are meant trophies erected, cities destroyed, and states subjugated; by those of good are meant (as is suggested by κατοικίσαντες) the *colonies* which were planted in most parts of what the Greeks called *the world*, and by which the blessings of religion, laws, civilization, and acquaintance with the arts and sciences, were carried into barbarous regions."

The very learned Dr. Arnold, to whom we are indebted for an edition of Thucydides, accompanied by most valuable geographical and historical illustrations of the text and sense of Thucydides, passes over this passage

in silence; at least, the few words he says on it do not refer to the subject of this paper.

Now I had long doubted the probability, that Thucydides, on an occasion of this kind, when every thing was to be said in honour of the Athenian arms, could have ventured so to lose sight of the *εὐφημία* prized by his countrymen, as to connect in such juxta-position the two extreme words *κακὰ* and *ἀγαθὰ*, as descriptive of Athenian deeds; the natural meaning of which words would be, "monuments of our misfortunes and our triumphs, —of our good and our bad deeds." This interpretation indeed has been properly rejected, and one which certainly has the merit of being ingenious has been substituted for it; namely, "of the evil we have done to our enemies, and of the good we have done to our friends;"—of the ravages we have committed, and the new states we have set up. But will these two very familiar words, *κακὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ*, even in the sententious Thucydides, admit of such an interpretation? I think not; and the passages which Dr. Bloomfield cites in support of it, certainly fall short of the effect attributed to them. He says, "This passage was frequently imitated by succeeding writers, though not one of the imitations has been brought forward by the commentators." He then selects the following out of many more which he had noted. It seems to me, however, that none of his quotations will bear him out. The first in order of time is from the Agesilaus of Xenophon, c. vi. 2, where we find, *ἀθάνατα μὲν ἑαυτοῦ ἀρετῆς μνημεῖα καταλίπων*: but here is only the statement, that such was the personal valour of Agesilaus, that he left, wherever he fought, immortal monuments of his courage. In Dionysius Halic. Ant. 403—6. we have only *οὐδ' ἄλλο μνημόσυνον οὐδὲν αἰωνίου καταλίποντες ἔχθρος*,—"having left behind us no memorial of eternal hatred:" and the allusion is explained by a commentary the most inappropriate to the argument of Pericles, namely, "as was the custom of nations who are reduced by extreme distress to violate their engagements." The third author cited is Philo-Judæus, who, in 529. A. says, *μνημεῖα καλοκαγαθίας οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν παντα χοῦ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀπέλιπον*: and in 876. F. *κατὰ πόλεις μνημεῖα τῆς αὐτῶν ἀσεβίας καὶ μισανθρωπίας ἀπέλιπον*. Both of these last-cited passages may fairly be considered imitations of that of our author: but the inference is directly against the common reading; for in the first, mention is only made of *καλοκαγαθίας*, i. e., of honourable bravery; and in the other, *ἀσεβία* and *μισανθρωπία* are congenial terms: and I can find no

other passage in any ancient writer where κακὰ and ἀγαθὰ are coupled together in the sense here attributed to them, or indeed in any other. I would therefore propose to read, (instead of κακῶν τε κἀγαθῶν,) καλῶν τε κ' ἀγαθῶν, or καλῶν τε καὶ ἀγαθῶν: this would at once give us a most appropriate application of the very expression which was uppermost in the minds and mouths of the Athenians, whenever they wished to speak of their country's glory, or of the eminent talents and virtues of their most distinguished individuals. The καλὸς κ' ἀγαθὸς was the highest compliment that could be paid to any one, whether as a public or private character; and the τὸ καλὸν κ' ἀγαθὸν was in frequent use. For its definition we need not go further than the Memorabilia of Xenophon, who, iii. 9. 5, says, that it was the opinion of Socrates, τὰ δίκαια καὶ πάντα ὅσα ἀρετῇ πράττεται, καλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ εἶναι: and again, ibid. οὕτω καὶ τὰ καλά τε καὶ ἀγαθὰ τοὺς μὲν σόφους πράττειν, τοὺς δὲ μὴ σόφους οὐ δύνασθαι. This reading is not without its support from two at least of the Mss. of our author: 1. That which Dr. Arnold and Bekker call C, and Poppo, Laurentianus. It is there described in the catalogue as of the tenth century. In regard to authority, Dr. Arnold and Poppo place it in the third class, but Bekker would range it among the first. 2. The Ms. called F, which was formerly at Augsburg, and now at Munich. This Ms. is allowed by Poppo and Bekker to belong to the very first class of Mss. in point of excellence. See Catalogue of Mss. in Arnold's Thucydides, 1830.

On these grounds I have ventured to suggest the reading of καλῶν instead of κακῶν in this passage of the speech of Pericles; and if it be admitted, the Athenians, instead of hearing an inauspicious allusion to calamities they had themselves suffered, or to those which they had brought upon others, will only be reminded of the great and glorious deeds, the καλὰ κ' ἀγαθὰ, which they or their ancestors had performed in distant parts of the world, that is, the Grecian world, and of which they had erected every where everlasting monuments.

VII. *On the Importance of an accurate Knowledge of Topography in the Study of Ancient Authors.* By H. Holland, Esq.

Read February 26, 1835.

The recent publication of Sir William Gell on the Topography of Rome and its neighbourhood, with an accompanying map, is well calculated to afford satisfaction to the traveller who visits that country, and feels delight in exploring the places where interesting events have occurred in ages long past, or which are in any way associated with illustrious characters that have made an early impression upon his imagination and memory; but what I at present wish to remark, is the use of such researches for a right understanding of many passages in ancient authors, and for enabling their readers to avoid those mistakes into which commentators have been often betrayed for want of such a correct knowledge of the relative position of places, as this work, so far as its plan and limits extend, is well adapted to supply.

A passage which affords a remarkable instance of such a mistake, occurs in the 1st Ode of the Epodon of Horace:

> Non ut superni villa candens Tusculi
> Circæa tanget mœnia.

The explanation of this passage given by Mitscherlich, a professor in the university of Göttingen, and one of the latest commentators, is the following. After stating the previous opinions that had been given respecting its meaning,—"Omnibus," he says, "sollicite perpensis, equidem poëtam hoc velle statuo: neque id quæro ut villa mea Sabina Tusculum attingat; h. e. ædificia ejus adeo dilatentur, ut ad Tusculi suburbia continua serie porrigantur." The wish therefore that Horace in his moderation is supposed by this commentator to disclaim, is that of having his Sabine villa so much enlarged that its buildings might reach the walls of Tusculum. Now if we

consult Sir William Gell's map, and observe the position of Horace's villa in the valley of the Digentia and that of the ancient Tusculum, we shall find that the distance between them in a direct line, compared with the scale, is little short of twenty geographical miles, and certainly exceeds twenty English miles; not to mention that a part of the intervening country is occupied by lofty mountains, and that the Anio and its many tributary streams run between them. Certainly, the poet would have had little reason to boast of his philosophy, in not desiring to possess a villa of such extent; but if the commentator had been better acquainted with topography, he could not have fallen upon so strange and preposterous a notion.

As this passage of Horace has not yet received a satisfactory explanation, an attempt to give one may perhaps be deemed excusable. He had been assuring Mecænas that his devotion to his service was purely disinterested, with no desire to enrich himself through his favour; and then enumerates different advantages which wealth might procure but which he did not covet,—neither more acres to his farm, nor more oxen to plough them, nor the fleeces of Calabrian flocks; and then adds, "nor that a marble villa should touch the Circæan walls of Tusculum on its lofty hill." The obvious sense pointed out by the context is, that he did not desire to possess a villa at Tusculum. Lucullus, Cæsar, Cicero, and many others of the great and wealthy of Rome, built villas at Tusculum; and, in order to enjoy with more advantage the exquisite beauty of the surrounding scenery, they placed them so high up the sloping side of the hill on which the ancient city stood, that without much poetical exaggeration they might be said to touch its walls: and indeed it may be collected from a passage in Sir William Gell's article on Tusculum, that in one instance at least this was literally the case. "On the right," he says, speaking of the entrance of the city, "along a ridge of rocks, which served as the foundation of the wall towards Mount Albano, are seen certain ruins which the people call the villa of Cicero." Here therefore was a villa, which, whether rightly or not supposed to be that of Cicero, manifestly stood in close contact with the city wall. I conclude therefore that Horace's meaning was simply that he did not covet a splendid villa near to Tusculum, being content with his humble Sabine farm; and that the obscurity of the passage, which has so much exercised the commentators, has arisen from the omission of some possessive word,

such as *mihi* or *mea*, which it was supposed the understanding of the reader would supply.

Another instance, in which a more correct knowledge of topography might have prevented the mistake of a commentator, occurs in the description given by Horace of the valley in which his villa was situated:

> Continui montes, nisi dissociantur opaca
> Valle, sed ut veniens dextrum latus aspiciat sol,
> Lævum discedens curru fugiente vaporet.

According to the note in the Delphin edition, this means that it was "vallis amœna, ventis orientalibus exposita, a meridie vero et septentrione duobus collibus defensa." It is not easy to understand, how a valley so circumstanced, into which the sun could only take a short peep at its rise and again at setting, but was entirely excluded during the greater part of the day, could be so delightful a place of residence as this is described to have been: and if we turn to Sir William Gell's map, we shall find that the valley of the Digentia, instead of lying east and west, as the commentator supposes, runs nearly from north to south, between ridges of mountains, having only a small deviation to the west at its upper part: and this local knowledge renders the passage clear and intelligible. The house, it may be presumed, fronted the south, being in a country, which, as relative to the climate of Italy, was a cold one, and, as Horace describes himself to be fond of sunshine and warmth, "solibus aptum." Looking, then, down the valley, he would have on his right the western hills, on which the morning sun would fall; and on his left the eastern, to be lighted up by his departing beams.

It may here be remarked, that Sir William Gell supposes the name of the ancient Ustīca to be preserved in Rustĭca, which apparently is a village, as the two other places in conjunction with which he names it are villages; but there is, very near to the spot on which Horace's villa is supposed to have stood, a hill which the country people at this day call Justina, which well agrees with the description of "Usticæ cubantis." The change of the name Ustica to that of Justina, a slight one in Italian pronunciation, is agreeable enough to the usage in cases of a long tradition; especially as the name Justina was familiar to the people, being that of a saint in the Roman calendar.

The last instance I shall mention of an error arising from defective topographical knowledge, is in a note by Mitscherlich on a passage in Suetonius's Life of Horace :—" Vixit plurimum in secessu ruris sui Sabini aut Tiburtini, domusque ejus ostenditur circa Tiburni luculum." On which the commentator observes :—" Male quidam duo prædia Horatii effinxerunt. Recte vidit Rutgersius prædium Horatii in confiniis agri Sabini et Tiburtini situm putandum, ut dubium esset utro pertineret." He supposes that Horace had only one country-house; and that house, which according to Suetonius was shown near the grove of Tiburnus, that is, close to Tibur, was the same with the house on the Sabine farm, which, if he had consulted the map, he would have found to have been eight or nine English miles distant from Tibur.

These errors, into which men of great general learning and acuteness have fallen, appear to prove, that all who take delight in reading the great authors of antiquity, are much indebted to those writers who have made accurate researches into the topography of the countries with which those authors were conversant.

VIII. *On the Words ἐπιστατου and ὑποκρητήριον in the Sigæan Inscriptions.*

By W. R. Hamilton, Esq. F.R.S. &c.

Read March 12, 1835.

These very remarkable and ancient inscriptions, which are commonly spoken of as one—the "Sigæan Inscription," are engraved on one side of a marble pillar, which was found towards the end of the seventeenth century in the porch of a Greek church or chapel belonging to the village of Jenihissar, or Gaurkioi, near the site of the ancient town of Sigæum. They were first noticed by Dr. William Sherard, British consul at Smyrna; they were afterwards copied by the Rev. Samuel Lisle, chaplain to the British factory at that place; and were, in 1721, published with an elaborate commentary and appendix of notes by the Rev. Edmund Chishull, who succeeded Mr. Lisle in that office.

The pillar has been since removed, from the site it had long occupied, by the earl of Elgin, during his embassy to the Porte in 1799, and now forms one of the most interesting monuments of antiquity in the Elgin Gallery at the British Museum. The stone is eight feet and a half in height, rather more than a foot and a half wide, and about ten inches thick. The inscriptions themselves have been frequently given to the public, and have been commented upon by almost every writer upon Greek Palæographia, from Bentley to Rose; but the most elaborate researches in elucidation of the history of the town to which it belonged, of the purport for which it was inscribed and erected, and of the peculiarities of the dialect and expressions used in them, are to be found in the first part of Boeckh's 'Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum,' p. 14. under the head of 'Tituli antiquissima scripturæ forma insigniores.'

It is not, therefore, the intention of the writer of the present notice, to attempt to lay before the Society any general observations in illustration of a monument so often and so ably described; but he has been induced to call the attention of the Society to the appearance in it of two words, which do not appear to him to have been hitherto sufficiently explained.

The subject of the inscriptions is as follows,—at least, such is the interpretation given of them by those who have most accurately examined them; and the one is nearly a repetition of the other. They set out by speaking in the name, it is supposed, of a bust or statue of Phanodikos of Prokonnesos, which it is presumed was placed on the top of the pillar; and the two inscriptions go on to say—the one in the first person, and the other in the third person,—that the same Phanodikos gave to the Sigæans a bowl, a saucer or stand, and a strainer. Nothing is said as to the material of which these utensils were made, or the purposes for which they were intended, except that they were given to the Prytaneion.

The bowl is in both the inscriptions called κρατὴρ, and the strainer ἠθμός: there is therefore no difficulty with regard to the meaning of these two words: but in one inscription the saucer or stand is denominated ὑποκρητήριον, and in the other ἐπίστατον; and the commentators, not hesitating as to the meaning of ὑποκρητήριον, i. e. something placed under a κρητήριον or κρητὴρ, and feeling that the two words must evidently mean one and the same thing, conclude at once that ἐπίστατον must mean a stand or saucer also, i. e. a thing on which another is placed. Ἐπίστατος, sc. ἐφ' ᾧ ἵσταται ὁ κρητὴρ, vel, ut Galli, *soucoupe;* and ὑπόστατος is cited from Pollux, as bearing the same sense. But here we meet with two difficulties, which do not seem to have been adverted to: first, κρητήριον is not the same word as κρητὴρ or κρατήρ: the latter word is notoriously a bowl or basin; whereas the former, on the authority of Hesychios, is interpreted by Stephanus as ἐπίχυσις, that is, an utensil or vase from which one liquor is poured into another, consequently very different from a κρατήρ: secondly, ἐπιστατὸν or ἐπιστατὸς no where else occurs in the sense of an object on which any other object is to be placed; but always, with the other similar compounds of ἐπὶ and ἵστημι, as something standing upright, or placed upon or over or against another; *e. g.* ἐπιστάτης is a president or curator; and in Homer Od. *P.* 455. is said to be a beggar. It is also by some of the scholiasts explained to mean a tripod or a stand for a vessel, upon the fire; and even a fictile figure of Vulcan placed as the guardian of the hearth or fire. Ἐπιστάτηρ is the beak of a ship; but as in the inscription we have not ἐπιστάτην nor ἐπιστατῆρα, but ἐπίστατον, we must imagine the nominative ἐπίστατον or ἐπίστατος, although, as Rose observes, p. 8. "vocem non agnoscunt Lexica;" and, in addition to this

instance of such word, we may quote, on the authority of Mr. Wilkins,[1] also *ἐπιστάτων*, in the inscription on the architecture of the Erechthion at Athens, where it is joined to *κιονῶν*, and must therefore mean the architraves, or beams laid upon the columns, notwithstanding that Schneider calls them the bases of the columns, and Boeckh arbitrarily applies the word to the "operis et templi curatores," vol. i. p. 20. And the well-known passages in the 'Birds' of Aristophanes, where Epops enjoins Peisthetairos and his companion to lay aside their arms, *πανοπλίαν*, (which were here culinary utensils,) and hang them up, *εἰς τὸν ἰπνὸν εἴσω, πλησίον τοῦ ἐπιστάτου*, that is, within the chimney near the *ἐπίστατον*; which last word may fairly be rendered either one of the uprights of the chimney, or the mantel-piece which was laid across it.

But if these words be thus rightly interpreted, the one to mean an object placed over another, and the other an object placed under another, how are we to account for their being, in these inscriptions, evidently intended to mean one and the same thing? An ordinary acquaintance with the forms of Greek vases seems to offer a plain solution of this apparent contradiction. The vase exhibited on the table of the Society, although not complete in all its parts, is sufficiently so to present to us at once the true meaning of *ἐπίστατον* or *ὑποκρητήριον*, and at the same time the precise form and nature of the present made by Phanodikos to the Prytaneion of the Sigæans.

The lower part of this vase is evidently a bowl or crater: the lid answers exactly to the grammatical meaning of the word *ἐπίστατον*; and if we examine the top of this lid, we observe an opening or hole in the form of an inverted cone, evidently for the purpose of receiving the foot or stem of another smaller vase, which would be the *κρητήριον* or *ἐπίχυσις*, or ewer,—a necessary appendage to the bowl. This lid or cover, therefore, is an *ἐπίστατον* in reference to the bowl, and an *ὑποκρητήριον* in reference to the jug or ewer (*κρητήριον*).

These ewers or vases for pouring out liquor (*κρητήρια*) are frequently fitted in the east with a false top let into the lower part of the neck;

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[1] See Wilkins's 'Atheniensia,' p. 206. by whose suggestions my attention was called to the subject of this paper.

which, being pierced with small holes, allows the pure liquor only to pass through, thus serving the purpose of a jug and strainer at the same time: a similar contrivance is also very common in the east for drinking-vessels of nearly the same form. Now it is not unlikely that the κρητήριον, or ewer, which was presented by Phanodikos to the Sigæans, may have been of this kind; and then the word ἠθμὸς, which occurs in the two inscriptions, may mean the ewer itself; and the three words—κρατὴρ, ἠθμὸς, and ἐπίστατον, or its synonym ὑποκρητήριον, will present to us very accurately the compound vase, as consisting of these three distinct parts.

The above reasoning, if admitted to be just, offers likewise a natural explanation of a passage in Herodotos, i. 25. in connexion with another in Pausanias, x. 16. Herodotos says, that Halyattes, king of Lydia, among other presents consecrated at Delphi, sent κρητῆρα ἀργύρεον μέγαν, and ὑποκρητηρίδιον σιδήρεον κολλητὸν, the work of Glaukos of Samos, which last was the object of universal admiration. Pausanias mentions the same objects; but he calls this work of Glaukos, who was the inventor of σιδήρου κόλλησις, ὑπόθημα: and, after describing in detail the new and ingenious manner in which the different parts of it were united, he adds, that it was ἕδρα τῷ κρητῆρι, the base or seat of the bowl. It might perhaps be objected, that we have here an argument against my position, inasmuch as what Herodotos had called ὑποκρητηρίδιον, and which I interpret the lid of the bowl, and stand of the κρητήριον or ewer, Pausanias, five or six hundred years after, seems to denominate ὑπόθημα, and ἕδρα τῷ κρατῆρι: but I cannot think there is much in this objection; for, besides the *prima facie* improbability that the whole apparatus should have been preserved entire throughout the chances and storms of this long period of years, there is no great difficulty in supposing that the κρητήριον, or small ewer at the top, whether of iron, bronze, silver, or pottery, may have been destroyed or lost in the interval; and that the portion of the present of Halyattes, which was originally the ὑποκρηρίδιον of the ewer, may have been turned into the ὑπόθημα or ἕδρα of the κρητήρ. Indeed, the description which Pausanias gives us of the form of this ὑπόθημα more readily accords with such a lid as I have described, than with the supposed base or stand of a large bowl; for he says, σχῆμα δὲ τοῦ ὑποθήματος κατὰ πύργον μάλιστα ἐς μείουρον ἀνιόντα ἀπὸ εὐρυτέρου τοῦ κάτω. It is difficult, to say the least of it, to conceive the stand or saucer of a large bowl to be

broad at the bottom, and tapering upwards like a tail; though this would very well agree with the lid of the bowl, serving also as the base of a small ewer, whether the latter received the tip of the tail into a hole at the bottom, or was itself received into it, as in the vase before us.

However this may be, (and I cannot expect that my hypothesis will be at once received as free from all objections either of the philologist or the antiquary) I am happy in having had this opportunity of bringing before this Society one amongst many instances, which are yet in reserve for us, in which it may be demonstrated how strictly the arts and literature of the ancients are connected together, and how amply they may serve to illustrate and explain each other; although further researches may be considered necessary before we come to the conclusion, from the two instances here adduced, that the form of the bowl, lid, and ewer, which I have described, was that which was usually adopted for dedications of this kind to the divinities of Greece, and the common appurtenance of the temple or altar in the times of pagan worship.

IX. *Remarks on the First Fasciculus of 'Inedited Greek Inscriptions,' published at Athens.* By W. R. Hamilton, Esq.

Read May 14, 1835.

I take the liberty to invite the attention of the Royal Society of Literature to a publication which I have lately received from our Minister at the court of King Otho, which is perfectly unique of its kind, as being the first production of the Greek press, since the decline and extinction of learning in the East; having for its object to extend our knowledge of classical and polite literature.

Mr. Lewis Ross, who, amongst other honourable titles, has been appointed to the charge of Conservator-General of the antiquities of the kingdom of Greece, has, under the auspices and at the expense of that government, published at Athens the First Fasciculus of 'Inedited Greek Inscriptions.' The work is printed at Nauplia: the Latin preface, which is prefixed to it, is dated Athens, November, 1834: and we learn from it that the Inscriptions have been lithographed in the Lithographia Regia, under the direction of Mr. A. Forster; that the printing-types which have been made use of were of an inferior quality, in consequence of the royal printing press being too much occupied by public demands; that much delay was occasioned by the necessity of sending the sheets printed at Nauplia, to be corrected at Athens; and that there is still a great dearth of classical books in the capital of Greece. The editor had already sent to Professor Boeckh at Berlin the inscriptions which he had collected in Bœotia. The present Fasciculus contains those found in Arcadia, Laconia, Corinthia, Megaris, and Phocis; others are preparing for publication, which have been since collected in Corinthia, Megaris, Bœotia, Phocis, Locris, the country of the Ænianes, and about Lamia: and so many have already been brought together from various parts of Attica, the number of which is daily augmenting, that these alone may be expected to supply two additional Fasciculi.

The present Fasciculus consists of thirty-seven pages of Latin text, and eight lithographic plates of Inscriptions.

The first division comprises those found in Arcadia, (that is, at Tegea and the neighbouring district,) at Mantineia, at Thelpusa, and at Megalopolis.

One of the inscriptions at Tegea confirms the suspicion of Boeckh, (Corp. Inscr. G. 1, 701.) that the years at Tegea were reckoned by the names of the priests, probably of Minerva Alea, who was the chief deity of that city. The form of the letters does not mark any great antiquity. The Æolic dialect continued in use, in some parts of the Peloponnesus, at least as late as the age of Pausanias, in the second century. (Paus. iv. 27. 5.)

In another also at Tegea, the Emperor Adrian is styled *Ὀλύμπιος*: in another we have *Ποσειδᾶν*, for *Ποσειδῶν*.

No. 9, from Mantineia, states the manumission of the slave (*δούλη*) Didyma by Artemon and Hermeias, and the date is fixed to the priesthood of Euphrosynos, priest of Neptune, (*Ἵππιος*,) and the act was done under the sanction or arbitration of one whose name seems to have been *Οἰκοδεσποινιανὸς*, —the term denoting his office, *ἐπιγναμονεύοντος*, no where else occurs.

No. 11, from Megalopolis, is partly in Greek and partly in Latin, corrected from Boeckh's copy, 1537: it recites the construction of a bridge, probably over the Helisson, joining the north and south parts of the city, (where are still the remains of a bridge,) in honour of Augustus Cæsar and the republic, and in execution of a promise.

The second division comprehends the inscriptions found in Laconia,—that is, from Sparta, Amyclæ, and the neighbourhood,—and from Gythium. In reference to these monuments, the editor has frequent occasion to allude to the mischievous and gratuitous mutilation of inscribed marbles effected by Fourmont, and he corrects and supplies some of those which had been previously published by Boeckh. In No. 20, which is a catalogue of magistrates, we observe that five persons are named as *νομοφύλακες*, or guardians of the laws, and one as *γραμματοφύλαξ*, or guardian or keeper of the decrees. In No. 29, which contains six long and short verses, and nearly perfect, we observe *γυμνασία*, used for skill in gymnastic exercises, and *πρύτανις* for one excelling in any one art or science. In Nos. 36—40, we have *Ζανὶ Ἐλευθερίῳ Ἀντωνείνῳ Σωτῆρι*: in 41, the same with the addition of *Ὀλυμπίῳ*. In No. 50, is a kind of stereotype found on three tiles in Sparta: the inscription is, *δαμόσιος Ἀθάνας φίλος* (?), in which the ancient forms of *α*, *μ*, and *θ*, are mixed with the more modern form of *C* for *Σ*. In No. 51, from Gythium, of the age of Marcus Aurelius, is the word *ἐλευθερολάκωνες*.

The third division contains the inscriptions found in Argolis, and particularly at Argos. No. 54 is an iambic distich, as follows:

Ἑρμῆς δίκαιος εἰμὶ, καί με (Δαμοκλῆς[1])
Ἔστησ' ἔλεγχον τῶν δικαίων κ' ἀδίκων.

No. 55, which is given amongst those in Boeckh, of archaic forms, No. 17, is here transcribed more correctly than in Fourmont's copy: it has the singularity of two lines drawn between each line of the inscription. What Boeckh and Fourmont read *Πελοπς*, is on the original *ΘΙΟΠΟΣ*, and *ΣΤΑΔΙΟΝ* must be corrected to *ΠΑΔΙΟΝ*, perhaps λαμπάδιον;—and δὶς τὸν ὁπλίταν must be read instead of ἄριστον ὁπλίταν.—In No. 57, we have σύμβιος for *husband*.

The fourth division is of inscriptions from Corinth. There are no inscriptions from Corinth of an earlier date than the period of Julius Cæsar, when the Greek city was supplanted by a Roman colony. In No. 61 *a*, we have μαρμαράριοι for *lapicidæ*, or stone-cutters, and the appearance of the commencement of an usage in modern Greek to use the accusative of nouns for the nominative case, as φιλῶνας for φιλῶν. Thus also, in No. 62, we have μεμόριον for μνῆμα, marks of the corruption of language in a colony almost entirely Roman.

In the fifth division from the Megaris, No. 66, from the church of Kinétas, between the ruins of Krommyon and the Scironic rocks, we have Ἀπολλωνία Διονυσίου χαῖρε.

The sixth division presents us with the inscriptions collected (in the month of August, Therm. 35° Reaum.) in Phocis, i. e. from Delphi, Stira, Ambryssa, and Daulia. At Delphi the discovery of several very interesting inscriptions has served to identify the site of the temple of Apollo, which however had already been done by former travellers. The first which is given by the editor, No. 67. is a decree of the city of Delphi in honour of Laïstas, son of Antenor of Heraclea; and is prefaced by Θεοὶ τύχαν ἀγαθάν. By this decree, for his good and pious deeds towards the temple and the city, it is enacted that he and his descendants shall enjoy προξενίαν, προμαντείαν, προδικίαν, ἀσυλίαν, ἀτέλειαν πάντων, προεδρίαν ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἀγωνοῖς οἷς ἁ πόλις τίθητι, καὶ γᾶς καὶ οἰκίας ἔγκτησιν,—besides every other privilege ever granted to the guests and benefactors of the city; and the decree was to be inscribed in the temple of Apollo, and in the most conspicuous place. The datives ἐντυγχανόντοις and

[1] Or any other name of the same measure.

ἀγωνοῖς, for ἐντυγχανόντεσσι and ἄγωσι, are new examples of Æolic forms, some of which are preserved in the modern language. Ἄγορα τέλειος is supposed to signify an assembly of the people consisting of the numbers prescribed by the law. The preposition συμ (συν) is also used before ψαφοῖς in the instrumental case. In No. 68, we find a dedication to Ἀπόλλωνι Πυθίῳ. No. 70 is a decree of the Hieromnemones, to laud Kallikles, son of Kallikles an Athenian, residing in Ætolia, to crown him with a golden crown παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ, and to give to him and his posterity προδικίαν, ἀσφάλειαν, ἀτέλειαν, and προεδρίαν, in all the games which shall be conducted by the Amphictyons, in return for services rendered to the Amphictyons and to the rest of the Greeks by Kallikles, when he was ἱεροκηρυκέων τῷ κοινῷ συνεδρίῳ τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων. This inscription may be compared to, and is illustrated by 1689. b. of Boeckh. Certain Ætolians are therein enumerated as ἱερομνημονοῦντες at the time. In treating of No. 71, which is more correctly given than in Boeckh 1710, the Editor enters into the grounds for differing from the modern geographers, who have confounded Chrysus with Crissa, — whereas they are two distinct towns; but Crissa and Cirrha were but one, as Pausanias says, x. 37. 4. In 72, we have χαρίξας, an Æolism for χαρίσας. In speaking of the Tituli Stirienses, or the inscriptions found in the district of the monastery of St. Luke Stirites, also in the Phocian territory, the Editor has observed the vestiges of two ancient towns: of the walls of one of them, which bespeak the age of Epaminondas and Philip, there are few remains, except their foundations: it stood on the eastern summit of a considerable eminence, where is now the monastery of St. Luke, a hermit who is said to have lived there. The other city, the ruins of which are of a more ancient character, is on a lower elevation, scarcely six stadia from the former. Near the foot of the rock, between the two cities, is an ancient spring, which is described by Pausanias, x. 35. 5. as ἐν πέτραις ὀρωρυγμένος, and four stadia from the city. There can be no doubt of the existence of these two cities, though the fact is not recorded by any ancient writers. It is probable that the more ancient Stiris was destroyed in the Phocian war, and that the inhabitants then built the other ἐπὶ ὑψηλοῦ, the only one known to Pausanias; for if he had visited the more ancient ruins, he could hardly have avoided making mention of the temple of Æsculapius, which the inscription, No. 73, proves to have been there. This No. 73 is headed Φίλων λιθουργὸς

Ἀσκλαπίῳ—a very unusual, if not unique instance. The inscription is remarkable, though neatly executed, for the negligence of the carver; as there are no less than four places in which letters or syllables omitted are inserted above in smaller characters: it records the manumission of a female slave Eupraxis, and her child Dorion, by Praxias son of Theon; but they were to continue to live with Praxias and his wife Aphrodisia, and they were to be buried and funeral rites performed (as of the family): penalties are then enacted, amounting to 30 minæ, for the non-fulfilment of these promises;—one half of the penalty to go to Æsculapius, the other to any one of the Phocians who took up their cause. The peculiar words which occur in the inscription are, γενηθῖσα — τὰ ὥρια ποιῆσαι, to perform funeral rites,—δουλαγωγία, reimposition of slavery,—ἥμισον for ἥμισυ. The subject of 74 is similar to the foregoing, but the priest of Æsculapius is specially mentioned as one of those who may take up the cause of the manumitted slaves, who indeed are consecrated (ἀναθέσις) to the god; and witnesses (μάρτυρες) are mentioned to the engagement. No. 75 is the dedication of some hunters (κυνηγοὶ) to a deity. No. 76 is in honour of a Roman emperor bearing the title of Britannicus. No. 81, at Daulis, which begins with Θεὸς τύχαν ἀγαθάν, is also a manumission of some domestic slaves, which are called σώματα, with the usual forms and penalties; but in describing those who may take up their cause, (προϊστάμενοι,) this right is limited τῷ θέλοντι προϊστάσθαι Φωκέων ἀνυποδέκῳ ἐόντι καὶ ἀνευπευθύνῳ πόσας δίκας καὶ ζαμίας.[1] In No. 84, Ἀρτέμιδι Σωτείρᾳ proves that there was a temple at Daulis dedicated to Diana Salvatrix. In a church near the road leading from Parapotamiæ to Hyampolis, now Bogdana, is No. 85, on which we read τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Φωκέων: and we have ἐν αὐτοὺς, an instance not unusual of the Æolic ἐν governing an accusative case.

N. B. In the village of Agio Georgi, at the foot of Mons Libethrius, not far from Coronea, is another act of manumission, No. 86, of a slave called Διονύσιος, who is consecrated to Serapis; the penalty of violating the act being 1000 drachmæ, payable to the deity.

W. R. Hamilton.

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[1] We have in this inscription the unique word *ἱεραπεὺς* for the *ἱερεὺς* of Serapis.

X. *Of the Upper or Collateral Series of Princes of the Hieroglyphic Tablets of Karnak and Abydos.* By I. Cullimore, Esq.

Read Jan. 14th, 1836.

In the Rev. George Tomlinson's communication, which was read before the Royal Society of Literature at the Meeting of the 10th of December instant, an inscription from the tenth plate of Mr. Burton's 'Excerpta Hieroglyphica' is quoted, which furnishes a highly important verification of the only disputed part of my restoration, from the tablet of kings at Karnak, of the obliterated portion of that of Abydos; a delineation of which was laid before the Society in the year 1830, and which has been published with augmentations in the second part of the second volume of their Transactions. In consequence, however, of the terms of expression resulting from the different views entertained by the writer of the paper in question and myself, on the subject of the succession of the Pharaohs, the verification alluded to might have appeared to the hearers as in reality opposed to, and not in favour of, the opinions which I have ventured to adopt. I therefore feel it a duty to the learned Society, who have gone to the expense of publishing the incorporation of the hieroglyphic tablets of royal succession, as well as to myself, to place the question on its true footing, and thereby evince that, by the publication, they have rendered an essential service to the progress of hieroglyphic inquiry, and anticipated that of discovery.

It is necessary here to remark, that the restoration, as respects the obliterated portion of the primary Pharaonic succession, represented by the middle horizontal line of ovals in the tablet of Abydos, has never been disputed. The connected monumental succession, which had previously been limited to Osirtesen the First, or, at the highest, to the reign of his immediate predecessor, has, since that publication, been admitted to ascend at least as high as the first king of the middle line of Pharaonic signets at Abydos. So the succession now stands in the first plate of Mr. Wilkinson's subsequently published work on Egypt and Thebes, although limited to the immediate predecessor of Osirtesen the First, in the first plate of the

second part of that archæologist's previously published 'Materia Hieroglyphica;' in the fifth plate of which, two of Osirtesen's predecessors, who are now restored to their places in the succession, appear under the head of "unplaced kings." In Major Felix's 'Notes on Hieroglyphics,' the succession originates with Osirtesen the First. The same may be said of the connected succession adopted by Signor Rossellini, all the preceding portions of his extended tables being heterogeneous and unproved, and several of the kings, including Osirtesen, occupying two distinct places, at considerable intervals. To Mr. Wilkinson's 'Materia Hieroglyphica' I have repeatedly expressed my obligations, and now merely allude to the facts as they appear in the chronological order of publication, and as affording an indisputable sanction to the results of my labours.

The restoration of the obliterated portion of the upper horizontal line of ovals in the tablet of Abydos, was consequential to that of the middle or primary line, (see the Royal Society of Literature's Report for 1831, pp. 19, 20.) because the primary Pharaonic series of ovals at Karnak and Abydos being demonstrated by the minor collateral lists from Benihassan and elsewhere, to form a continued succession, none but a collateral place remained for the upper series of both these records; and the consecutiveness of the latter, of which the obliterations in both tablets forbad what may be termed mathematical proof, became nearly a morally certain consequence of that of the former contemporary primary lines of ovals.

That the restored portion of the upper line of ovals at Abydos has been referred to its true contemporary place, is now rendered historically certain by the inscriptions which Mr. Tomlinson has quoted from the 'Excerpta Hieroglyphica.' In plate x. appears an inscription from the Cosseir Road of the reign of Amon-neith, the immediate successor of Osirtesen the First, in which are mentioned two of the princes of the contemporary upper series, both of them named Nantoph or Euantoph; and in plate XIV. is another inscription of the same reign from the same place, in which Mr. Tomlinson has shown, with great probability, that a third contemporary prince, named Mandouphtep, is mentioned. The writer objects to my disposition of the restored ovals of the upper line, that the subordinate princes mentioned in Mr. Burton's inscriptions, are placed over the ovals of Osirtesen the First and his predecessors; whereas, in the tablet of Karnak, they appear over those of Amon-neith, successor of Osirtesen, and those of the

successors of the former. He however fully admits, from the evidence of the inscriptions above-mentioned, the contemporaneousness of the restored portions of the upper and of the primary series, and anticipates similar results with regard to the remainder of the record of Karnak, which is already disposed in contemporary series in my incorporation of the tablets.

All that is necessary to establish the point, that the restored portion of the upper series was contemporary with the restored portion of the primary series, being admitted, it remains to say a few words on the assumed disagreement between the original copies of the record of Karnak and my disposition of its substance, as remarked on by Mr. Tomlinson. The question here is, whether the lines of this tablet are to be read on a uniform principle, or otherwise. The former I have adopted. That the two lowest of the four lines of ovals, of which it consists, form a continued succession, commencing with the lowest, is fully demonstrated by the minor collateral lists already alluded to, which connect these lines at the left-hand ends of both. It follows, from a comparison of all the tablets, that the lowest reads from right to left, and the next above from left to right; and that, if disposed into a single line, the reading of the whole would be uniform. But, provided the two upper lines represent a collateral and subordinate series of princes, as in part is proved and admitted, and quite sufficiently so to evince the contemporaneousness of the whole; it is self-evident that our key to the reading of them can only be drawn from the analogy of the primary series: hence, the third line upwards will read with the lowest line, from right to left, and the uppermost line of all with the second line upwards, from left to right; and, if the whole tablet be disposed into two lines instead of four, the reading of both of them will be uniform; as in the upper and middle horizontal lines of ovals at Abydos. Such is my disposition of them in the plate of the incorporated tablets.

It is manifest, that, provided the mere circumstance of one oval being placed immediately above another denotes contemporaneousness, all the four lines of the tablet of Karnak were contemporary with each other; whereas the contrary is demonstrated by the proved consecutiveness of the two lowest lines. It follows, that the argument advanced against my disposition of the upper restored series, has no foundation in the tablet of Karnak; and that the question, as to the reading of that series, rests on the

analogies of the lower or primary lines as before. Indeed, provided the inscriptions adduced from the 'Excerpta' be of the reign of the Pharaoh whose name appears in them, as Mr. Tomlinson I think admits, it is a necessary consequence that the subordinate princes, whom these records commemorate, lived either in that reign or previously to it; and the validity of my disposition of the series would hence become a matter of proof. This is more evident from other inscriptions from the Cosseir Road, produced by Mr. Burton; e. g. plate III. contains an inscription of Darius Hystaspes, in which the name of Amasis the Saïte, as well as that of Mandouphtep, appears; yet no person will insist either that Darius preceded Amasis, or that Amasis preceded Mandouphtep. See also plate IV. where Amasis is named in Cosseir inscriptions of the same Darius, and apparently of Ochus.

Another point worthy of remark is, that in Mr. Burton's invaluable series of inscriptions from the Cosseir Road, we find tablets of other princes of the upper series at Karnak and Abydos, besides those noticed by Mr. Tomlinson. Tablets of the first prince of the upper line at Abydos, and of his immediate predecessor, according to my disposition of the series, appear in the plates already cited,—Nos. X. and XIV. There is likewise a tablet of Mandouphtep, (plate V.) together with inscriptions of the primary kings Osirtesen III. (plate VIII.) and Amon-neith III. (plate XII.) The rest of the inscriptions from Cosseir are of the Persian dynasty. In page VI. of the plates to part II. of Sig. Rosellini's second volume of text, there is likewise an inscription, in which the name Mandouphtep appears connected with the Osirtesen family. It would, therefore, seem to follow, that a line of viceroys, or functionaries ruling over the same district, in the age of the Osirtesens and earlier, is included in the upper series of ovals; and the consistency of the whole becomes still more apparent and remarkable.

I have thought it the more necessary to dwell on these points of evidence, because, provided the restored complement of the upper series at Abydos be contemporary with that of the primary line of ovals, it is indisputable that the whole upper line forms a contemporary and subordinate series, no other possible disposition remaining for it—although I believe this is heretofore denied by every other inquirer. We, in fact, have before us in these invaluable contemporary records,

an important illustration and verification of what Herodotus (II. 143.) relates concerning the Piromi, of whom there was reckoned one for every Pharaoh who swayed the sceptre of Egypt. Whatever be the true import of this mysterious term, it is certain that it refers to a contemporary succession of functionaries, whether of a sacerdotal or political order. Such a succession we have before us in the original records; and it is to be hoped that the study of it will ultimately clear up the difficulty in which the father of history has left us. His statements, that three hundred and forty-one kings of Egypt were numbered to Sethon, and that three hundred and forty-five images of the successive Piromi were preserved at Thebes, are of the utmost importance. The latter descend four successions below Sethon, the three hundred and forty-first king, (according to the calendarian arrangement of Herodotus;) or to the reign of Apries or Hophra, the immediate predecessor of Amasis, who was not of the Pharaonic line: and it is very remarkable, that in the above-mentioned inscriptions of Darius, &c. ('Excerpta,' plates III. and IV.) the right of the Persians to Egypt seems derived from Amasis, while, in plate III. the right of Amasis seems derived from Mandouphtep, one of the probable Piromi, as above. The word *Πίρωμος* means emphatically, "a man;" and the father of history distinctly acquaints us, that Amasis was one of the people. The Saïtes, of whom Amasis was one, had records, according to Plato, ascending eight thousand years.

I. CULLIMORE.

December 24th, 1835.

XI. *Remarks on certain Alphabets in Use among the Jews. With Plates.*[1]

By J. Belfour, Esq.

Read Jan. 14th, 1836.

It is not my intention to enter into any disquisition on the Hebrew language; but simply to lay before the Royal Society of Literature, with a few preliminary remarks, two cursive alphabets in use among the modern Jews, not generally known.

The antiquity and excellence of the sacred tongue it would be superfluous to dwell upon; nor is it necessary to recur to the controversies among the learned, at remote periods, whether the characters now in use, or the Samaritan, have priority. Joseph Scaliger, in his Notes upon Eusebius's 'Chronicon,'[2] thinks it so evident that the sacred books were originally written in the Samaritan character, at least those of them written before the captivity, that he says it is *luce clarius;* and, with the pertinacity of a great critic, calls those of a contrary sentiment, *semi-docti, semi-theologi*, &c.; while others no less strenuously contend for the antiquity of the present Hebrew letters, as if they, and no others, were the sacred character in which the Holy Scriptures were originally, and have always been, written.

These opposite opinions the learned Buxtorf has endeavoured to reconcile, by producing numerous passages from the Rabbins to prove that both these characters were anciently used; the present square character being that in which the tables of the law and the copy deposited in the ark were written; and the other character being used in the copies of the law which were written for private and common use, and in civil affairs in general.[3]

The most received opinion, however, is, that the primitive character of the Hebrews is lost, and that the original sound of many of the letters forming the ancient alphabet is wholly unknown. To this day philologists differ as to the proper articulation of the letter *y ain* or *ngain*. So va-

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[1] Plates vii, viii, ix.

[2] Scalig. Animadv. in Euseb.

[3] Jewish Antiquities. Jennings.

riously is it pronounced by the Jews of different nations, that grammarians, in order to convey an idea of its real sound, designate it, *Sonum qualem vitulus edit, absente matre.*

Le Clerc, indeed, does not hesitate to affirm, that neither the Hebrew, nor Syriac, (as some writers have surmised,) nor the Chaldee, nor any other language now extant, was the true original tongue; but that this and the other oriental tongues have all sprung from, or are so many different dialects of that first language, itself now lost among them; as the Italian, French, and Spanish, are none of them the language of the ancient Romans, but all derived from it.

Whatever then may have been the original character, certain it is (and for this we have the authority of the sacred writings, Nehem. xii. 24.) that in the lapse of ages, and from the various fortunes of the Jews, the Hebrew language has undergone a prodigious change. Long before the Jewish captivity under Salmanazer, the language spoken by the Hebrews in the time of Abraham, from their slavery in Egypt and their intercourse with neighbouring nations, had lost much of its native purity; and its progressive decline, to its almost extinction as a vernacular tongue, together with the causes, are most satisfactorily recorded in holy writ.

The Jews during their seventy years' captivity had nearly forgotten their native language: their children spoke, as stated by the prophet, "half in the speech of Ashdod, and could not speak the Jewish language."

And upon their liberation from the Babylonian yoke, it is but reasonable to suppose, in order to represent the vocal sounds, then imperfectly known, and to fix the pronunciation of words upon the memory, with a view to its recovery and permanence,—certain points were invented, (the antiquity of which has been the source of endless discussion,) or rather, as it is presumed, *adopted* from the Syrians or the Arabians, which are now regarded as essential to the right signification and pronunciation of that which from its pre-eminence is called *the holy tongue.*

Be that as it may, the Hebrew of the sacred records has long been considered a dead language, and for a series of years was so little understood, except by the Fathers of the Christian church and other erudite persons, as indeed happened to the Greek in the dark ages; that when a quotation in Hebrew occurred in any learned work, the reader, drawing a

veil over his ignorance, as certain grammarians report, was wont to say, *Hebræum est, non legitur*.[1] But to the honour of literature, this mental blindness did not continue long: as the clouds with which science was shrouded began gradually to disappear, and a knowledge of the sacred writings,—combating tyranny and superstition,—became diffused, the study of the divine language, in which the great truths of Scripture were so long concealed, progressively advanced; and in a little time, far from its being confined to philologers and theologians, professedly "to men secluded in monastic bowers and in academical retreats;" the cultivation of the Hebrew language extended itself throughout the whole republic of letters; among princes, philosophers, and poets, who were at once smitten with its grandeur, edified by its copiousness, and inspired by its sublimity.

And, to the glory of England it may be added, giving all due praise to the literati of Italy and France—her early instructors; and to the great scholars of Germany in biblical knowledge—her later guides; the annals of our ancient universities unfold the names of many illustrious persons, eminent for their learning, but still more distinguished for their piety, who, in the walks of Hebrew literature, for soundness of judgment, critical acumen, and the extent of their attainments, have never been surpassed.

Having premised thus much, it would be a waste of time to descant upon the excellence of the Hebrew: with its importance to the divinity student in all parts of biblical criticism, every mind must be impressed.

But it may not be so generally understood, that its acquisition, if only civilly regarded, is alike beneficial throughout a vast portion of the habitable globe, in the common occurrences of life. To establish this dictum, or at least to show the utility of an acquaintance with the various cursive alphabets in use among the modern Jews, is the object of this paper; which I shall endeavour to effect as briefly as the subject will admit.

It is well known to the members of this learned assembly, that besides

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[1] "Memineram turpe olim doctis fuisse, cum in voculas aliquot Græcas apud M. Tullium, Plinium, cæterosque auctores incidissent, ibi tanquam in salebra hærere, ac tritum illud dictitare, *Græcum est, non legitur*: similiter hodie turpe fore, si quando vocem in auctore aut epigramma in monumento, ædificiive magnificentioris vestibulo, Hebræis literis, ut fit, inscriptum, offenderis, illud necessario dicere, *Hebræum est, non legitur*."—MARTINII GRAM.

the square character in which the Scriptures are written, both canonical and apocryphal, a cursive character, materially differing from the former, has been long used by the Hebrew expositors in illustrating the original text. This character is of great antiquity, and doubtless acquired its distinctive appellation from having been invented by their Rabbins or doctors, at a remote period, for the purpose of expedition and profane uses, in order that the square character might remain inviolate for sacred objects. At what period the title of Rab or Rabbi, master or elder, was conferred upon those who excelled in the knowledge of the law and the traditions, is not precisely known: the rise of these expounders or scribes may be attributed, with a degree of confidence, to the change the Hebrew language underwent in the days of Ezra. About the time of our Saviour's nativity, titles we are told began to be multiplied by the Jews.

The dignity of Rabbi had been assumed by the sect of Pharisees, whom our Redeemer reproaches, Matt. xxiii. 7, as coveting "the upper rooms at feasts, and the chief seats in the synagogues, and greetings in the markets, and to be called of men, Rabbi, Rabbi;"—a title still awarded by the modern Jews to their learned men. This cursive character is observable in all the commentaries upon their ancient books; such as the Mishna and the two Talmuds, the reunion of which form the Gemara, which is a complete body of the traditional and actual religion of the Jews. It is moreover employed in all their translated works from the Arabic and other languages, such as the Alcoran and the Zend-Avesta, opposed to which is placed the original text; and is still much in use, upon secular occasions, by the German and Spanish Jews.

Now this Rabbinical or cursive character is supposed by the generality of Hebrew scholars to be the only one in common use; and having rendered themselves familiar with it, and acquired a previous understanding of the language of holy writ, they may reasonably boast of their proficiency, and imagine there is nothing more to acquire in the field of Hebrew literature. Certainly, in books with which we are acquainted, that conceit may be indulged; but let a person with these attainments journey into distant countries, for the purpose of archæological research or commercial intercourse, and he will find himself in error. Let him travel no farther even than into the Barbary states, and become a resident in the dominions of the emperor of Morocco;—he will there meet with cursive alphabets in con-

stant use among the Jews, so differing from the Rabbinical and sacred character, as to be wholly beyond his immediate comprehension.

Generally speaking, the variety of these cursive alphabets which prevail in the interior of Africa and throughout the whole of Asia, is an impediment of vast magnitude to Europeans in their intercourse with foreign nations.

How is a youth, who, in an English college, may have obtained a tolerable knowledge of the Persian language, through the common Nisk-hi character, when settled in the Persian capital, perplexed upon receiving a communication or a requisition to translate a Ms. written in the Talik, or the Shekesteh; in which, with other irregularities, as observed by Sir William Jones, there is not only a confusion of the diacritical points, but all order and analogy are neglected! How is his pride humbled! how greatly is he mortified to find all his previous study unavailable to decipher that which he knows is in a language with which he thought himself familiar, but to which he perceives himself now estranged! And we can readily estimate his delight, after some instruction and study, upon discovering that the document before him is purely Persian, only written in a more popular character than the Nisk-hi.

The Turks have a still greater variety of cursive characters than the Persians; and the written popular Arabic of the Morescoes, or Moors, differs essentially from the literate of the Arabians.

So it is with the numerous dialects of India; and unless we render ourselves intimate with the cursive character employed among the natives, however vast our erudition in the Sanscrit and other *madri-lingue*, (to use an Italian phrase,) obstacles are continually presenting themselves not readily overcome.

Did the argument require farther support, we need only advert to the present state of our advancement in Egyptian literature.

With the hieroglyphical mode of writing of that ancient people, through the phonetic system, (which experience proves to be founded on a solid basis,) an acquaintance has already been obtained far from inconsiderable: nor can any reasonable doubt be entertained, from the ardour and success with which the pursuit of Egyptian antiquities is followed by many of our esteemed Associates, (giving all due eulogy to the zeal of foreigners,) that the import of the inscriptions on the monuments of Egypt, both honorary

and sepulchral, will be progressively exposed: but with the enchorial, in which a cursive character, common to the ancient Egyptians, is used, it is widely different; so extensively does it depart from the hieroglyphic.

And although much has been accomplished by the late Dr. Young and M. Champollion in its explication, and alphabets have been formed truly applicable to the deciphering of proper names and words of foreign extract; still, when applied to inscriptions of which the purport is unknown or undetermined, we find these helps, if not wholly deceptive, extremely unsatisfactory. And why? Because, as in the languages spoken of, the cursive character is at variance with the sacred or monumental; added to which, in my view of the subject, the enchorial appears to combine within itself so many symbols, arbitrary signs, monograms, joined letters, and abbreviations, as to render our utmost research and ingenuity, at times, inconclusive, without the aid of a version in some known tongue.

Still, so important is the study of the enchorial to a right understanding of the hieroglyphic and hieratic legends, that its acquisition cannot be too forcibly advocated: any attendant difficulty and labour it will amply repay.

But without reference to the enchorial or epistolic writings of the Egyptians, Astle, in his 'Essay on the Origin of Writing,'[1] tells us, that monograms and joined letters are of very high antiquity amongst the Greeks. "If it should be asked," he adds, "at what period of time joined letters were introduced in ancient monuments; we answer, that this practice was universal in the most early ages." Of this nature I regard many of the characters on the Babylonian bricks. In a work published at Palermo, entitled 'Siciliæ Veterum Inscriptionum,' are many proofs of their being used in Syria, Egypt, and Greece; which practice was adopted by the Etruscans, the Romans, the Saxons, and by most other nations.

The importance of a familiarity with the different modes of caligraphy in use among nations being established, it remains only to subjoin a few words, expository of the alphabets under review.

The alphabet, Plate VII, of which the form and powers of the letters are given, is accompanied by corresponding elements in Hebrew, Syriac, Arabic, and cursive Rabbinical; not only by way of illustration, but to give the whole an air of peculiar interest.

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[1] See Plate II. No. 3.

The alphabet which follows, Plate VIII, extended by additional symbols, in order to embrace the Hebrew finals and the entire series of the Arabic letters, has still higher claims to notice, inasmuch as by that means its usefulness is increased. To this is appended a brief vocabulary, Plate IX, written in the alphabetic characters spoken of, and the Arabic, with a view of showing their conformity in point of language.

How long these alphabetic characters have been in use among the Jews, I have no means of ascertaining, nor can I conjecture by whom they were invented;—the manuscript I possess containing only a short nomenclature and a few dialogues, chiefly on commercial subjects, without any comment or grammatical rules.

JOHN BELFOUR.

Nov. 11, 1835.

XII. *On the Complexion of the Ancient Egyptians.*

By Charles T. Beke, F.S.A.

Read March 24, 1836.

The main difficulty which has had to be contended with, in the consideration hitherto given to the subject of the colour of the ancient Egyptians, is this;—that, whilst the only conclusion which we are warranted in drawing from the descriptions given of that people by the earliest writers of Greece, is, that they were in outward appearance almost similar to the African negroes of the present day; our knowledge, derived from all other sources of information, is, or at least seems to be, diametrically opposed to such a conclusion.

The chief of these conflicting testimonies may be thus summarily stated. On the one side we have;—first, a passage of the poet Æschylus, in which the crew of a vessel, seen at a distance, are said to be known for Egyptians by their black colour:—

> Πρέπουσι δ' ἄνδρες νηΐοι μελαγχίμοις
> Γνίοισι λευκῶν ἐκ πεπλωμάτων ἰδεῖν.—Suppl. 727, 8.

and, secondly, the testimony of Herodotus, who personally visited Egypt, and who, consequently, must have known full well the real colour of its inhabitants. It is true, that the historian's opinion upon the subject is to be gathered rather by inference, than from any express description given by him of the complexion of the Egyptians; but this circumstance only renders the inference the stronger, as we are thereby led to believe that their colour was a matter of sufficient notoriety among the Greeks, to make the express mention of it unnecessary. Of the two passages of this writer which are to be adduced, the one is that wherein he explains the tradition that the oracle at Dodona originated in a black dove which had flown from Thebes in Egypt, by supposing that the oracle was instituted by a Thebæan female; and that the circumstance of the bird being black, showed that the woman was of Egyptian origin: μέλαιναν δὲ λέγοντες εἶναι τὴν πελειάδα, σημαίνουσι ὅτι Αἰγυπτίη

ἡ γυνὴ ἦν· (Euterpe, 57.) the other passage is in the account given by him of the Colchians (Euterpe, 104.), in which the historian asserts his belief in their Egyptian descent, because they were *of black complexion and woolly-headed,* καὶ ὅτι μελάγχροές εἰσι καὶ οὐλότριχες.

As opposed to the conclusion which is to be arrived at from the consideration of the foregoing authorities, we have, on the other hand;—first, the testimony of the Hebrew Scriptures, from which testimony (although indeed it is of a negative character only) it is unquestionably to be inferred, that the people in whose country Joseph became naturalized, so that his brethren believed him to be a native of it (comp. Gen. xlii. 23. 30. 33.);—with whom alliances were permitted by the Israelitish lawgiver (Deut. xxiii. 7, 8.);—one of which people was, in fact, the mother of the heads of two of the tribes of Israel (Gen. xli. 50—52.), and another of whom was, at a later period, the wife of King Solomon (1 Kings, iii. 1.);—could not possibly have been of a much darker complexion than the Israelites themselves. Had such been the case, we should indubitably have met with some mention of the fact, or at least with some reference or allusion to it, similar to that which is made by the prophet Jeremiah (xiii. 23.) respecting the colour of the Cushites.

Secondly: in times when the communication between Egypt and Europe was common and uninterrupted, and when so remarkable a peculiarity, had it existed, could not have failed to be noticed, we have the like negative evidence of the later writers of Greece and Rome. It is true, that there is a description given by Lucian, in one of his Dialogues, ('Navigium, seu Vota,') of a young sailor on board an Egyptian vessel, who, besides being *black,* is represented as *having pouting lips and spindle-shanks;*—οὗτος δὲ πρὸς τῷ μελάγχρους εἶναι, καὶ πρόχειλός ἐστι, καὶ λεπτὸς ἄγαν τοῖν σκελοῖν: but, from the consideration of the context, it is impossible to regard this description as applicable to the Egyptians generally: on the contrary, it would seem rather that the individual in question ought to be regarded as having differed in appearance even from the rest of the crew of the vessel, having been perhaps a negro or Nubian slave: besides which, it is evident that the whole description is so caricatured, that much of its value as an authority is lost.

Thirdly: in the paintings which have been discovered in the temples and tombs of Upper Egypt, the natives of the country are usually represented as

being of a chocolate or red copper colour, which we may reasonably infer to have been their actual complexion at the period when those paintings were made. The human faces, too, painted upon the mummy-cases, which likewise may be assumed to be representatives, although not likenesses, of the individuals whose bodies are contained in those cases, are of a similar coppery hue.

Fourthly: the naturalists who have investigated the physical structure of the skulls of the embalmed bodies, have determined, that they possess none of the decided characters of the negro; and that, indeed, they differ but little in formation from the European races of mankind. The hair, too, upon the heads of many of these bodies, is found to be totally unlike the woolly hair of the negroes; it being, in fact, of a soft and smooth texture, like that of Europeans. From the bodies themselves no opinion is to be formed of their natural colour, owing to the changes which the process of embalming has necessarily caused in them: neither is any certain conclusion to be deduced from the colour of their hair, which is not unfrequently brown; since it is possible that that colour may not be natural, but may have been induced by the same process.

Lastly: we know full well, that in the present day the complexion of the natives of Egypt is far from being black; and that, in reality, they possess the general physical characters of an European or Asiatic, rather than of an African race.

What, then, is the conclusion to be come to under this conflicting evidence? It seems utterly impossible to reject altogether the testimony of Æschylus and Herodotus, and especially of the latter, by which the fact is established, that, at about 500 years before the commencement of the Christian era, the complexion of the natives of Egypt, if not actually black, was at all events of so dark a shade, that such an epithet might not improperly be applied to it among the fairer inhabitants of Greece: and if we admit this fact, there appear to exist no means of reconciling it with the other evidences which have been enumerated, except by the hypothesis which is advocated in my 'Origines Biblicæ;'[1] namely, that the natives of ancient Egypt were derived from two distinct original stocks; the one, and the earliest possessors of the country, being of Ethiopian descent, who

[1] 'Origines Biblicæ, or Researches in Primeval History,' vol. i. London, 1834.

entered Egypt from the south; and the other being the people who are mentioned in the Hebrew Scriptures under the name of מִצְרַיִם (*Mitzrim*), or Mitzrites, who, in all the translations of those Scriptures, from the Septuagint downwards, are incorrectly called Egyptians; and their country, Mitzraim, is, in like manner, improperly designated Egypt; and whose original country was not any portion of Egypt itself, but was situate wholly to the eastward of the isthmus of Suez.

The former of these two peoples was, as may well be conceived, of a race which came from the south, of a dark colour, approaching to, if not actually, black; and it is to this people that are applicable not only the descriptions of Æschylus and Herodotus, but also (see 'Orig. Bibl.' p. 295, note) the allusion of the prophet Jeremiah;—the Cushites, or Ethiopians, and the primitive Egyptians being in fact identical.

The latter people, the Mitzrites, being sprung from an Arabian and northern stock, would not have been of much, if any, darker complexion than the Israelites themselves; and hence we can satisfactorily account for the absence in the Hebrew Scriptures of all reference or allusion to their colour.

A remarkable exemplification of the distinction which thus existed between the Egyptians and the Mitzrites, is afforded by the comparison of a notice of Ælian concerning the former people, with a statement contained in the Hebrew Scriptures respecting the latter. The Roman writer informs us, that the Egyptians used to boast that their women were not confined to their beds by childbirth, but could immediately after their delivery resume their domestic avocations:—*Εἰ δὲ Αἰγυπτίων αἱ γυναῖκες μέγα φρονοῦσιν, ὅτι κακεῖναι τὴν ὠδῖνα ἀπολύσασαι, καὶ ἐξαναστᾶσαι, τῶν ἔργων ἔχονται τῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν.*—'De Nat. Animal.' lib. vii. c. 13.[1] On the other hand, we

[1] My attention was called to this subject, in its present form, by the perusal of the article 'Ægyptus' in 'Lempriere's Classical Dictionary,' (by Barker, second edition, London, 1832,) in which, § 8, 'On the Complexion and Physical Structure of the Egyptians,' pp. 43—46, the various authorities which are thus far cited are collected and commented upon; the principal matter of the remarks being apparently taken from Dr. Prichard's 'Physical History of Mankind;'—a work, to which I have not at present the opportunity of referring. As might be supposed, however, no satisfactory conclusion could be arrived at by the author, whilst the notion of the identity of Mitzraim and Egypt was retained. My own

learn from the Scriptural history, that among the people over whom the oppressor of the Israelites reigned, childbirth was far from being so easy:— "because the Hebrew women are not as the Mitzritish women, for they are lively, and are delivered ere the midwives come in unto them," (Exod. i. 19.) is the excuse of the midwives who were commanded by Pharaoh to destroy the new-born male infants of the Israelitish mothers.

It will be right here at once to anticipate an objection, which might be made in accordance with the opinion entertained by J. D. Michaelis, (see his 'Supplem. ad Lex. Hebr.' in voc. חָיָה) that the word in the text, חָיוֹת, should be pointed חַיּוֹת, and translated *midwives;* whence the passage would have to be read, "because the Hebrew women are not as the Mitzritish women, *for they are themselves midwives,*" &c.; or, as the Vulgate has it, "ipsæ enim obstetricandi habent scientiam;" in which sense the expression in question is understood in many other ancient versions. To this objection a sufficient answer is given by Rosenmüller (Scholia in loc.); namely, that as throughout the whole relation the Mitzritish midwives are called מְיַלְּדוֹת, and there does not appear any reason why the historian should employ two different words to express one and the same idea, the meaning attached by Aben-Ezra to the word in question, (and adopted also in our authorized version,) namely, "lively," "robust," is to be preferred. Jarchi says, that the Rabbis understood the expression to mean, "because they are like the beasts of the field, which bring forth without assistance;" which comes to the same thing.

But admitting for a moment that Michaelis's construction be the correct one, it is still manifest that among the Hebrew women childbirth is stated to have been so easy, that they could dispense with the aid of the midwives; and that, in fact, they were able to deliver themselves. This assertion may, or may not, have been true: from Exod. i. 17. it would seem rather that it was not so, and that, on the contrary, the Mitzritish midwives did actually assist the Hebrew mothers; but that they "feared God, and did not as the king of Mitzraim commanded them, but saved the men-children alive." The truth, or untruth, of their assertion is however entirely immaterial to the

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conclusions, upon all material points connected with the subject, had been expressed, though not in this developed form, in my 'Origines Biblicæ,' long previously to my perusal of the article in Lempriere.—20th July, 1835.

consideration of the present question, which relates to the Mitzritish, and not to the Hebrew women. Now, as the midwives expressly told Pharaoh that the Hebrew women could dispense with their assistance, and that in this respect "they were not as the Mitzritish women," it was equivalent to the assertion, that the latter, on their part, did require such assistance: and as this excuse was allowed to pass current with the tyrant, (which would scarcely have been the case, had it been untrue in this respect also,) it affords the strongest evidence of the physical character of the Mitzritish women in this particular; and hence the distinction is sufficiently established between them and the women of Egypt, as described by Ælian.

For various other arguments in confirmation of the distinction existing between the land of Mitzraim of the Hebrew Scriptures, and the Egypt of profane history, it is sufficient for me to refer to the work already alluded to.

The separation and distinction between the Egyptian and Mitzritish nations continued (there is reason to consider) until about the time of the Israelitish king, Solomon. At that period, wars between them ensued, in which the Mitzrites were at first the conquerors; but after a time, the Egyptians regained their independence, and in the end acquired the supremacy. Of these occurrences we have manifest traces in the corrupted and distorted fragments of Egyptian history which have come down to our time, although the period when they took place is thrown back to a much earlier date. The country of Mitzraim being thus subjected to the dominion of Egypt, and being farther devastated by continual aggressions on the part of the Assyrians and Babylonians, whilst, from its peculiar locality, it was obnoxious to the desolating action of physical causes also, became gradually deprived of its political existence, and at length was merged and altogether lost in its more prosperous neighbour, Egypt. That Herodotus and other writers should not in any manner allude to the separate existence of Mitzraim, is, in reality, not more remarkable than that they should omit all mention of either of the neighbouring kingdoms of Judah and Israel; whilst the corrections which have been made in the early history of most nations, when they have been subjected to the test of extensive research and severe criticism, plainly show how little dependence is to be placed upon the unsupported traditions and fables of native writers, who are but too often found to be willing to enhance the antiquity and glory of their country at the total sacrifice of the truth.

The natural result of the union between the Egyptians and Mitzrites would have been an amalgamation, to a certain extent, between the two races, and (as we see continually instanced in the present day) the offspring of connexions between them would, in complexion and other physical characters, have been intermediate between the two parent stocks. It may be added, that besides the partial change of colour which would hence have ensued, many important alterations in the customs of the Egyptians must necessarily have been consequent upon their original subjection by the Mitzrites. Among these is particularly to be mentioned the introduction of the practice of embalming the dead; a custom, which we are expressly told was not of Ethiopian origin, (see Herod. Thalia 24. Diod. ii. 14. Strabo xviii. 23.) but which we know to have been common among the Mitzrites as early as the time of the patriarch Joseph. (See Gen. l. 3. 26. 30.) A corollary upon this will be, that no Egyptian mummies can be of a date anterior to the Mitzritish invasion of Egypt, (circa 1000 B.C.): many, nay, most, of those which have, up to the present time, been brought to Europe, are manifestly of the period of the Ptolemies only.

But, in addition to the cause of variation in the colour of the Egyptians which has already been mentioned, another cause, and one of which the results would have been yet more perceptible, had, about two centuries previously to the time of Herodotus, begun to operate: this was the introduction of Greek settlers by Psammeticus, and the encouragement which was given to the immigration of that people during three whole centuries previous to the accession of a Greek dynasty to the throne. Subsequently to this latter event, and whilst, during three centuries longer, the Ptolemies continued sovereigns of Egypt, the inducement to Greek settlers became still greater; and thus, during the long period of six centuries next preceding the commencement of the Christian era, continual additions of European blood would have been made to that of the already mixed breed of the Egyptians and Mitzrites. Hence the complexions of the inhabitants of Egypt must necessarily have become fairer and fairer in each successive generation; so that, at the time when the Romans acquired the supremacy of that country, its natives, or at all events those of Lower Egypt, would have been little, if at all, darker in colour than the inhabitants of the neighbouring countries of the Levant. I will say nothing of the immense

number of Jewish emigrants in Egypt; although, not improbably, they likewise would have aided in bringing about this result.

Whilst however these changes were gradually taking place, it is evident that shades of colour of every degree, from the darkest up to the very fairest, would have existed at one and the same time among the inhabitants of Egypt, in the same manner as, in the present day, we find to be the case in places where the population is compounded of European whites and African blacks; and these diversities must, to a certain extent at least, have continued to exist in the time of the Ptolemies, and even of the Cæsars;—and this, doubtless, to a greater degree in the southern than in the northern portions of the country. Hence it may not be unreasonable to imagine, that cases would sometimes arise, in which it might be considered advisable, in documents of a legal nature, to state, not merely the names, descriptions, and ages of the parties to them, (in like manner as is customary in such documents now-a-days,) but also their complexions. That the complexions of the parties to legal documents were sometimes described, is clear, from the Greek papyri translated by Dr. Young ('Discoveries in Hieroglyphical Literature,' London, 1823, pp. 66. 69.); and without attaching any undue importance to this circumstance, I think it is at least deserving of consideration in the light above suggested.

It is however most natural that the lower classes would have been those whose blood derived the smallest proportion from an exotic source, and who, consequently, would longest have retained the physical characters of the primitive Ethiopian stock: hence it is not impossible, that the young Egyptian sailor, described by Lucian, may have been an individual of the lowest class; although, as before stated, it is more probable that he was a negro or Nubian slave.

In thus attributing the origin of the primitive Egyptians to a black African stock, I must however be distinctly understood as opposing the notion, that the type of that stock is to be sought for in the negro of the present day. On the contrary, I conceive the negroes of Africa to be the descendants, in an extremely low state of degradation, of the primitive people, who first entered that continent by the way of Ethiopia, and who were possessed of a much higher degree of cultivation than the Egyptians themselves; for it is manifest, that this latter people, instead of advancing,

were, until the period of the arrival of the Greeks, gradually descending the scale of civilization, and that the state of manners described by Herodotus and other writers, (like that which we observe in the Chinese, among whom imitation is almost all that is left in the place of the intelligence possessed by their predecessors,) was the natural result of that degeneracy, which, when unchecked, is inevitable to human nature.

I am aware, that in this hypothesis of the original separate existence of Egypt and Mitzraim, I am directly opposed to the results which are considered to have been arrived at, upon indisputable premises, by the many learned persons who have devoted themselves to the study of Egyptian antiquities. With the highest opinion of the value and importance of the materials collected by them, which cannot fail to be of the greatest service to future investigators of this interesting subject, I cannot but feel convinced that they have been engaged in the propping-up of a system of Egyptian history, which, being founded upon altogether erroneous principles, must ultimately fall to the ground and be entirely abandoned.

In the three papers of mine which had the honour of being read before the Royal Society of Literature, on the 15th January, 19th February, and 11th June, 1834, (as well as in my 'Origines Biblicæ,') I have expressed my conviction that the writings attributed to Manetho are not authentic. This conviction is only strengthened, the more I have occasion to investigate the subject of ancient Egyptian history; a proper insight into which will, I feel, never be acquired until those writings are deprived of authority, and of that appearance of truth which they have derived from the coincidences said to have been found between them and the results of the system of hieroglyphical interpretation discovered by Dr. Young, and adopted by M. Champollion le jeune.

That in the time of Josephus, these writings were, among the Egyptians, or rather, among the Greeks and Jews, who composed at that period the most important portion of the inhabitants of Egypt, (see 'Joseph. cont. Apion.' lib. ii. § 3.) believed to be the composition of such an individual as the Sebennite priest, can in no wise be taken as conclusive evidence of their authenticity. On the contrary, when we call to mind the distracted state in which Egypt had existed during so many centuries preceding that time, and the changes which had taken place in the government, the manners, and even in the lineage of its inhabitants, we can have no difficulty in con-

ceiving that much of the real history of the country was forgotten and lost, and that, in its place, the traditions of the Jewish settlers (nay, any fables that they may have invented, of which an example is to be seen in the story of the composition of the Septuagint version,) may have met with a ready reception; and hence, that the whole system of Egyptian history should have been remodelled, so as to tally with those traditions. The want of agreement between the history thus formed, with the particulars of the ancient history of Egypt afforded by Herodotus and Eratosthenes, and even by Diodorus, (though this last writer, from his much later date, had acquired a mixture of the false and the true,) afford the strongest proof of the little reliance which ought to be placed upon the former; and this independently of the conclusions arrived at from other sources, which are directly opposed to the statements bearing the name of Manetho.

That coincidences are said to exist between these writings of Manetho and the results come to by M. Champollion and the disciples of his school, is, I fear, only so much the more in disfavour of the phonetic system of interpretation; and it may perhaps give validity to the opinion, that that system has not merely been stationary, but has actually retrograded, since the death of its illustrious founder; and that, in order to cultivate it with the prospect of ultimate success, it will be necessary to go back to the point at which it was left when science sustained so severe a loss through his untimely death, and from that point to pursue future investigations of the subject, upon the same philosophical and solid principles on which his splendid discovery and its subsequent development were based.

Charles T. Beke.

January 4th, 1836.

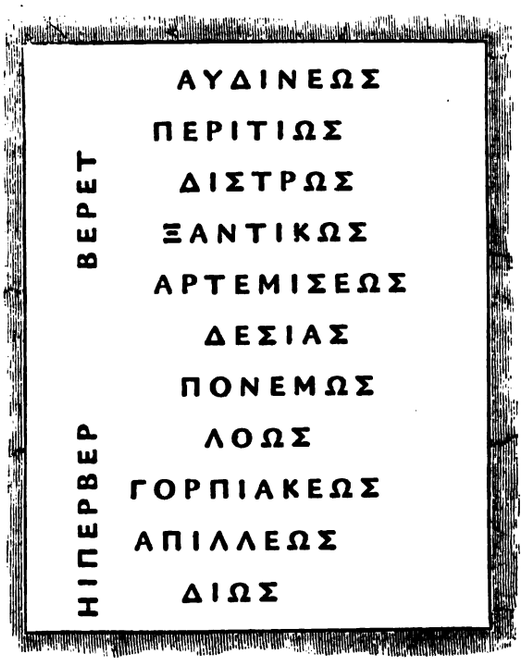
XIII. *Letter to the Secretary, containing a Greek Inscription.*

By W. R. Hamilton, Esq.

Read March 24th, 1836.

Sir,

I have the honour to put into your hands the accompanying copy of a Greek inscription, which Dr. Wilson found some years ago at Nineveh, and which I will thank you to lay before the Royal Society of Literature.



The letters are engraved in that irregular and inartificial manner, which is not frequently met with until the third century of the Christian era: the

omicron and omega are of a square, instead of a circular form. The names are those of the Macedonian months which were generally employed by the Asiatic Greeks after the time of Alexander, though varying in different parts of the country, as to their conformity with the Julian calendar, in some instances to the amount of nearly a month. In general, the year began in the autumn with the month Dius; but at Nineveh it appears that the beginning of the year had been adapted exactly to that of the Romans, viz. the first of January; which day, in many cities of Asia, corresponded to the first of Audynæus. The catalogue of Nineveh differs however from all others in the order of the names following Gorpiæus, and is incorrect in its orthography; the following having been the order and form of the names according to a great number of ancient authorities, *Δῖος*, *Ἀπελλαῖος*, *Αὐδυναῖος*, *Περίτιος*, *Δύστρος*, *Ξανθικὸς*, *Ἀρτεμίσιος*, *Δαίσιος*, *Πάνεμος*, *Λῶος*, *Γορπιαῖος*, *Ὑπερβερεταῖος*.

After Mr. F. Clinton's complete and learned remarks on the Macedonian months,[1] and his comparison of them with those of the Greeks, Romans, and Hebrews, it would be superfluous to add any further observations on this subject, which is often of considerable importance in the illustration of ancient history, inscribed marbles, and coins. The monument of Nineveh was intended, probably, for an official or private memorandum of the names and order of the Greek months; which would be the more necessary, if the people of Nineveh, like the Hebrews, had another menstrual division of the year, with which they may have been in general more familiar.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your obedient humble servant,

W. R. Hamilton.

23, Lower Grosvenor Street,
March 17, 1836.

To the Reverend Richard Cattermole,
Secretary to the Royal Society of Literature.

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[1] Fasti Hellenici, vol. iii. p. 347.

XIV. *The Lydo-Phrygian Inscription.*[1] By W. Wilkins, Esq.

Read March 24th, 1836.

In looking over the plates of sepulchres for the fourth volume of the Dilettanti publication, I found that some of the inscriptions had not been inserted by the engraver.

In attempting to correct them, I had occasion to refer to the inscription on that singular monument at Doganlú, described by Colonel Leake in his 'Asia Minor.' After reading what he says upon the subject, I felt dissatisfied with his attempt to explain the inconsistencies exhibited by the alphabet; for where the words MIΔAI and FANAKTI were so legitimately Greek, I could not but think that the whole inscription must likewise be so, although consisting of very archaic characters. Colonel Leake admits, that "it is far from improbable that some inaccuracy or omission may have occurred in our copy of the inscriptions, from the singularity of the characters, the great height of one of the inscriptions above the ground, and the short time that was allowed us for transcribing and revising them." He expresses a hope, that future travellers, who may cross Asia Minor by the routes he took, will give the subject a more complete examination than he was enabled to give it. (P. 35.)

Without this admission, I should hardly have dared to attempt a task, wherein he, who is a giant in this way, had not succeeded; especially, unaided by any such subsequent corrections as he had hoped might be afforded.

The monument, however, is of so interesting, and, at the same time, of so singular a character, that I was anxious for the interpretation of the inscriptions, thinking that some light might be afforded, so as to enable

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[1] Leake's 'Asia Minor,' p. 21. Walpole's 'Turkey,' vol. ii. p. 207.

me to judge of the age of the building. You know that I am an ardent inquirer as to the archæology of ancient structures; and this must be my excuse for the rashness of the attempt, as well as for the errors that you may find in my explanation of these singular inscriptions.

I was persuaded from the first, that it was a mere memorial formed by hewing away the rough exterior of the rock, leaving a plain surface for the purpose of inscribing upon it the singular graphic diagrams, or mæander, which, as Colonel Leake observes, "are very much in the same style as the elaborate ornaments (equally remote from Grecian taste) which covered the half columns formerly standing on either side of the door of the treasury of Atreus at Mycenæ," some fragments of which are to be seen in the British Museum.

I was confirmed in this opinion by the third word of the first inscription, which is so obviously ΚΑΝΟΤΑΦΟΣ or ΚΑΝΟΤΑΦΟΣΙ, that I am surprised it escaped the observation of the intelligent traveller. The verb κενοτάφεω signifies *honorario tumulo decoro.* (Hel. 1562.)

"The figures cut upon the rock," says Colonel Leake, "are no where more than an inch deep below the surface, except towards the bottom, where the excavation is much deeper, and resembles an altar. It is not impossible, however, that it may conceal the entrance into the sepulchral chamber, where lie the remains of the person in whose honour this magnificent monument was formed; for, in some other parts of Asia Minor, especially at Telmissus, we have examples of the wonderful ingenuity with which the ancients sometimes defended the entrance into their tombs."

Here, in passing, I must be allowed to say, that this latter observation of Colonel Leake is not altogether correct. The context shows, that by the word "defended," he means "concealed." Now, in the examples at Telmissus, at Myra, Phellus, Antiphellus, and Patara, where these monuments, almost all of the same character, abound; the entrances are rather made manifest than concealed, although they were closed after bodies had been deposited there by panels, which were slabs, of no great thickness, moving in grooves: they formed no part of the solid architecture hewn in the live rock. Admission to the interior was readily obtained by breaking one of these panels; a measure very frequently resorted to, inasmuch as we

learn from the inscriptions upon them, that it was not absolutely forbidden; but that the violator, if a stranger, was only liable to a fine. Upon a tomb at Patara, it is said, "If any one bury another there, let him pay ——— drachmæ, sacred to Apollo." In an inscription at Thyatira, given by Spon, we read, "Whoever puts any other body in the tomb shall pay a fine,"— *νενόμενος ὀπεύθυνος ἔξωθεν τῷ τῆς τυμβωρύχιας νόμῳ*. At Phineka, on the coast of Lycia, was the tomb of Aurelius Pigres; the inscription on which informs us, that he built it for himself, his children, and their descendants: the tomb must therefore have been repeatedly opened, and the access to the interior would be effected without detriment to the building. The violation by a stranger was to be visited by a fine, as I have already observed, but there was no other prohibition. In some instances, indeed, the violator was denounced as committing the crime of impiety to the Dii Inferi, and subject to the laws decreed against this crime, in addition to the payment of a sum of money; but the entrance was chiefly "defended" by the imposition of a fine.

The two inscriptions from Alaiah, the ancient Coracesium, given in Walpole's 'Turkey,' severally mention the names of Orestes, son of Midas; and Las, the daughter of a person of the same name; both without the title annexed to that in the Lydo-Phrygian monument.

The words FAFAKE and FANAKTEI having the semblance of the digamma in three places, the transcriber might have been led to expect that it would be found to occur frequently; and hence its introduction might take place improperly where it would greatly tend to embarrass the translation, and give the whole a more archaic, if not a more barbarous appearance. In Colonel Leake's transcript it appears eight times; but, by supposing it only to have occurred between the first two words, so as to obviate the hiatus, and doubting its correctness in other places, I was satisfied with the conviction that the entire of the inscriptions was written in legitimate Greek, in characters of the most archaic forms. It will be seen that my reading makes it unnecessary to substitute other characters, but such as bear a close resemblance to the engraved letters; and, in order to show this near resemblance, I proceed to place the inscriptions, letter for letter, in subscript lines.

It is highly probable that the inscription originally consisted of four lines; the third following the form of the pediment, as the second does; and the

first an upright line symmetrical with the fourth, now read, as Colonel Leake observes, *downwards*.

The tomb seems to have been constructed at the repeated instigation of some friend of the deceased. The body appears to have been elsewhere deposited in the first instance, and only recently removed to its final destination.

L. ....ΙΑ:ΕΡΑΡΑΚΕ:ΚΑΝΟΓΑΡΟΣ:ΜΙΔΑΙ:ΓΑΡΑΓΤΑΕΙ:ΡΑΝΑΚΤΕΙ:ΕΔΑΕ
W. ΜΝΑΜΑ:ΕΑΜΑΧΕ:ΚΑΝΟΤΑΦΟΣΙ:ΜΙΔΑΙ:ΓΑΝΑΕΤΑΤΙ: ΑΝΑΚΤΙ:ΕΓΑΑΣ
L. ΒΑΒΑ:ΜΕΜΕΡΑΙΣ:ΓΡΟΙΤΑΡΟΣ:ΚΦΙΜΑΝ:ΑΡΕΛΟΣ:ΣΙ ΚΕ ΜΕΜΑΝ:ΕΓΑΕΣ
W. ΒΑΒΑ:ΜΝΕΜΑΤΟΣ:ΓΡΟΙΤΑΤΟΣ:ΕΦΙΣΑΣ:ΑΤΙΜΟΣ:ΣΕ:ΜΕΝΟΜΕΝΟΝ:ΕΓΑΕΣΑ

μναμα ϝαμαχε κανοταφωσι μιδαι γαναητατι ανακτι εγαας
βαβα μνηματος πρωϊτατως εφισας ατιμως σε μενουμενον ηπαεσα.

" . . . O Amachos! who boasted of being descended from the same noble race with king Midas, that they should erect a monument to thy honour . . . Alas! thou, who hast been occupying a sepulchre too prematurely, I have continually called to mind thy remaining without funeral honours."

The lines are metrical, consisting of seven anapæsts. It is remarkable that the omega should be represented by a smaller O. The *ου* in *μενουμενον* may have been so written.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE FIRST LINE.

The word at the commencement was probably *μνημα*, written *μναμα* for the purpose of making the first syllable short. *Μνημα* is the proper designation for a tomb excavated in the rock; it frequently occurs on those which are found in great numbers on the southern coast of Asia Minor. According to Colonel Leake's transcript, there would be no stop between the first and second word; such a division, however, has been observed in every other instance. The three points seem to have been mistaken by the copyist for an E, which is inadmissible if the word at the commencement be *μναμα*.

The name of the person was Amachos, having a very common termination

of a proper name. In one of Chandler's inscriptions (LXXXVII.) we have both *Ευμαχος* and *Ευθυμαχος*. In this word Leake uses F for M, and K for X.

Κανοταφωσι. The K and T are incomplete in Leake's transcript: the digamma is introduced instead of Φ, and the final I omitted.

Γαναητατι. Poeticè for *γενναητητι*, with the Doric α for the η. Leake puts the digamma for N: the Γ is the E incomplete: the final EI for TI would make the syllable long instead of short, which the metre requires. The same error occurs in the next word, *Γαναχτει*.

Εγααϛ. From *γαίω, glorior*, and not *εδαε* from *δαίω, divido*, as Leake imagines: he writes **EΔAE** for **EΓAAΣ**, omitting the final Σ altogether.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE SECOND LINE.

Βαβα, for *παπα*, is the common exclamation expressive of sorrow, astonishment, and sometimes of joy.

Μνηματος. In this word the E is used, and not A, as in the first line. Leake writes the word **MEMEFAIΣ**, consisting of the same number of letters.

Γρωϊτατως. Colonel Leake introduced the digamma instead of T in the last syllable, probably from seeing that it was intermediate between the two vowels.

Εφισας, instead of *εφισαν*, the final Σ being of the same form as that preceding. Leake makes the initial letter K.

Ατιμως, written **AFEϝOΣ** in the engraved inscription, where the digamma is again introduced between two vowels instead of T: the ϝ is an incomplete M.

Σε μενουμενον, the participle of *μενίομαι*. Leake reads *σικεμεμαν* in one word. The metre requires that the third syllable should be long: he alludes to the great difficulty in transcribing the line, which is written *downwards*.

Ηπαεσα, from *ἐπαίδω*, " to repeat a thing frequently in order to impress it on the mind of another person." This, with the verb *κενοταφωσι* in the subjunctive, leads to the inference that the monument was constructed in compliance with the repeated suggestion of some friend of the deceased, as well as the supposition of some previous verb, part of a preceding line.

In this singular inscription the same characters occur in different forms; the Σ especially, which appears as Ϛ, ξ, ϝ, and ξ: we have also ξ and ξ, ϝ

and ∩; the first of these resembles the same character in the Vas Dodwellianum, and the last that in the Inscriptio Delphica: the first of these appears also in the Galea Olympica, but reversed ↰.

Nothing in the inscription serves as a guide to enable us to judge of the antiquity of the monument; but the characters are of the most ancient forms, and corroborate the opinion of Colonel Leake, who places it somewhere between the years 740 and 570 before the Christian era. Midas, the son of Gordius, was the first of the barbarians, as Herodotus terms them, who sent offerings to Delphi; an act of piety, which must have been prior to the year 715 B. C.

One of the earliest specimens of engraved writing which have come down to us is the Elean inscription, which is a treaty between two neighbouring states, supposed to have taken place about the XL Olympiad, or 620 years B. C., and the letters of the inscription are at least as old as these: it is not, therefore, at all improbable that the king Midas, whose name is recorded in it, was the son of Gordius.

XV. *Letter from* W. R. Hamilton, Esq. *to the Secretary, on a Note in the fifth Volume of 'Stuart's Athens.'*

Read April 14th, 1836.

23, Lower Grosvenor Street. March 21st, 1836.

Sir,

In turning over the leaves of a late publication, which is commonly known by the name of the fifth volume to 'Stuart's Athens,' and which contains several very learned and beautiful illustrations of various monuments in Greece, my attention has been particularly caught by a note in page 9 of the Essay by Mr. W. Kinnaird on the antiquities at Athens and Delos, and in reference to the custom, amongst the ancient Greeks, of strewing flowers and offering chaplets on the tombs of their departed friends, and of depicting them on their sepulchral vases. The note is in the following terms:—

"The ancient sculptors and engravers, in the direct representation of flowers, confined themselves, it appears, to the imitation of a very limited number of plants; on which subject we will relate an instance of the technical botanical knowledge of a late distinguished president of the Royal Society, Sir Joseph Banks. The late R. P. Knight, Esq., having purchased of an Italian trafficker in works of art, a supposed fragment of a large antique cameo at a great price, brought it forward at a meeting of his learned friends, among whom was the president, for their opinion, when the gem was very generally admired for its execution, and viewed as a great acquisition, if an antique, at the price; but the scientific baronet remarked, that some of the flowers, represented in the wreath on the head, were such as he had never hitherto observed in the sculpture of the ancients,—a circumstance which raised doubts in his mind as to its antiquity. On being informed of the criticism of Sir Joseph, the Italian artist (who, when engraving the gem, was unconsciously a party to the imposition, but who has subsequently claimed the merit of the deception,) declared him to be perfectly correct, since he had composed the chaplet, not from the observation

of flowers on antiquities, but from copying some procured at the Roman flower-market. The cameo in question represents part of a head, as if of a Flora; and it now accidentally tends to depreciate the treasures of ancient art, so liberally bequeathed by the really great scholar and antiquary, its purchaser, to the British Museum.

"It is to be regretted, that insinuating foreign impostors, when so hawking, at enormous prices, either sham antiques, or black, repainted, or fabricated daubs, misnamed 'pictures of the old masters,' should be thus protected by the admirers of art, overlooking prospective advantage, and to the neglect of native artists, whose recent productions must in recollection crowd on their minds; thereby proving the British school of fine arts to have arrived at as high a degree of perfection as that of any other age or country. Art is a plant of slow growth, which, under free institutions, luxuriates in the beams of individual patronage: let the foreign charlatan be encouraged to intercept them, and the beautiful blossoms will sink, blighted, with unproductive atrophy."

The circumstance of the anecdote thus related having been given to the world, in company with such a mass of valuable and agreeable information as is contained in this volume, is so likely to give to the reader an incorrect impression respecting the curious fact which it recites, that, however unwilling to revive a discussion, which, a few years ago, created some sensation in the literary and antiquarian societies of this metropolis, I am induced to ask permission to lay before the public, in the shape of a letter to the Secretary of the Royal Society of Literature, the real state of the case; and as I was partly mixed up in the business myself, I feel that I am the more bound to do what is in my power to clear up the mistake.

The artist to whom allusion is made in the note I have just read, is the celebrated Mr. B. Pistrucci, who came to England in the year 1814, in order to pursue in this city the same profession (that of sculptor of gems) in which he had, from his youth upwards, attained the highest eminence amongst his countrymen at Rome.

Having received the advantage of an introduction to the late Sir Joseph Banks, for the purpose of making his portrait, he was one morning at Sir Joseph's house, occupied upon the model in wax, (Mr. König, of the British Museum, acting as interpreter,) when the late Mr. R. P. Knight came in, to show to Sir Joseph a beautiful antique cameo, representing a Flora, which he

had recently purchased. After some time, Sir Joseph proposed to show it to Mr. Pistrucci for his opinion; and no sooner had the artist caught a sight of the cameo, than he exclaimed, "Ah, I don't wish to see it any more,—it is my own work:" and, in reply to the questions thereupon put to him by Mr. Knight, he acquainted him, that he had made it three or four years before for Mr. Bonelli, a dealer in such things, who had given him a few sequins for it;—that it was a work on which he set little or no value, as it had only cost him eight or nine days' labour. Mr. Knight at first expressed his doubts, and, amongst other reasons, urged the antique appearance of the flowers on the wreath upon the head of the Flora; which however was denied by Mr. Pistrucci, and some of which flowers were on inspection declared by Sir Joseph to be common roses. Mr. Pistrucci was then invited by Mr. Knight to visit his museum, and see if there were not others of his works there: the visit took place; and Mr. Knight, after many compliments to his ability, (if indeed he had made this fragment, which he Mr. Knight had bought as an antique, and had hitherto considered one of the best in his possession,) engaged him to make another of the same kind for him, for which Mr. Knight was to provide the stone. This proposition was of course accepted; but the stone not forthcoming for some time, Mr. Pistrucci made one from a cornelian which he had by him. In the interval, it would seem that Mr. Knight was for some reason or other prejudiced against the Italian artist; and when the second Flora was offered to him, at which Mr. Pistrucci had worked nearly two months, instead of eight days, as on the first, he declined accepting it on the terms offered. This Flora is now in my possession, and it is universally acknowledged to be the most beautiful and highly-finished cameo which has ever been produced by any modern artist. But notwithstanding that all of Mr. Knight's friends, who were in any degree conversant with the fine arts, were convinced that he had been mistaken in his judgment, that gentleman, though he avoided touching upon the subject, did in fact continue to the last his avowed disbelief; and when he bequeathed all his works of ancient art to the British Museum, he left this with the rest of his collection, and accompanied with a document, expressed in very strong terms, declaratory of its being a genuine antique, though claimed as his own by an Italian.

Now this being the real state of the case, it is evident that the note, which has been just read, does contain many unfounded facts and hints and insinuations, however indirect, against Mr. Pistrucci, and, through him,

against foreigners, if they happen to be artists,—which are as uncalled for as they are undeserved. In the first place, the pretty anecdote of Sir Joseph Banks's hesitation as to the genuineness of the supposed antique, because the flowers upon it did not resemble those which he had observed upon other ancient works, has a totally different foundation,—the botanical doubts being only expressed after the true story had been told. In the next place, when it is said, that the Italian artist, "who, when engraving the gem, was unconsciously a party to the imposition, subsequently claimed the merit of the deception;"—it is clear that Mr. Pistrucci was in no way whatever, consciously or unconsciously, a party to the imposition; nor did he ever dream of claiming the merit of the deception;—he merely regretted that another had been imposed upon by a third party: and if it now "tends to depreciate the treasures of ancient art," which form part of the same bequest, and are now in the British Museum, it is no fault of Mr. Pistrucci, but wholly and exclusively owing to Mr. Knight's unbounded confidence in his own judgment.

But it is the concluding paragraph of the note in question which chiefly deserves notice. If, by the term, "insinuating foreign impostors," it be meant to reflect on professed dealers in modern works, got up for the purpose of imposing upon the English public; and if this be really done with so much success and to such extent, that native artists are neglected; it certainly is a matter of regret, both that there should be such lovers of mischief abroad, and still more, that the "admirers of art" amongst us should be so uninformed in the objects of their admiration as to become their dupes: but I believe the proper way to remedy this evil, great and crying as it may be, is, not to attempt to improve the morality of the importers of these articles, but to improve our own taste and knowledge of what is good, that we may be ourselves the guardians of our own characters and purses: the attempts of "foreign charlatans," as they are called, to "intercept the beams of individual patronage," will only succeed as long as our patrons are ignorant, and our artists do not teach us what we ought to look for. If, on the other hand, we continue satisfied with our own ignorance of the great works of antiquity,—if we refuse to study them when they are rendered accessible to every one,—and if we thereby remain incapable of distinguishing what is true from what is false, we must be contented with, and ought indeed almost to be grateful for being imposed upon by the sham antiques or

painted daubs of the charlatan, whether foreigner or native; but, whilst such regrets are expressed for a danger of this description, we cannot subscribe to the opinions of the writer of the note, "that the recent productions of our own countrymen prove the British school of fine arts to have arrived at as high a degree of perfection as that of any other age or country."

Another purpose for which I have troubled you with these lines, is, to rescue from the possible effect of the insinuations and mis-statements contained in the note alluded to, the character, whether as a gentleman of honour or as an artist, of my much-valued friend, Mr. Pistrucci; and I only regret that these observations of mine have no chance of being so widely circulated, or so much attended to, as the note in question, which, from the contrast it exhibits with all the other contents of the volume, must, I apprehend, have been inserted in it by the learned writer unintentionally or inadvertently.

To complete the history of this pretended pseudo-antique, I may as well take this opportunity of putting on record the following circumstance. When the subject was rife in the minds of the public, and some denied and others asserted that Mr. Knight had been deceived in his purchase, I called in person at the house of Mr. Bonelli, from whom he had got his Flora: I told him what I came about, i. e., to know the truth of the matter; and I at once asked him, how he could think of imposing on Mr. Knight a modern cameo for an antique? He assured me, it was not his fault; he had never intended it for him; and that he was never more surprised, than, when he opened to Mr. K. his drawer or box containing all that he had picked up on his travels in Italy, Mr. Knight at once seized upon this cameo, declared it instantly to be one of the finest antiques he had ever seen, and offered him one hundred guineas for it, part in duplicate coins, part in money: he added,—"Mr. Knight was too good a friend of mine, for me to think of undeceiving him, or refusing any thing he offered: I was therefore under the necessity of ceding it to him without farther explanation."

I am, &c. &c.

W. R. Hamilton.

To the Rev. Richard Cattermole,
Secretary of the Royal Society of Literature.

XVI. *Letter from* W. R. Hamilton, Esq. *to the Secretary, on Honorary Medals.*

Read May 19th, 1836.

Sir,

It is not my present intention to enter upon the history of honorary medals, however interesting it would be to trace from its commencement the custom of conferring this species of reward. It will, I believe, upon examination, prove to be comparatively of recent date: this will in some measure account for its not having yet become a matter of general discussion, and for the absence of any general principles, which might possibly be laid down with advantage for the future regulation of the practice.

There are various occasions on which medals of honour are at present conferred in this country. Without pretending to enumerate them all, or even to approximate to it, we may only mention those which are conferred by the king on distinguished naval and military officers, and which generally bear the name of the place which has been signalized as the field of battle by land or on sea; those which are given for long service and good conduct to the privates and non-commissioned or warrant officers of the two services; others, the cost or price of which is supplied from His Majesty's privy purse, but which are actually awarded by the presidents and councils of various literary and scientific societies. There are then the medals given by the Royal Society for eminence in the pursuits of science; by the Academy of Arts for different degrees of merit in the arts of design or of practical machinery; and those of the Royal Academy, for industry and distinction amongst the students in painting, sculpture, and architecture.

The usual mode of embodying these annual or biennial premiums, in the shape of a medal, has been, whenever the funds would admit of it, to have on one side of the medal an allegorical or historical subject, suited to the nature of the pursuits of the society by which it is awarded; and on the other, the head of the sovereign, when he is the donor; or of some private

individual, as the donor, or armorial bearing, &c. &c. in other cases. This medal, when once engraved, is ever the same, and varied only by the names of the receivers, which are added in each successive year either in the exergue, or round the border: one of the last of this kind is the royal medal awarded by the Royal Society, with the head of the Sovereign on one side, and a copy of the statue of Newton at Cambridge on the other.

Now there appear to me to be many and powerful reasons why this practice is objectionable, and ought promptly to be abandoned; and some other, not liable to the same inconveniences, substituted in its place. The following reasons, amongst others, may be brought forward against it:—

1. On the supposition that the medal awarded is of gold, the possession of a large piece of precious metal is at all times a source of uneasiness, for its security; especially when, as frequently may be the case, in the hands of a person, in a situation in life not accustomed to the custody of objects of considerable value.

2. From its being always kept under lock and key, it can very rarely be open to the inspection of his friends; never, it may be said, to that of the public. We may say to him, indeed, in the words of Horace,

> Quid juvat immensum te argenti pondus et auri
> Furtim defossa timidum deponere terra?

and if he excused himself, that if it were exposed, it might be lost or stolen, the poet would reply,

> At, ni id fit, quid habet pulchri constructus acervus?

3. It therefore contributes in no way whatever to extend the name and fame of the receiver, and as little to make known the liberality of the donor, or the judgment of the society by which it has been awarded.

4. It is liable to be lost by accidents of fire, robbery, or carelessness.

5. With an individual of limited means and large expenses, it may frequently entice him to wish that he could dispose of it, either for its intrinsic value or for a fanciful increased value; and his anxiety to meet the exigencies of the moment may often be at variance with his sense of honour, and of what is due to himself, the society from which he has received it, and to the donor.

6. Ultimately, sooner or later, it is sure to be delivered over to the fur-

nace; whether for the reasons above hinted at, or when death, or lapse of time, shall have produced in the family a feeling of indifference towards the pursuit or the attainments for which they may have been indebted for the distinction; and generally, it may be said, the duration of the symbol in the family, i. e. its existence, will be measured by the length of the purse of him to whom it descends; or, if medals of this kind should ultimately find their way into great public establishments, being repetitions one of the other, they are of no value whatever.

7. Such a medal is, by its very nature, in no way calculated to spread abroad or extend either the fame of the individual who has obtained it, or that of the particular object for which it was given.

8. When such medal is once struck, it is no longer a basis on which any encouragement can be held out for the advance and improvement of the art of engraving medals; and, from the very limited circle of those who ever see any one of these medals, the artist himself gets little or no credit for his work, though it may be eminently good; nor does he derive any benefit from public opinion, should it be open to criticism: and yet there is no department of the fine arts in which we are in this country so inferior to the most enlightened nations on the continent. France, Italy, and Germany are our masters in the art of engraving; and, with very few exceptions, for a long period of time, some of our best engravers in the Mint, and elsewhere, have been foreigners: I need only mention the names of Dassier, Pingo, Pistrucci, &c.

To meet these and many other objections, which I think may fairly be brought against the present mode of conferring honorary medals, I wish to submit to the consideration of the Royal Society of Literature, a scheme which appears to me free from them, and to possess many and peculiar advantages, which recommend it for general adoption, whenever practicable. I add this last restriction, because I am aware that it can only be applied in cases where the annual premium, available for the purpose, amounts to £50, more or less; or, where circumstances are such as to enable the awarders of the premium so to regulate the awards, that where the available sum is less than £50, or some such sum, the amounts of two, three, or more years may be added together; and, instead of giving an annual medal, a biennial, triennial, or even a quadrennial medal may be substituted for it.

Starting then from this principle, I should propose,

1. That the whole of this sum of fifty guineas, or such part of it as may be necessary, should be expended annually in the engraving of a die or dies, bearing the portrait of the individual to whom the president and council of the society shall have awarded the premium.

2. That such portrait be impressed on one side of such medal.

3. That the other face of the said medals do bear (in the case of a royal premium) a full-length representation of the sovereign, the founder of it, either seated or on foot, and accompanied by such appropriate figures as may be selected in harmony with the liberality of the royal founder and the objects of the society.

4. That in the case of the premium being the gift of a subject, such other device may be adopted as may contain the most appropriate allusion to the donor, perhaps also his portrait, and to the purposes for which the society has been established.

5. That on one face of the medal be engraved a suitable inscription, bearing the name and title of the donor or founder; and that, on the other, there be inscribed the name of the individual rewarded, and also "Awarded by the president and council of the Society for, &c. &c."

6. That the face of the medal, described in the preceding article 5, be considered as permanent.

7. That no impression of the dies sunk for this medal be struck in gold, and only one in silver: this last to be given to the receiver of the premium.

8. That the society do also, at their own expense, strike off one hundred impressions of the same in bronze; the price of which would be about £25, at five shillings each.

9. That of these hundred bronze medals, ten be given to the receiver for distribution amongst his friends; that forty be distributed by the council amongst the royal and public cabinets at home and on the continent; and the remaining fifty be sold for their private cabinets to individuals, at ten shillings each.

10. That whenever these hundred impressions shall be so disposed of, the council shall, if they think proper, order any farther number of impressions to be taken for sale on account of the society.

11. That when such premium shall have been awarded by the president and council of the society, in the form prescribed by the rules of the

society, and confirmed at a general meeting, the council do direct their secretary to put the individual, thus honoured, in communication with the engraver employed by the society, in order that the artist may proceed without delay in taking the portrait, and in executing the punches and dies.

12. That if it should be thought advisable to give to these regulations a retrospective effect, measures might easily be taken to enable those who have already received medals or premiums under the former system, to commute them, if of sufficient value, for others like what are hereafter to be given.

It may be thought, that in first laying before the public a scheme of this kind, I ought to have confined myself merely to suggesting the principle, without entering into such details; but I thought it best at once to show how easily it might be reduced to practice. Other details might also have been mentioned, but these would occur to all: as, for example, that the council of the society should in no way interfere for the likeness, but leave that to be settled between the receiver and the artist.

Although I have mentioned the sum of fifty guineas as the minimum of that for which this scheme could be rendered available, I am by no means of opinion that this would always be the case; but, after a few years, and particularly if the practice should become general amongst the principal societies of this metropolis, (the example too might spread to the continent,) the demand for art and artists would be so much increased, that the supply would grow in a corresponding ratio; and this, as in all other cases, would necessarily be accompanied with a diminution of the cost.

Now the advantages of this scheme over that in present use, would be the following:—

1. Not only would the name and fame of the receiver of the medal be extended abroad and at home, but his lineaments also would be perpetuated; and a series of national portraits of individuals, distinguished for various pursuits, would in process of time be produced, which would be replete with the greatest interest, and of which no former age affords an example.

2. The honour of the donor, to whose liberality the country would be indebted for this addition to its treasures in art, would also be extended, as well as the good name of the society.

3. From the number of the medals to be struck, and from the want of

intrinsic value in the metal employed, it may fairly be presumed that these monuments would be imperishable.

4. Instead of the gratification of a personal vanity, in the possession of one fine gold medal, bearing his name, the honourable pride of the individual would be flattered by this truly generous mode of perpetuating his name and features.

5. Hitherto honorary medals of this description, whatever may have been the spirit in which they were founded, have from their very nature only contributed, as far as was in their power, to spread the name and form of the donor: as far as the donée was concerned, they merely multiply by a limited number the repetition of his name;—a service already sufficiently rendered by the press.

6. The medal is a more faithful representation than a print or picture;—more valued and more producible at all times than the former, and less liable to injury than the latter.

7. The reward thus given is equally felt by, and is equally the property of, the donée himself, his family, his friends, his contemporaries, and his posterity.

It has been objected by some,—but the objectors are as few as their arguments are devoid of any sound foundation,—that some individuals are too modest, others too much the reverse of handsome, to wish their portraits to be handed down to posterity: that some, to whom the premium may be awarded, may be absent at the time; others may be snatched away by the hand of death before their likeness can be taken: that a perfect resemblance may not always be secured, and we may be handing down to posterity an incorrect portrait of the individual we wish to honour: that the extensive ramifications of the press are, in these times, so great, "ære perennius," it may be said,—that the fame of an individual, or the fact of an honour conferred upon him, when once consigned to paper, can require no accession in intensity or duration from the aid of the engraver: that it would be derogatory to the dignity of a scientific or literary society to sell such medals; and, if they were not sold, the expense which would be incurred in executing the bronze copies would be useless and unjustifiable: and, finally, that in all cases, whenever honorary medals, to be awarded by such bodies, have been founded, they

have invariably been impressed with the head of the donor, not of the donée.

Now all these objections together, if they were all well-grounded in fact, do not necessarily form one solid reason for refusing to entertain the proposal. It is evident, that if an individual be absent from the country at the time he becomes entitled to this honour, the artist must wait his return, or be contented with taking his likeness from a bust, or picture, or other authority supplied by his friends: that, in case of death, we are no worse off than in a hundred instances, when the friend, whose loss we have to deplore, has been replaced in our eyes by the fortunate artist, who, from description or otherwise, has seized his lineaments and general character in a manner not to be mistaken. Few men are, now-a-days, or perhaps ever were, so modest, as really to shrink from having their portraits taken; and, we must recollect, that the individuals with whom the societies to which I have alluded will generally have to deal, are, for the most part, men who live and love to live in the public eye,—who look to fame as the best reward of their exertions,—and who have passed a laborious and hardy life either in the closet, in the field, or at sea. That they may sometimes not have the features of an Adonis, is perfectly true; but they are thinly scattered who fancy themselves monsters; and, where the artist is skilful, and thoroughly understands his art, there is no face which will not make a good portrait: the broad forehead of the metaphysician, the deep and reflecting brow of the astronomer or the mathematician, the recluse look of the student, or the daring eye of the adventurous discoverer, will rarely fail to be seized and delineated by the genius of imitation. However great may be the power of the press, it cannot make us repeat from day to day a dry list of names; and if we should be frequently reminded by the press, which we are not, of the names of the illustrious individuals who have been thus laureated, (to use a term of Numismatics,) we read the fact with a very different feeling from that with which we look at the portrayed lineaments of our countrymen, or foreigners, thus brought together in a consecutive series of medals, granted by a sovereign, or other liberal benefactor of his race, and awarded by the most enlightened societies of the periods in which they lived. We shall visit each foreign cabinet, to which they have been distributed, with additional pleasure, when we see the value thus set upon our distinguished

men, and the manner, perhaps, in which other countries will have followed the example which we may have set them. At the same time, if all the medals were to be disposed of in this manner, that is, given away to public bodies, much of their importance and value, as historical documents and as property, would be lost, as no private individuals could obtain them; and it is superfluous to say, that much of the taste for works of art, as seen in our public repositories, is acquired and cultivated in private collections, where the young mind is not dazzled by an apparently inexhaustible profusion of fine things; and where it is more at leisure to observe, to study, to learn, to judge, and comprehend. That this act, moreover, of selling the impressions in bronze of the royal medal would be derogatory to the dignity of any society, is an opinion that can certainly not be entertained for a moment by a nation which is urging the greatest public body of this description in the kingdom—the British Museum,—to set up within its walls an establishment for making and disposing of casts of the various works of sculpture now in its possession; and as for expending a small sum of money in what may have the appearance of a speculation,—the object to be gained is so good in itself, and the sum risked so trifling; that even if all were given away, or none sold, it does not deserve a moment's consideration.

It might possibly be stated, as an objection to this scheme, that if it be good for one class of honorary medals, it must, or ought to be, equally so for all; but that it would be highly absurd, and even impossible, supposing even that the pecuniary difficulties did not exist, to apply it to the medals given for literary or scientific attainments in schools and colleges. But the cases are totally different: in the one, you give the honorary reward to an individual whose mental character is already formed, whose education is finished, who is acting his part as an efficient member of the community to which he belongs,—one who is bound to himself, to his country and family, to do his best for the benefit and honour of both; to whom, therefore, honours bestowed are little else than public acknowledgments, that duties common to all have been signally well performed by the individuals to whom they are paid; whilst, in the other case, the medal is held out to a youth only as an additional excitement for laudable exertion and distinction amongst his fellows, for acquiring the means of making himself hereafter an useful member of society; as an engine which is immediately to act upon the individual when rewarded, not to make him satisfied with his past exertions, but to stimulate

him to others; not as a thing to be bruited abroad—hardly, indeed, to be known out of the sphere for which it was intended. In truth, the less such distinction is known beyond the youth's own breast and his own family, the better is it for him in after life: he is then and there to exhibit to the world, not what he did at school or at college, which could only lead to vanity and idleness; but how successfully he has brought to bear the instruction he received in his younger days, upon his pursuits and occupation as a man. The portrait medal, therefore, in the case stated, the chief merit of which is its leading to publicity and notoriety, would be equally inappropriate and useless.

But it has been said, that all medals of honour, of the description we are now employed upon, have at all times borne on one face the head of the donor, not that of the donée. This has generally, though not always, been the case, both with medals given by private individuals as well as by sovereigns; but therefore to assume that the adoption of a contrary system would be derogatory to the king's majesty; or to conclude, that, because in ancient times the heads upon coins were at first confined to the mythological divinities of the *loci*,—i. e., of the towns and countries where the coins were struck,—and, after the reign of Alexander and his successors, and under the emperors of Rome, extended to the reigning sovereigns, their wives and children; and that, in the middle ages, this honour was generally, though by no means always, limited to sovereigns of smaller or greater states, we must do the same thing now;—would be to bind the present generation to the observance, under one set of circumstances, of a practice only applicable to another. What we call ancient medals, were either simply the current coins of the countries, or they were medallions struck upon very great occasions; and, as far as we can judge from the monuments handed down to us, they were either commemorative of victories gained at the Olympic or other national games of Hellas, or of the great deeds, real or presumed, of the arbitrary autocrats of Rome, who were supposed to inherit somewhat of the divine character given to the heroes of antiquity: they were therefore necessarily confined to the glory and renown, whether well or ill deserved, of these masters of the world. The case is now altered: we have constitutional sovereigns,—the fathers, not the masters, of their people,—whose chief glory is to contribute to the comfort and happiness of their subjects, not to gratify their own thirst for empire;—

who pride themselves in encouraging every liberal and honourable pursuit for the benefit of nations as well as of individuals, not in being worshipped as gods, or in engrossing to themselves, for their own sensual enjoyments, the produce of the two extremes of the known world. It is in this pure spirit of benevolence, and prompted by these enlarged and liberal views, that our sovereigns have loved to declare themselves the promoters of all that is fair and honourable, all that is useful and honest, all that is courteous and brave,—the real *καλοῦ κἀγαθοῦ* of enlightened Europe: and with such sentiments, it is impossible that the scheme which I have laid before this Society can be deemed, either by the constitutional sovereign himself, or by his best counsellors, derogatory to his dignity: much rather should it be looked upon in the light of casting fresh lustre on the majesty of the throne, when exhibited in juxtaposition to the most eminent of his subjects,—excited by his munificence, encouraged by his fair words, and rewarded for the present and future generations in an undying manner.

> *—τὸ καὶ καταφάμιξεν καλεῖ-*
> *σθαί μιν χρόνῳ σύμπαντι μάτηρ*
> *τοῦτ' ὄνομ' ἀθάνατον.*—Pind. Ol. vi. 93.

Honour is of a frank, open, and loyal character: it will not hide itself under a bushel, but loves the broad clear daylight, the busy haunts of men: for this the midnight lamp is not spared,—fatigue and danger throw off their dark aspect, and assume a cheerful hue;—

> *Ἀκίνδυνοι δ' ἀρεταὶ*
> *Οὔτε παρ' ἀνδράσιν, οὔτ' ἐν ναυσὶ κοίλαις,*
> *Τίμιαι. πολλοὶ δὲ μέ-*
> *μνανται, καλὸν εἴ τι πονάθῃ.*—Ibid, 14.

Why, then, if we wish to do honour to the toils and success, mental or bodily, of our distinguished countrymen, must we go on, merely because we have commenced our career in the wrong path, to give them, as a reward, what can serve as no example,—what they must keep as the apple of their eye, and show to no one,—what they fear to use, and what is of no use to them to keep? and, after all, the medal, though paid for by the bounty of the Sovereign, is in fact awarded by the Society; so that the distinction conferred upon the individual cannot be considered in the light of a royal

gift to him, but may be better defined as a token of honour conferred by the Sovereign upon the Society in question, as proving his confidence in their judgment for the selection of the person for whom the royal munificence pays the cost of a medal. To the Society, therefore, is the honour;—to the individual, the profit. Indeed, the characteristics of this useless gold medal, ever the same, are such, that they almost assume the very reverse of honour. Our own dramatic poet, who knew as well the force of his language as the language of the heart, tells us, in the mouth of Othello,—"he that steals from me my good name," (that is, *my honour*,) "steals that which not enriches him, and makes me poor indeed." Now, the unfortunate possessor of one of these large gold medals would say exactly the reverse,—"he that steals from me my gold medal, steals that which does enrich him, and makes me no poorer."

I am in hopes that the foregoing observations may be sufficient to insure a fair consideration to the subject I have brought forward, and to the arguments I have adduced, without its being necessary for me to sustain such views by the allegation of authorities; but there are some passages in the elegant dialogue of Mr. Addison, upon the usefulness of ancient medals, which are so appropriate, that I cannot help asking the leave of the Society to recall them to their remembrance. He says, (p. 145.)—

"And here we may observe the prudence of the ancients above that of the moderns, in the care they took to perpetuate the memory of great actions. They knew very well that silver and gold might fall into the hands of the covetous or ignorant, who would not respect them for the device they bore, but for the metal they were made of. Nor were their apprehensions ill-founded; for it is not easily imagined how many of these noble monuments of history have perished in the goldsmiths' hands, before they came to be collected together by the learned men of these two or three last centuries. Inscriptions, victories, buildings, and a thousand other pieces of antiquity, were melted down in those barbarous ages, that thought figures and letters only served to spoil the gold that was charged with them. Your medallists look on this destruction of coins as on the burning of the Alexandrian Library, and would be content to compound for them with almost the loss of a Vatican. To prevent this in some measure, the ancients placed the greatest variety of their devices on their brass and copper coins, which are in no fear of falling into the clippers' hands, nor in any danger of melting

till the general conflagration. On the contrary, our modern medals are most in silver and gold, and often in a very small number of each. I have seen a golden one at Vienna, of Philip the Second, that weighed twenty-two pounds, which is probably singular in its kind, and will not be able to keep itself long out of the furnace when it leaves the emperor's treasury. I remember another in the king of Prussia's collection, that has in it three pounds' weight of gold. The princes who struck these medals, says Eugenius, seem to have designed them rather as an ostentation of their wealth than of their virtues. They fancied, probably, it was a greater honour to appear in gold than in copper, and that a medal receives all its value from the rarity of the metal."

Again, upon the practice of the Romans to stamp upon their coins devices or representations of remarkable events,—"I have often wondered," he says, "that no nation among the moderns has imitated the ancient Romans in this particular: I know no other way of securing those kind of monuments, and making them numerous enough to be handed down to future ages. But when statesmen are ruled by the spirit of faction and interest, they can have no passion for the glory of their country, nor any concern for the figure it will make among posterity. A man that talks of his nation's honour a thousand years hence, is in very great danger of being laughed at." The same author, in continuing his comparison between ancient and modern usages in this respect, observes, that the Romans did not, as moderns do, (or, at least, did, in the times in which he wrote,) confine these monuments to military achievements: the good deeds of peace, "no less renowned than war,"—the virtues, real or presumed, of the sovereigns,—were thus celebrated. "The Romans," he says, "used to register the great actions of peace that turned to the good of the people, as well as those of war. The remission of a debt, the taking off a duty, the giving up a tax, or the making a highway, were not looked upon as improper subjects for a coin. They were glad of any opportunity to encourage their emperors in the humour of doing good; and knew very well, that many of these acts of beneficence had a wider and more lasting influence on the happiness and welfare of a people, than the gaining a victory, or the conquests of a nation." And again:—"I find, says Eugenius, had we struck in with the practice of the ancient Romans, we should have had medals to the fitting-up of our several docks, on the making of our rivers navigable, on the building

of our men-of-war, and the like subjects, that have certainly very well deserved them. The reason why it has been neglected, says Philander, may possibly be this: our princes have the coining of their own medals, and perhaps may think it would look like vanity to erect so many trophies and monuments of praise to their own merit; whereas, among the ancient Romans, the senate had still a watchful eye upon the emperor; and if they found any thing in his life and actions that might furnish out a medal, they did not fail of making him so acceptable an offering." Again, in p. 153:—"But hitherto you have only mentioned such coins as were made on the emperor: I have seen several of our own time, that have been made as a compliment to private persons. There are pieces of money, says Philander, that, during the time of the Roman emperors, were coined in honour of the senate, army, or people. I do not remember to have seen in the upper empire the face of any private person, that was not some way related to the imperial family."

Now, this last observation deserved from the hand of Mr. Addison a more extended development; but the times in which he wrote, demanded, as he thought, the services of his pen, not to excite his contemporaries, and particularly his countrymen, to do honour to individuals; but to value the study of medals as a liberal pursuit, and to appreciate properly the extent to which the ancients, but more particularly the Romans, had carried an art, which admitted of being applied to such useful and honourable purposes.

But in this one department of the medallic art, it must be confessed, that the ancients, during the whole period of what is called ancient history, were lamentably deficient;—I mean, the total neglect of the use of the art of coining, for the perpetuating of the effigies of their great men. Perhaps we may be satisfied with attributing this circumstance to the religious or sacred character, in which, to speak of the Greeks first, they held the art itself. What may have been the primary cause of this superstitious feeling, we are still ignorant; but the result seems to have been, that, for many centuries, no representations of the human form were allowed upon the coinage of any Grecian state, except the ideal personifications of the Greek gods or goddesses of Olympos; and, amongst these, each republic confined its labours to those under whose tutelary protection they were especially placed,—the demi-gods of Greece generally,—the local deities of individual countries or cities,

their rivers, their nymphs, or their heroes. This continued to the time of Alexander. Even the coins of Philip, his father, have, on the obverse, either the head of Apollo, or Jupiter.

From this period downwards, the independence of the Grecian republics having been converted into a state of vassalage, more or less onerous, to the successors of Alexander, and afterwards to the dominion of Rome; their veneration for their local deities, as well as for the more distinguished pagan inhabitants of heaven, was transferred into a kind of holy reverence for the worldly sovereigns to whose will they were subjected, and to whom they paid tribute: and although some of the Greek cities did, now and then, still stamp upon their coins the emblems or representations of their local deities, they bore much more frequently the idealized effigies of the reigning sovereign; and, in consequence, from the remarkable period above alluded to down to the extinction of the Roman empire, we have portraits on coins of the princes of all the successive dynasties, many of their wives, and some of their kinsmen and children, executed, indeed, very differently, according to their age and country, but more or less faithful representations of the individuals. Some of them, in truth, are to be ranked amongst the finest monuments of ancient art; and if the most perfect state of preservation is to be considered as a necessary ingredient in appreciating the comparative merit of such monuments, we must perhaps give the very first place to the large tetradrachms, which bear the effigies of some of the Seleucidæ of Syria, the Ptolemies of Egypt, the Lysimachi and Perseus of Macedon, the Mithradates of Pontus, and even some of the kings of Bactria.

In the same rank also may be placed the portraits of some of the early emperors of Rome, which are given on their medallions, but particularly on what are called the large brass coins of the empire.

But amidst these almost inexhaustible treasures of ancient art, we are ever reminded of one great and signal deficiency. We have seen the heads and whole-length figures of all the gods and goddesses, the demigods, heroes, and local divinities, of the whole civilized world, on whose ideal forms all the resources of art have been lavished; we see the successors of Alexander conveying to immortality their own portraits, and adding to them emblematical devices of the events which marked their respective reigns; we have an uninterrupted series of emperors of Rome, acknowledged or rejected, legitimate or usurpers, their wives and families, on whom the

senate and people heaped every species of adulation for their real or their assumed virtues, (and assumed perhaps with the greater avidity where they had least pretensions,)—for victories over despicable foes, and sometimes bloodless and imaginary: but during the whole of this lapse of perhaps seven centuries, we do not find one solitary instance of the portrait of an individual not of a reigning family, however remarkable for his virtues, his talents, or his patriotism, having been stamped on a coin or medal: nor is this to be attributed to the chance of accident, which might have destroyed such memorials of departed private worth; for we have no reason to believe, from the uniform silence of ancient writers on the subject, that this practice ever obtained.

We have, indeed, frequent and abundant mention of portraits of individuals having been made, during the best times of Greece, at the public expense and in testimony of public gratitude; but these are not on coins or medals; they were busts or whole statues, whether of wood, of bronze, or even of gold. Some of these were what might be called ideal portraits; others were real portraits, and were denominated εἰκονες, *statuæ iconicæ;* but these works have all perished: accidental fires, the destruction of cities, a desire to convert the metal to purposes of more immediate utility, religious zeal, and barbarous violence,—these are among the chief causes which have deprived us of the monuments I allude to; and we, therefore, the more regret the want of the practice of impressing on medals, comparatively indestructible, the portraits of distinguished men. In the line of art, what is there which is more a subject of regret, than that the true lineaments of a Miltiades, Aristides, Pericles, Socrates, Plato, Xenophon, Thucydides, Herodotus, Demosthenes, the Catos, the Scipios, Cicero, Virgil, Horace, Lucretius, Ovid, &c. and so many other ornaments of antiquity, are lost to us for ever? Indeed, we may say that, strictly speaking, there does not exist a single authenticated portrait of any one private individual from the time of Solon to that of Augustus; and the few which the medals struck under the Roman emperors, present to us, are accompanied with little or no proofs of their being contemporary or authentic. Some of these may possibly be correct copies of undoubted originals: but the originals have perished; and, notwithstanding the learned labours and happy conjectures of a Visconti, rigid criticism knows not how to identify the alleged resemblance with the individual who bore the name.

Modern times are not subject to this censure. The fine arts have experienced their share in the change of circumstances between the old and the new world. In Greece, individuality was almost absorbed in the general concerns and interests of each small republic struggling for its existence, and rivalling its neighbours in arts and in arms: in republican Rome, it was equally lost in the perpetual conflicts in which the state was engaged with near or distant enemies, ever on the eve of internal revolution or some foreign triumph; and in the empire this individuality ceased entirely under the all-engrossing dignity and arbitrary will of one master.

Without attempting to point out the causes of a different state of things, since the barbarians who subverted the thrones of the Cæsars turned their swords into ploughshares, and, in proportion as they advanced in civilization, and in the practice of the arts of peace, acknowledged the supremacy of the fine arts;—it is evident, that the individual citizen of the European world, as soon as he has raised himself above the first wants of life, is a more independent personage than he was in the best times of Greece or Rome. As long as he complies with the general injunctions of the laws, to pay his debts, and keep the peace, he is master of his time and labour; he feels that he has an existence, which, whilst he obeys these laws for the general good, is uncontrolled by his fellow-creatures; that he has a character to be maintained, a reputation to be acquired, a mind to be instructed, and a soul to be saved, as well as the greatest men in the land. These, and other considerations, which it would be impertinent here to enlarge upon, have concurred in making the individual man an object of greater comparative interest than he was before: and, as one proof of this, to revert to the immediate subject of this paper,—the fine arts generally have been incessantly employed in one form or another, in more or less successful attempts to hand down to posterity the lineaments of our fellow creatures, though frequently without regard to the question—whether they were deserving of this species of immortality, or not.

But however true may be this general observation, in respect to the employment of the fine arts upon portraits, the application of them to portraits upon medals, particularly in England, has been comparatively rare. Whilst the mints of the various towns in Italy were teeming with portraits of the illustrious men of the time, as, for example, at Rimini, Florence, Pisa, &c.; and whilst, at a later period, Germany, France, and Holland distinguished

themselves by medals in honour of their respective victories and other political events;—England can boast of but little, if any thing, in this way previous to the reign of Charles I., in which we find the portraits of some of the leading characters in our history engraved by the celebrated Simon, chief engraver to Charles, and afterwards to the Protectorate. We have then medals of some of the most distinguished persons in the following reigns, and for these we are chiefly indebted to private vanity or adulation; or, as in the case of Dupuis' series of medals, to mercantile speculation.

But of honorary medals, conferred as such, bearing the portraits of the receiver as well as of the donor, or of the receiver only,—the list in this, as in other countries, is poor indeed: perhaps there may not be one example of what I propose in the whole course of medallic history, i. e. of an honorary medal of that description. Some examples there may be of medals of this kind, where they have been struck by individuals, or by bodies in token of gratitude for services rendered;—but even these are rare.

But that to which I am especially anxious to draw the attention of the public, and particularly that of the Royal Society of Literature, which ought to have a large share of influence in guiding the public mind upon a subject of this description, is the expediency of conferring *portrait* medals of honour on distinguished individuals for eminent service in the paths of science, literature, the fine arts, or enterprise in the career of geographical discovery. Such medals are, or may be, granted by the sovereign, by a private individual, or by the society itself, by which they are to be awarded. Amongst the societies in this metropolis, of the description to which I have alluded, and which from one or other of these three sources have the means of awarding this honorary distinction, are, 1. The Royal Society of London for the Promotion of Natural Knowledge; 2. The Royal Academy for the Promotion of the Fine Arts; 3. The Academy of Arts for the Promotion of the Arts and Manufactures of the United Kingdom; 4. The Royal Society of Literature; 5. The Royal Geographical Society; 6. The Astronomical Society.

XVII. *On some disputed Positions in the Topography of Athens. With Plates.*

By William Martin Leake, Esq.

Read May 14 and 28, 1835.

[Some extension has been required to this paper since its reading, in consequence of recent publications in England and Germany, and for the purpose of incorporating with it a supplementary paper, read at the Royal Society of Literature, on the 26th of January, 1837.]

As some of the positions in 'The Topography of Athens' have failed in meeting with the approbation of some of the most learned of the continental critics, I am desirous of submitting to the society a few remarks on those objections. When it is considered that the local observations upon which 'The Topography of Athens' was founded, were made about thirty years ago, it would not be surprising that subsequent discoveries, or a more correct judgment on the ancient authorities, should have induced me to adopt new views on some of the subjects of inquiry proposed in that work: where that is the case, I have noticed it in the course of the present memoir. But in regard to those important positions, upon which depends an understanding of the only consecutive description which we possess of the topography of Athens, namely, that of Pausanias, I have not found reason to alter my former conclusions.

At the time above mentioned, opinions differed as to the identity of several of the existing monuments of Athens, even of those of such importance as the Pnyx, the Temple of Jupiter Olympius, the Dionysiac Theatre, and the Odeium of Regilla: still less had any attempt been made to deduce from the ancient authorities the probable site of other places mentioned by them, of which little or no vestiges have ever been supposed to remain. At present, the identity of the Pnyx, of the Cave of Pan, of the Olympium, of the Dionysiac Theatre, of the Odeium of Regilla, as indicated in 'The Topography of Athens,' seems no longer to be questioned. I shall, therefore, advert only on the present occasion to some positions which are still or have been recently disputed, particularly Enneacrunus, the Eleusinium, and the Peiraic Gate;—points of such importance, that until they are

determined, it is impossible to understand the description of Athens by Pausanias, or to apply that description with advantage to the illustration of the ancient topography.

ENNEACRUNUS.

I. To begin with Enneacrunus:—it must be admitted that this fountain, which I have placed at the south-eastern extremity of Athens, would seem, judging only from Pausanias, to have been not far from the western extremity of the Acropolis: for he mentions Enneacrunus soon after having described the Stoa Basileius, which was in the inner Cerameicus, and reverts to the same Stoa after having treated of the fountain together with some buildings near it. It is no more than a natural inference, therefore, that Enneacrunus was in the inner Cerameicus, or to the north-westward of the Acropolis, not far from the Areiopagus. Wheler accordingly identified it with a fountain, which, in his time, issued from a structure of the usual Turkish form on the ridge which connects the Acropolis with the Areiopagus; or, as it may also be described, the hollow which separates them. Stuart traced the origin of this spring to the foot of the lower battery in front of the Propylæa, from whence, when not diverted, it naturally flows to join the rivulet flowing from the source which rises near the Grotto of Pan.[1]

The consequence of this position of Enneacrunus would be, that the most ancient Odeium, as well as the temples of Ceres and Proserpine, of Triptolemus, and Eucleia, all which were, according to Pausanias, near Enneacrunus, were towards the western end of the Acropolis; and the supposition has this great convenience, that the description of Pausanias then becomes locally continuous: instead of which, if Enneacrunus be placed at the south-eastern extremity of Athens, we are under the necessity of admitting that the description of Pausanias leaps over half the diameter of the city without notice, and without mention of any intermediate object. There cannot be any reasonable doubt, however, that Enneacrunus was really at the south-eastern extremity of the city.

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[1] Wheler, p. 383. Stuart, vol. ii. p. v. In the time of Stuart, the Turkish fountain no longer flowed, and the water was conveyed by pipes to the mosque in the bazaar.

Herodotus relates, on the authority of the Athenian traditions, that the Pelasgi, to whom lands had been assigned at the foot of Hymettus, as a reward for having fortified the Acropolis, were afterwards expelled from them, because, among other offences, they ill-treated the sons and daughters of the Athenians, when the latter were sent (there being at that time no servants in Greece) to draw water from Enneacrunus.[2] The fountain, therefore, was on the side of Athens towards Hymettus, a position confirmed by Thucydides, who thus describes Athens as it existed before the time of Theseus, and when it was only one of twelve townships into which Attica was then divided. "The city (says the historian) then consisted of that which is now the citadel, together with that portion of the present city which lies below it towards the south. A proof of this fact is afforded by the temples of the gods, which are either in the Acropolis or in the latter situation, where are those of Jupiter Olympius, of Apollo Pythius, of the Earth, and that of Bacchus in the marshes, where the more ancient Dionysiac festival is celebrated on the twelfth of the month Anthesterion; a custom still observed by the Ionians, who are descended from Athenians. There are other ancient sanctuaries in the same quarter, as well as the fountain, which, from having been fitted with nine pipes by the tyrants [the Pisistratidæ], is called Enneacrunus, but which, when the natural sources were open to view, was named Callirrhoë: this spring, being near the sanctuaries, was resorted to for all the most important offices of religion, and still continues to be employed by women prior to their nuptials, as well as for other sacred purposes in the temples. It is in memory of this ancient condition of the city, that the Acropolis is even to this day called Polis by the Athenians."[3]

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[2] *Ὡς δὲ αὐτοὶ Ἀθηναῖοι λέγουσι, δικαίως ἐξελάσαι· κατοικημένους γὰρ τοὺς Πελασγοὺς ὑπὸ τῷ Ὑμησσῷ ἐνθεῦτεν ὁρμεωμένους, ἀδικέειν τάδε· φοιτᾷν γὰρ ἀεὶ τὰς σφετέρας θυγατέρας τε καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἐπ' ὕδωρ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐννεάκρουνον· οὐ γὰρ εἶναι τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον σφίσι κω οὐδὲ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι Ἕλλησι οἰκέτας· ὅκως δὲ ἔλθοιεν αὗται, τοὺς Πελασγοὺς ὑπὸ ὕβριός τε καὶ ὀλιγωρίης βιᾶσθαί σφεας.*—Herodot. 6, 137.

[3] *ἡ ἀκρόπολις ἡ νῦν οὖσα πόλις ἦν, καὶ τὸ ὑπ' αὐτὴν πρὸς νότον μάλιστα τετραμμένον. τεκμήριον δέ· τὰ γὰρ ἱερὰ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἀκροπόλει καὶ ἄλλων θεῶν ἐστι, καὶ τὰ ἔξω πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ μέρος τῆς πόλεως μᾶλλον ἵδρυται, τό τε τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου, καὶ τὸ Πύθιον, καὶ τὸ τῆς Γῆς, καὶ τὸ ἐν Λίμναις Διονύσου, ᾧ τὰ ἀρχαιότερα Διονύσια τῇ δωδεκάτῃ ποιεῖται ἐν μηνὶ Ἀνθεστηριῶνι, ὥσπερ καὶ οἱ ἀπ' Ἀθη-*

To the concurring testimony of the two great historians may be added that of some other writers, which, though less positive, or of a later date and inferior authority, furnishes a strong corroboration of the fact in question. Tarantinus is cited by Hierocles in the Preface to his Hippiatrics, as asserting, that when the Athenians were building the temple of Jupiter near Enneacrunus, they ordered all the beasts of burden in Attica to be brought to the city.[4] Now there was no temple of Jupiter at Athens of any celebrity, except that of Jupiter Olympius, which was situated near the source of water at the south-eastern extremity of the ancient city.

In the 'Etymologicon,' Enneacrunus, or Callirrhoë, is shown to have been in the same situation, being described as near the Ilissus: *Ἐννεάκρουνος, κρήνη Ἀθήνῃσι παρὰ τὸν Ἰλισσὸν, ἣ πρότερον Καλλιῤῥόη ἔσκεν*: which fact Cratinus seems also to have had in view, when, ridiculing some contemporary, the comic poet exclaims, "O, king Apollo! how the sources and torrents of his words resound! his mouth is a fountain of twelve pipes; his throat an Ilissus: unless some one will stop up his mouth, he will deluge every thing with his poems."[5]

On the strength of which passage Suidas seems to have supposed that Enneacrunus was sometimes called Dodecacrunus: it is more probable, however, that the poet amplified for the sake of comic effect, and because fountains of twelve pipes were not uncommon among the Greeks, as the word indicates.

ναίων Ἴωνες ἔτι καὶ νῦν νομίζουσιν. ἵδρυται δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἱερὰ ἀρχαῖα ταύτῃ. καὶ τῇ κρήνῃ τῇ νῦν μὲν τῶν τυράννων οὕτω σκευασάντων, Ἐννεακρούνῳ καλουμένῃ, τὸ δὲ πάλαι, φανερῶν τῶν πηγῶν οὐσῶν, Καλλιῤῥόῃ ὠνομασμένῃ, ἐκείνῃ τε ἐγγὺς οὔσῃ, τὰ πλείστου ἄξια ἐχρῶντο. καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀρχαίου πρό τε γαμικῶν καὶ ἐς ἄλλα τῶν ἱερῶν νομίζεται τῷ ὕδατι χρῆσθαι. καλεῖται δὲ διὰ τὴν παλαιὰν ταύτην κατοίκησιν καὶ ἡ ἀκρόπολις μέχρι τοῦδε ἔτι ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων Πόλις.—Thucyd. 2, 15.

[4] *Ταραντῖνος δὲ ἱστορεῖ τὸν τοῦ Διὸς νηὸν κατασκενάζοντας Ἀθηναίους Ἐννεακρούνου πλησίον εἰσελαθῆναι ψηφίσασθαι τὰ ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς εἰς τὸ ἄστυ ζεύγη ἅπαντα.*

[5] *Ἄναξ Ἄπολλον τῶν ἐπῶν τῶν ῥευμάτων*
Καναχῶσι πηγαὶ, δωδεκάκρουνον στόμα.
Ἰλισσὸς ἐν φάρυγγι. Τί ἂν εἴποιμί σοι;
Εἰ μὴ γὰρ ἐπιβύσει τις αὐτοῦ τὸ στόμα,
Ἅπαντα ταῦτα κατακλύσει ποιήμασιν.

Pytines Fragm. ap. Schol. Aristoph. Eq. 523; ap. Suid. in *Ἀφέλεια, Δωδεκάκρουνον στόμα*; ap. Tzet. Ch. 8, 184.

If not in precise, at least in sufficient conformity with these testimonies, we find, not far below the south-eastern angle of the peribolus of the temple of Jupiter Olympius, a small stream of water issuing from the foot of a ridge of rock, which here crosses the bed of the Ilissus; so that, in times of rain, the spring is enveloped in a small cascade of the river falling over the rock; but, when the bed is in its ordinary state, that is to say, dry, or nearly so, forms a pool, which is permanent in the midst of summer, and is resorted to by the inhabitants of the adjacent part of Athens, as the only place furnishing potable water.[6] The spring is still called, as well as the river itself, Kallirrhóï [Καλλιῤῥόη]. There cannot, therefore, be any reasonable doubt of the identity, although both fountain and river seem anciently to have been better supplied with water than they are now; a change, which has occurred in other parts of Greece besides Attica, in consequence perhaps of a diminished vegetation on the mountains.

In the year 1676, when Spon and Wheler visited Athens, the name Kallirrhóï was applied to a few houses, which had disappeared seventy-five years afterwards, when Stuart arrived at Athens. In the time of Wheler there were two Turkish fountains; from one of which the water of *Callirrhoë* still issued, while the other was dry. This latter circumstance shows that a change was taking place in the course and discharge of this vein of water; and may account for the fact, that the source, which in early times may have been above the right bank of the Ilissus, immediately on the outside of the walls, as Herodotus seems to indicate, (possibly near one of the gates, such having been a common situation for a fountain, as many existing ruins in Greece demonstrate) has at length removed its issue into the bed of the

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[6] This pool, which seems to be supplied from subterraneous veins on both sides of the torrent-bed, would be more copious, were it not for a canal which commences near it, and is carried below the bed of *Ilissus* to Vunó, a small village a mile on the road from the city to Peiræeus; where the water is received into a cistern, supplies a fountain on the high road, and waters gardens. The canal exactly resembles those which were in use among the Greeks before the introduction of Roman aqueducts; being a channel about three feet square, cut in the solid rock. It is probably, therefore, an ancient work. A fountain or two on the road from the Peiræeus was a convenience of the first necessity. One of these seems to be particularly alluded to by a writer of the fifth century of our era, as the site of the monument of Socrates. (Marin. Vit. Procli, c. 10.)

Ilissus itself. And such a change is the more conceivable, as the Ilissus being a torrent, which occasionally, though rarely, brings down a great body of water, cannot but operate frequent changes in the surface of the soil on its banks. Or, even without adverting to the effects of the torrent, it is obvious that the elevation of soil which occurs in all cities, particularly in their lower grounds, and which has certainly taken place in a remarkable degree at Athens, may very possibly have caused an alteration in the course and issues of the fountain Callirrhoë.

That the Enneacrunus, or ancient Callirrhoë, was a separate vein of water, and not an artificial derivation from the Ilissus, was proved by an excavation which the primates of Athens made about the year 1804, at the pool above mentioned, when a brisk stream of water made its appearance, evidently distinct from the Ilissus, and having a course from the northward into the above-mentioned pool of water. In fact, the Ilissus receives several subterraneous veins of water from Hymettus and Anchesmus: these form pools in the dry bed of the torrent, which are resorted to by the Athenian women for the washing of linen.

When Pausanias said of Enneacrunus, that although "there were wells in every part of Athens, this was the only source of water,"[7] he alluded evidently to water esteemed for drinking, for which, in all the parts of the city distant from Enneacrunus, the Athenians resorted to wells, as in the present day; for Pausanias himself notices two other sources, one at the cavern which was sacred to Apollo and Pan, another in the temple of Æsculapius; the former of these still exists near the grotto acknowledged to be that of Apollo and Pan; the latter, which was commonly known to the ancients as the fountain of Æsculapius,[8] is evidently the same noticed by Wheler, and which, when left to nature, has a northerly course, as Stuart has marked it in his plan, in which direction it joins the water-course from the grotto of Pan. But the water of these sources is not esteemed for drinking. Issuing from the hill of the Acropolis, they partake apparently of the same impregnation which caused the salt well formerly existing in the Erechtheium. The ancient Greeks were not less refined than the modern in their taste of water; and both these sources were probably included among

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[7] *φρέατα μὲν γὰρ, καὶ διὰ πάσης τῆς πόλεώς ἐστι, πηγὴ δὲ αὐτὴ μόνη.* Attic. 14, 1.

[8] Pausan. Att. 21, 7. See Topography of Athens, p. 165.

those which Vitruvius describes as having existed at Athens and Peiræeus, and as having been used for washing and other domestic purposes: "Aquæ enim species est, quæ cum habeat non satis perlucidas venas, spuma uti flos natat in summo, colore similis vitri purpurei. Hæc maxime consideratur Athenis: ibi enim ex hujusmodi locis et fontibus et in Asty et ad portum Peiræeum, ducti sunt salientes, e quibus bibit nemo propter eam causam, sed lavationibus et aliis rebus utuntur; bibunt autem ex puteis, et ita vitant eorum vitia."[9] It is remarkable, that Wheler describes the water of the Turkish fountain, which existed in his time near the western extremity of the Acropolis, as having been employed only for similar purposes by the Turks of the citadel, because it was not fit for drinking; a fact, which might have suggested to him that it could not have been the ancient Enneacrunus, as he supposed.

We may infer, perhaps, from these words of Vitruvius, and the silence of Pausanias as to the aqueducts of Athens, when alluding to the wells and fountains, but still more from the aqueduct built for the Athenians by Hadrian and Antoninus; that the city, in the time of those writers, derived little or no advantage of this kind from those pure and distant sources, from whence we cannot doubt that, like Syracuse and other Greek cities, where remains of aqueducts are seen, it was supplied in the better ages of the republic. In no country necessity was more likely to have created the hydragogic art than in Attica; and we have evidence of the attention bestowed by the Athenians upon their canals and fountains in the time of Themistocles, as well as in that of Alexander the Great.[10]

THE AGORA.

Before I proceed to consider the more questionable positions of the Eleusinium and the Peiraic gate, it may be right to offer a few remarks on the Athenian Agora.

In those remote ages, when the city was confined to the Cecropian Rock, afterwards the Acropolis, it is easy to believe, that the market, resorted to

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[9] Vitruv. 8, 3.

[10] Phrynichus in Μονοτρόπῳ ap. Sch. Arist. Av. 998. Plutarch Themist. 31. Aristot. Polit. 6, 8. 7, 12. Hesych. in Κρηνάγγη (Κρηνάρχη?). Phot. Lex. in Κρηνοφύλαξ.

from the neighbouring country, was a little below the natural access to that hill on the western side, in the hollow between it and the Areiopagus: and this we find confirmed by an author who describes the temple of Venus Pandemus, which was situated just below the entrance of the Acropolis,[11] as having been near the ancient Agora (*περὶ τὴν ἀρχαίαν Ἀγοράν*).[12] That it continued to be an illustrious part of the Agora in the meridian ages of Athenian history, is evident from other authorities.[13] When the chief sacred buildings were first erected, as Thucydides informs us, on the southern side of the Acropolis,[14] and the city began to spread over the low grounds to the southward and westward of that hill, the Agora extended probably from the hollow between the Acropolis and Areiopagus into that on the south-western side of the latter height, having that most ancient place of political assembly, the Pnyx, in a conspicuous part of it. By degrees the city stretched round the Acropolis to the northward, and the Agora became enlarged in the same direction until it surrounded the Areiopagus; the circuit around which appears to have been that *κύκλος τῆς Ἀγορᾶς* alluded to by Euripides,[15] and in a passage of Xenophon, which will be more particularly alluded to hereafter. At length, the most frequented part of the city having been on the northern side, a new and distinct Agora was formed in the midst of that quarter in the course of the last century prior to the Christian era; the religious motive, or ostensible reason of this change, having probably been the defilement of the ancient Agora by the massacre of Sylla in the year 86 B. C. The western limit of this new Agora is indicated by its portal, erected in the reign of Augustus;[16] not far

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[11] Pausan. Attic. 22, 3. Eurip. Hippol. 29.

[12] Apollod. ap. Harpocr. in *Πάνδημος Ἀφροδίτη*.

[13] Compare Aristot. Rhet. i, 9. Lucian. Parasit. 48. with Arrian. Exp. Al. 3, 16.

[14] Thucyd. 2, 15. V. sup. [15] Eurip. Orest. 917.

[16] Stuart's Athens, i. c. 1. Boeckh, C. Ins. Gr. Nos. 312, 313, 477. It is said that the intention of this building has again become a disputed point of Athenian antiquities, and that it is supposed to have been a temple of Minerva. But Stuart seems to have settled this question long since, by showing that the columns are comparatively more slender than those employed in temples (Vitruv. 5, 9.); that the middle intercolumniation is two and a half times those on either side, and is ditriglyph, as in the Propylæa and other civil works; that a decree of Hadrian, regulating the price of oil, was on a part of the building; and

to the eastward of which is the horologium, which was built prior to the year 35 B. C.,[17] by Andronicus Cyrrhestes, in the most convenient situation for such edifices, the middle of the new Agora: and thus it appears, that from the commencement of the decline of Athens, the contraction of the city has been uniform: and that, while the southern and western parts of the Asty have become quite uninhabited, the position of the central and most frequented quarter has continued to be the same as in the time of the Roman empire; for the modern bazaar occupies the same situation as the Roman Agora. After the establishment of the new Agora, it was convenient, in common discourse, to apply some different term to the ancient Agora; this term was Cerameicus, the name of the *χωρίον*, or quarter, in which the old Agora was for the most part situated. Indeed, this name seems to have been so generally employed as synonymous with the old Agora, in contradistinction to the new, as to have been sometimes applied to a part of the former, which had never been in the quarter Cerameicus,[18] the situation of which is sufficiently indicated by its having been separated only by the gate Dipylum and the adjacent walls from the exterior Cerameicus; the two together having comprised the demus *οἱ Κεραμεῖς*. To the eastward, the inner Cerameicus appears to have extended not far beyond the Stoa Basileius, where it seems to have bordered upon

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that on a pedestal in honour of Julia, found at the foot of one of the columns, the two Agoranomi are named, although one only was concerned in raising the monument, showing, at least, that here was the Agora. As to the principal dedication on the architrave to Minerva Archegetis, every building and public place was under some divine protection: the Pnyx, for instance, was dedicated to Jupiter the Supreme. Minerva was the patroness of markets, and hence sometimes styled Agoræa; but Archegetis was the appropriate term at Athens; for, as Alcibiades remarked, among his reasons for not playing on the flute, Athens was under the peculiar protection of Minerva Archegetis and Apollo Patrous, *Ὧν ἡ μὲν ἔῤῥιψε τὸν αὐλὸν, ὁ δὲ καὶ τὸν αὐλητὴν ἐξέδειρε.* Plutarch Alcib. 2.—Minerva Archegetis was represented with an owl in her hand. Schol. Arist. Av. 515.

[17] This we know from the date of the work 'De Re Rustica,' in which Varro mentions the tower. V. Plin. H. N. 18, 5. et Comment. ap. Script. de R. R. i. part. ii. p. 229.

[18] Pausan. Att. 14, 6. Conf. Harpoc. in *Εὐρυσάκειον*, *Κολωνίτας*. Schol. in Aristoph. Av. 998.

Melite and Eretria, in which latter quarter Strabo states the Agora of Athens to have been in his time.[19] Nothing illustrates or confirms better this progressive movement of the Athenian Agora than the situation of the chronometrical instruments erected at different periods for the public use. The earliest of which we find any notice was a πόλος, or ἡλιο-

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19 This fact rests upon the following words of Strabo, in treating of Eretria in Eubœa: Ἔνιοι δ' ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων ἀποικισθῆναί φασι τὴν Ἱστίαιαν ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου τῶν Ἱστιαιέων ὡς καὶ ἀπὸ Ἐρετριέων τὴν Ἐρέτριαν. p. 445. Ἐρετριέας δ' οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ Μακίστου τῆς Τριφυλίας ἀποικισθῆναί φασιν, ὑπ' Ἐρετριέως· οἱ δ' ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀθήνησιν Ἐρετρίας, ἡ νῦν ἐστιν ἀγορά. p. 447. Ἀθήνησιν and even ἐν Ἀθήναις were often used by the grammarians to signify any part of Attica; but it is not likely that a geographer of the time of Augustus should have so employed the word Ἀθήνησιν. I conceive, therefore, that he intended to say that the Athenian Agora of his time was in the quarter Eretria, which was, perhaps, no longer a demus, as it is not mentioned as such by any other author. We may observe, that it is precisely about the Roman Agora that a name seems wanting to complete the quarters which surrounded the Acropolis. Bordering upon Eretria to the south-east, was that of Tripodes, which is shown to have been a χωρίον by Pausanias (Att. 20, 1), and beyond which, to the westward, was Limnæ, then Museium, and then Pnyx (for the last, as a χωρίον, see Didymus ap. Anon. in Arg. in Cimonem Aristid. Cleidemus ap. Harpocrat. in Πνύξ. V. et Phot. Lex. et Etymol. M. in Πνύξ.). Pnyx bordered upon the quarter Areiopagus and the demus Ceramenses. To the northward of the inner Cerameicus, of Eretria and of Tripodes, were respectively the quarters, and, at the same time, demi, of Melite, Colyttus, and Diomeia. The Κυδαθηναῖεις, another urban demus, (Hesych. in v. Schol. Plat. Symp. p. 43.) is supposed by Professor K. O. Müller to have comprised the entire height of Acropolis, together with the most ancient part of the Asty on the south; thus comprehending, perhaps, the *quarters* Limnæ and Tripodes, and extending from the Κεραμεῖς to the Διομεῖς, who occupied the north-eastern part of Athens. This arrangement of the demi and quarters differs, as to Melite, from that in 'The Topography of Athens;' but it is impossible not to yield to the reasons of Mr. Müller (Notes to 'Meier's Translation of the Topography of Athens,' p. 460.) and of Mr. Wordsworth ('Athens and Attica,' p. 173). I cannot, however, agree with the former, that the Colonus Agoræus was a part of the demus Κολωνεῖς; for these were cut off from the city by the demi Κεραμεῖς and Μελιτεῖς. The Colonus Agoræus seems to have been nothing more than a height on the borders of the Ceramic Agora and of Melite, which, at a time when the most frequented part of the Agora was in its vicinity, became, by its conspicuous position, a place of hire for labourers, where they were in the habit of resorting for that purpose. Hence it was distinguished from the sacred Colonus beyond the Academy, from which the demus Κολωνεῖς took their name, by the epithet Ἀγοραῖος or Μίσθιος. This circumstance having been the chief cause of its fame, Pausanias has not even mentioned it.

τρόπιον, which marked the solstice, and indicated therefore the length of the solar year, and which was fixed on a wall at the Pnyx.[21] To this it is probable that a sun-dial was annexed, as these instruments were introduced into Greece as early as the sixth century B. C.[22] In the year 432 B. C. Meton constructed and set up an improved instrument for the measure of time, on the Colonus Agoræus, which was to the northward of the Areopagus, near the Pœcile.[23] Water was employed in this instrument,[24] and probably it indicated, both by water and by a dial, the horary divisions of the day, which the Greeks had long before that time received from the Babylonians.[25] Lastly, in the midst of the Eretrian, or Roman Agora, was erected the still existing tower, which showed the quarter from whence the wind blew, and the hour of the day by the dial as well as by water;[26] thus serving in serene as well as in cloudy weather, and both by day and by night.

THE ELEUSINIUM.

That the Eleusinium was one of the most celebrated and revered of the Athenian temples, we find ample proof in writers of various dates,[27] but most remarkably in Thucydides, who relates, that at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, when the population of Attica crowded into the walls of Athens, the Acropolis and Eleusinium were the only places they did not occupy, partly, it would seem, in consequence of their sanctity, and partly because they were strongly enclosed.[28] This

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[21] Schol. in Aristoph. Av. 998.—Suid. in Μέτων.

[22] Diogen. Laërt. 2. in Anaximand. 1. Plin. H. N. 2, 76. Euseb. Præp. Evang. 10, c. ult. Suid. in Ἀναξίμανδρος, Ἡλιοτρόπιον.

[23] Compare Diod. 12, 36. Ælian V. H. 13, 12.—Pausan. Att. 14, 5. 15, 1. Harpocrat. in Κολωνίτας. Hesych. in ὄψ ἦλθες. J. Poll. 7, 29. Schol. in Aristoph. Av. v. 998. Terent. And. 2, 2. v. 19.

[24] Aristoph. Av. v. 998.—Phrynichus ap. Schol. ibid. et ap. Suid. in Μέτων.

[25] Herodot. 2, 109. [26] Stuart, Ant. of Ath. vol. i. c. 3.

[27] Xenoph. Hipparch. 3. Andoc. de Myst. p. 14, 15, 17. Lys. in Andocid. imp. p. 103. Plutarch. De Exilio. Plut. Mor. p. 607. Philostr. Sophist. 2, 1. § 5. Hierocl. Hippiat. in procem. Clemens in Protrept. p. 29.

[28] Οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ τά τε ἔρημα τῆς πόλεως ᾤκησαν καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ τὰ ἡρῷα πάντα πλὴν τῆς Ἀκροπόλεως καὶ τοῦ Ἐλευσινίου καὶ εἴτι ἄλλο βεβαίως κλειστὸν ἦν.—Thucyd. 2, 17.

circumstance alone might lead one to suspect, that the Eleusinium was one of those temples in the southern part of the city, mentioned by the same historian, for the sacred offices of which the fountain Enneacrunus furnished water: and Pausanias seems amply to confirm this presumption, by describing a temple of Ceres and Proserpine, together with another of Triptolemus, as situated above Enneacrunus, and by immediately afterwards alluding, apparently to the same temple of Ceres and Proserpine under the name of Eleusinium. He does not, indeed, absolutely state that the Eleusinium and temple of Ceres were the same; but such elisions or omissions are characteristic of his style.

In the eighth chapter of his Attics, Pausanias had informed us, that in front of the entrance into the theatre called Odeium, there were statues of certain Egyptian kings, which leads to a long digression. In the fourteenth chapter he proceeds with the topography as follows: "In the entrance of the Odeium, at Athens, among other things is a statue of Bacchus, worthy of notice. Near [this place] is the fountain Enneacrunus, so named because it was fitted in this manner (i. e. with nine pipes) by Pisistratus; for there are wells in every part of the city, but this is the only source. Above (or beyond) the fountain are two temples; one dedicated to Ceres and Proserpine, the other to Triptolemus, in which there is a statue. Concerning Triptolemus I will relate what is reported, omitting so much as pertains to Deïope."[29] He then proceeds to state the different versions of the parentage of Triptolemus, as given by the Argive mythologists, by Musæus, by Orpheus, and by an Athenian poet. According to the last authority, Cercyon and Triptolemus were half-brothers by the daughter of Amphictyon, Rharus having been the father of Triptolemus, and Neptune of Cercyon. "But," proceeds Pausanias, "while intending to proceed with this subject, as well as with all that relates to the sanctuary at Athens, called Eleusinium, I was deterred by a vision in my sleep. I shall revert, therefore, to those points, of which it is lawful for all men to write. Before the temple, which contains a statue of Triptolemus, is the brazen figure of an ox prepared for sacrifice,

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[29] Ἐς δὲ τὸ Ἀθήνησιν εἰσελθοῦσιν ᾠδεῖον ἄλλα τε καὶ Διόνυσος κεῖται θέας ἄξιος· πλησίον δέ ἐστι κρήνη· καλοῦσι δὲ αὐτὴν Ἐννεάκρουνον, οὕτω κοσμηθεῖσαν ὑπὸ Πεισιστράτου· φρέατα μὲν γὰρ καὶ διὰ πάσης τῆς πόλεώς ἐστι, πήγη δὲ αὕτη μόνη· ναοὶ δὲ ὑπὲρ τὴν κρήνην, ὁ μὲν Δήμητρος πεποίηται καὶ Κόρης, ἐν δὲ τῷ Τριπτολέμου κείμενόν ἐστιν ἄγαλμα· τὰ δὲ ἐς αὐτὸν οἰκεῖα λέγεται γράψω, παρεὶς ὅσον ἐς Δηϊόπην ἔχει τοῦ λόγου. Att. 14, l. 2.

and a seated statue of Epimenides of Gnossus . . . . . Still further is a temple of Eucleia, dedicated from the spoils of Marathon." [30]

The well-known union of the worship of Ceres and Proserpine with that of Triptolemus, at Eleusis, combined with the partial reference of Pausanias to the mythology of Triptolemus, while omitting every particular of the temple of Ceres and Proserpine, leads naturally to the impression that the latter temple was no other than that Eleusinium, the sanctity of which is alluded to by so many authors, and in which, by a law of Solon, the senate, on the day succeeding the termination of the Eleusinian mysteries, sat in judgment upon those who were accused of offences relating to them.[31]

Still, however, there is something more than a possibility, that this principal sanctuary of Ceres and Proserpine, peculiarly called the Eleusinium, may have been different from the temple of the same deities near Enneacrunus; and that Pausanias may have been led to this abrupt apology for his silence as to the former, by his having had occasion to mention the latter, on the details of which he is equally silent: we must admit, that Clemens of Alexandria furnishes an argument in favour of this opinion, in describing the Eleusinium as below the Acropolis (*ὑπὸ τὴν Ἀκρόπολιν*), which can hardly be made to agree with a position near Enneacrunus; nor can the probability be denied (in considering the connexion of Eumolpus and Immaradus with the Eleusinian mythology [32]), that the tomb of Immaradus, alluded to by Clemens,[33] was in the Eleusinium intended

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[30] *πρόσω δὲ ἰέναι μὲ ὡρμημένον τοῦδε τοῦ λόγου καὶ ὁπόσα ἐξήγησιν ἔχει τὸ Ἀθήνησιν ἱερὸν καλούμενον δὲ Ἐλευσίνιον, ἐπέσχεν ὄψις ὀνείρατος· ἃ δὲ ἐς πάντας ὅσιον γράφειν, ἐς ταῦτα ἀποτρέψομαι. Πρὸ τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦδε, ἔνθα καὶ τοῦ Τριπτολέμου τὸ ἄγαλμα, ἔστι βοῦς χαλκοῦς οἷα ἐς θυσίαν ἀναγόμενος· πεποίηται δὲ καὶ καθήμενος Ἐπιμενίδης Κνώσσιος * * * Ἔτι δὲ ἀπωτέρω ναὸς Εὐκλείας, ἀνάθημα καὶ τοῦτο ἀπὸ Μήδων οἱ τῆς χώρας Μαραθῶνι ἔσχον.* Att. 14, 2. 3.

[31] Andocid. de Myst. p. 15.

[32] Pausan. Att. 5, 2. 27, 5. 38, 3.

[33] *Τί δαὶ Ἐριχθόνιος; οὐχὶ ἐν τῷ νεῷ τῆς Πολιάδος κεκήδευται; Ἰμμάραδος δὲ ὁ Εὐμόλπου καὶ Δαείρας οὐχὶ ἐν τῷ περιβόλῳ τοῦ Ἐλευσινίου, τοῦ ὑπὸ τῇ Ἀκροπόλει;*— Clem. in Protrept. p. 29. V. et Arnob. adv. Gent. 6. p. 197. The Eleusinium contained also a brazen equestrian statue, by Demetrius, of Simon, who had preceded Xenophon as a writer on horsemanship, and whose precepts were explained by figures on the bases of the statue; Xenoph. de Re Eq. in procem. Hierocl. Hippiat. in procem. Plin. H. N. 34, 8. § 15. The peribolus appears, from the *εἴ τι ἄλλο βεβαίως κλειστὸν* of Thucydides (2, 17.), to have been a work capable of defence.

by Pausanias. Considering, therefore, that the lower part of Agræ, or that sacred to Ceres, was separated only from Enneacrunus by the Ilissus,[34] we cannot but suspect that the temple of Ceres, described by Pausanias as near that fountain, was the scene of the lesser mysteries, commonly called those of Agræ, or of the Agræan Ceres (τὰ ἐν Ἄγραις, or ἐν Ἄγρας, or πρὸς Ἄγραν).[35] We may then consider the words ὑπὲρ τὴν κρήνην, in the fourteenth chapter of the Attics of Pausanias, as intended to signify, that the temple of Ceres was "beyond," rather than "above," Enneacrunus. The words ἔτι ἀπωτέρω, which follow, and by which he describes the situation of the temple of Eucleia with reference to that of Triptolemus, support the same interpretation of ὑπὲρ; and the conclusion from the whole will be, that some foundations of an ancient building, which were observed by Stuart on the bank of the Ilissus, opposite to Enneacrunus, were those of the temple of Ceres in Agræ; that the temple, which in his time was the church of "Panaghía on the rock," was that of Triptolemus; and that the temple of Eucleia stood a quarter of a mile lower, on the same bank of the Ilissus, at the church of St. Marina, which both Wheler and Stuart recognized as the site of an ancient building.[36] The only situation at the foot of the Acropolis, which, on the foregoing supposition, can be assigned as the situation of the Eleusinium, without interfering with the evidence of existing remains, or that derived from ancient authors, is the ground immediately below the great cavern, at the eastern end of the Acropolis, which cavern we may thus imagine to have been the adytum of the Eleusinium. This position would still place the Eleusinium in that part of Athens, in which, according to Thucydides, the earliest and most sacred of the Athenian edifices were built. Connected

[34] Δήμητρος ἱερὸν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως πρὸς τῷ Ἰλισσῷ.—Suid. in Ἄγρα: v. et Hesych. in Ἄγραι. Phavorin. et Etym. M. in Ἄγρα. Compare Plato in Phædr. Op. vol. 3. p. 320. Serr. Pausan. Attic. 19, 6, 7. Cleidemus in v. Ἄγραι, ap. Bekker. Anecd. Gr. 1, p. 326: whence it is evident, that the part of Agræ sacred to Diana Agræa, or Eilethyia, was on the left bank of the Ilissus, above the Stadium. See also Topog. of Ath. p. 145. From this partition of Agræ between two deities, the plural form of the word was probably derived. According to Cleidemus (l. c.), the highest part of Agræ was named Helicon, and was crowned with an altar of Neptune Heliconius. He alludes also to a Metroum in Agræ; but possibly it was the same as the temple of Ceres. See Siebelis Phanodemi, &c. frag. p. 50.

[35] Dionys. Perieg. 424. Polyæn. 5, 17. Plutarch. Demetr. 26. Stephan. in Ἄγραι. Himer. ap. Phot. Bibl. p. 1119. Eustath. ad Il. B. p. 361. Anecd. Gr. l. c. in Ἄγραι.

[36] Wheler, p. 379. Stuart, Ant. of Ath. vol. 3. p. v. Topography of Athens, p. 116.

with the defences of the Acropolis, it may have served as an outwork to it on that side, in the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, when the Pelasgicum at the opposite extremity, although equally under the protection of sanctity, or, at least, of an oracular interdiction, was not exempt, like the Eleusinium, from being occupied by the huts of the people of Attica, resorting to the city for protection against the enemy.

Xenophon and Philostratus have been adduced as opposed to any situation on the eastern side of Athens, as that of the Eleusinium. The former, in the third chapter of his Hipparchicus, insists upon three things, as necessary to be observed by the hipparchus, or commander of the Athenian cavalry: namely, to propitiate the gods in favour of the cavalry; to make the processions of the sacred festivals worthy of being seen; and to render as beautiful as possible the exercises which it was the duty of the hipparchus to exhibit to the city in the Academy, in the Lyceium, at Phalerum, and in the Hippodrome. Xenophon then states how each of these things may be best performed. The sacred processions, he observes, will be most grateful to the gods, as well as to the spectators, if the hipparchus make a circuit of the Agora, beginning at the Hermæ, visiting all the temples and statues of the gods, and worshipping them. On his return to the Hermæ, at the end of this circuit, it would then (he adds) be proper for the hipparchus to urge his horses, in divisions, at a rapid pace, as far as the Eleusinium.[37]

These words have been supposed to demonstrate that the Eleusinium was in the Agora, and that it was probably the same temple of Ceres and Proserpine which Pausanias describes, in the way into the Agora from the gate at which he enters Athens: but I am inclined to deduce an opposite conclusion from them; that is to say, that the Eleusinium was in a part of the city distant from the Agora. When the horsemen had made the κύκλος τῆς Ἀγορᾶς, or tour of the Agora, from the Hermæ, back again to the Hermæ, Xenophon recommended the hipparchus to proceed to the Eleusinium in a new order of march, or by divisions, and at an accelerated pace. The circuit of the Agora was a slow and solemn movement, in honour of the gods, whose

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[37] Τὰς μὲν οὖν πομπὰς οἶομαι ἂν καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς κεχαρισμενωτάτας καὶ τοῖς θεαταῖς εἶναι, εἰ, ὅσων ἱερὰ καὶ ἀγάλματα ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἐστι, ταῦτα, ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ τῶν Ἑρμῶν, κύκλῳ περὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ περιελαύνοιεν, τιμῶντες τοὺς θεούς * * * Ἐπειδὰν δὲ πάλιν πρὸς τοῖς Ἑρμαῖς γένωνται περιεληλακότες, ἐντεῦθεν καλόν μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι κατὰ φυλὰς εἰς τάχος ἀνιέναι τοὺς ἵππους μέχρι τοῦ Ἐλευσινίου. Hipparch. 3. The Hermæ led from the Stoa Basileius to the Pœcile (Menecles sive Callistratus ap. Harpocrat. et Phot. Lex. in Ἑρμαῖ.).

temples the horsemen passed: the quick time indicates a different purpose, and shows the subsequent point of destination to have been comparatively distant. This part of the advice of Xenophon seems also to have been in the sense of another of his previous recommendations; namely, in order to exhibit the cavalry to the city, as they passed through the whole length of its most frequented quarters.

It is in alluding to the procession of the Peplus of Minerva Polias,[38] which was renewed at the end of every fourth year, at the festival of the Greater Panathenæa, that Philostratus (in his Life of Herodes) is supposed to furnish evidence adverse to the situation which I have attributed to the Eleusinium; and again to show, that it may have been the temple of Ceres and Proserpine, which Pausanias has noticed not far from the gate at which he begins his description of Athens.

All that we are warranted in stating to have been the custom of the Athenians prior to the Roman conquest, is, that the Peplus was displayed in the Panathenaic procession, which passed through the Cerameicus and Agora to the temple of Minerva Polias in the Acropolis.[39]

In later times, we learn from Philostratus, who is confirmed by Pausanias, and other authors, that the Peplus was suspended as a sail upon a ship, which was impelled along the ground by the aid of internal machinery, and thus proceeded from the Cerameicus to the Eleusinium, from whence it returned, by the Pelasgicum, to the place where it was deposited.[40] It is in enumerating the great works of Herodes at Athens, that Philostratus, who is supposed to have taught rhetoric in that city about fifteen

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[38] On the Peplus, see Topography of Athens, p. 286; but which stands in need of some correction from Boeckh, Tragic. Princ. p. 192. Müller, Min. Pol. p. 25. Wordsworth, Athens and Attica, c. 16.

[39] Thucyd. 6, 57. Plato in Euthyph. Op. vol. i. p. 6. Serr. Isæus ap. Harpoc. in Πέπλος. Plutarch. Demetr. 12.

[40] Κἀκεῖνα περὶ τῶν Παναθηναίων τοῦτων ἤκουον· πέπλον μὲν ἀνῆφθαι τοῦ τῆς νεὼς, ἡδίω γραφῆς, σὺν οὐρίῳ τῷ κώλπῳ· δραμεῖν δὲ τὴν ναῦν, οὐχ ὑποζυγίων ἀγόντων, ἀλλ' ἐπιγείοις μηχαναῖς ὑπολισθαίνουσαν· ἐκ Κεραμεικοῦ δὲ ἄρασαν χιλίᾳ κώπῃ, ἀφεῖναι ἐπὶ τὸ Ἐλευσίνιον καὶ περιβαλοῦσαν αὐτὸ, παραμεῖψαι τὸ Πελασγικὸν, κομιζομένην τε παρὰ τὸ Πύθιον, ἐλθεῖν οἳ νῦν ὥρμισται. —Philostr. Soph. 2, 1. § 5.

Τοῦ δὲ Ἀρείου πάγου πλησίον δείκνυται ναῦς ποιηθεῖσα ἐς τὴν τῶν Παναθηναίων πομπήν.— Pausan. Att. 29, 1.

V. et Heliodor. Æthiop. i. 10. Suidas in Πέπλος. Schol. Aristoph. Eq. 563. Pa. 417. Himer. Orat. p. 447.

years after the time of Herodes, describes this piece of mechanism, and its course in the Panathenaic procession.

The harbour, or place of deposit, was near the Areiopagus: here the ship was seen by Pausanias, who visited Athens in the time of Herodes; and hence it seems evident, that the Pythium intended by Philostratus was not that which stood near the temple of Jupiter Olympius,[41] but that which Pausanias names the temple of Apollo Patrous, and which appears, from his narrative, to have stood in the old Agora, near the Areiopagus.[42] Apollo Pythius was surnamed Patrous, as having been one of the guardian deities of Athens;[43] and Pythium seems to have been a common appellation for temples of Apollo, in Attica.[44]

The course of the ship thus becomes perfectly clear. It appears to have been the custom to marshal the procession in the exterior Cerameicus,[45] from whence it advanced through the ancient Agora, and the valley on the southern side of the Acropolis, to the Eleusinium, situated in some part of the south-eastern quarter of the city; from thence, returning by the northern side of the Acropolis, it completed the circuit of that hill; and then passing by the Pelasgicum, which was near the grotto of Pan and the Propylæa,[46] it proceeded to the Pythium, or temple of Apollo Patrous, in the old Agora; a little beyond which, at the foot of the Areiopagus, stood probably the building in which the ship was deposited.

The words of Philostratus (*περιβαλοῦσαν αὐτὸ*), and those of the scholiast of Aristophanes, repeated by Suidas, (*μεχρὶ τοῦ Ἐλευσινίου*), leave little room to doubt that the Eleusinium was the extreme point of the procession. The route of the ship, therefore, seems inexplicable, if we suppose the

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[41] Thucyd. 2, 15. Pausan. Att. 19, 1. Strabo, p. 404.

[42] Attic. 3, 3.

[43] *καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλω τὸν Πύθιον, ὃς Πατρῶος ἐστὶ τῇ πόλει.*—Demosth. de Cor. p. 274.

(*ἡ πόλις*) *προσλαβοῦσα γὰρ τὸν κοινὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐξηγητὴν, ἑαυτῇ δὲ Πατρῶον τὸν Ἀπόλλω τὸν Πύθιον.*—Aristid. in Or. Panath. Op. vol. 1. p. 112.

Ἀπόλλων Πατρῶος ὁ Πύθιος.—Harpocrat. in v.

[44] The temple of Apollo, at the modern Dhafni, and another near Œnoë, on the confines of Bœotia, were both so called. Sophoc. Œd. Col. 1102. Philochor. ap. Schol. ibid. et ap. Strabo. p. 392.

[45] Thucyd. 6, 57.

[46] Thucyd. 2, 17. Lucian Piscator. 47. Bis Accus. 9.

Eleusinium intended by Philostratus, to have been the same temple of Ceres which was near the gate at which Pausanias enters Athens, in whatever part of the western walls of the Asty that gate may be placed.

Philostratus, in stating that the ship passed the Pelasgicum, and proceeded to the Pythium, gives reason to believe, that it did not enter the Acropolis. In earlier times, though the exhibition of the Peplus and its embroidered figures was one of the most important parts of the procession, it appears to have been displayed by some more simple mechanism:[47] probably it was borne aloft upon a chariot, as Virgil describes it.[48] That it was displayed, however, nearly in the same manner as when it formed the sail of the ship, may be inferred from Plutarch, who, in the Life of Demetrius, relates, that the Peplus was torn by a sudden squall, as it moved in procession through the Cerameicus (*πεμπόμενος διὰ τοῦ Κεραμεικοῦ*); an accident, which was ascribed to the wrath of Jupiter and Minerva, because the figures of Demetrius, and his father, Antigonus, had been embroidered upon the Peplus, together with those of the two deities.[49] The chariot was probably drawn by men, or horses, up the slope of the Propylæa: but this would hardly have been consistent with a self-moving ship; and no internal motive power less efficient than steam could have overcome the resistance of such an ascent.

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47 Τὸν Πέπλον δὲ τοῦτον ἕλκουσιν, δυνεύοντες τοπείοις
Ἄνδρες ἀναρίθμητοι
Εἰς ἄκρον ὥσπερ ἱστίον τὸν ἱστόν.

Strattis Μακεδόσι ap. Harpocr. in τοπεῖον, who interprets this word σχοινίον. See Wordsworth, Athens and Attica, p. 181; to whom we are indebted for the true reading of the passage of Strattis.

The peplus seems to have been simply stretched upon a wooden T. Ὁ μὲν ἱστὸς τὸ ἐπίμηκες ξύλον ἄνω τεταμένον, κεραία δὲ τὰ πλάγια ὥστε γένεσθαι γράμμα τὸ ταῦ· διετείνετο δὲ πολλάκις ὁ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς πέπλος εἰς τοιοῦτο σχῆμα ξύλων καὶ ἐπόμπευσεν.—Phot. Lex. in ἱστὸς καὶ κεραία.

48 "Sed magno intexens, si fas est dicere, peplo,
Qualis Erechtheis olim portatur Athenis,
Debita cum castæ solvuntur vota Minervæ,
Tardaque confecto redeunt quinquennia lustro,
Cum levis alterno Zephyrus concrebuit Euro,
Et prono gravidum convexit pondere currum."
Virg. Cir. 21.

49 Plut. Demet. 12.

Though the ship was still in existence in the time of Philostratus, as his νῦν ὥρμισται testifies, the word ἦγον, with which he introduces the notice of it, seems to show that it was no longer employed as a part of the procession. Nor does Pausanias, who visited Athens in the time of Herodes, assert, that the ship was even at that time employed in the procession, but only that it had been constructed for that purpose. So that it may possibly have been an innovation in the Panathenaic ceremony, which was not of long duration; though the ship may have continued to be one of the curiosities of Athens recommended to the attention of strangers: it may have been imitated perhaps from the ceremonies of Egypt, where many of the sculptured temples exhibit a ship as a conspicuous object among the sacred processions; and may have been introduced at Athens in the reign of Hadrian, when the religion of Egypt was much in fashion.[50] There may even be a question, whether the Panathenaic procession, except during the time that the ship formed a part of it, made the long tour by the Eleusinium. Earlier authors are silent, both as to the Eleusinium and the ship; and mention only the Cerameicus as having been traversed, or the Hermæ of the Agora as having been passed, by the procession, in its way to the Acropolis.[51]

THE PEIRAIC GATE.

A third situation, the most important perhaps of all to an illustration of the ancient topography of Athens, is that of the Peiraic gate, supposing this to have been the gate at which Pausanias commences his description of the city. We may fairly presume, not only that the Peiraic gate was that by which the Asty, or lower Athens, was usually entered from the Peiræeus, and that it was nearly in a line from the head of that harbour to the central part of the town, where the Agora was situated, but that the modern road coincides nearly with the ancient; and consequently, that the intersection of this road with the line of the ancient walls cannot but give a near approximation to the position of the Peiraic gate. This intersection falls nearly, if not exactly, in an opening between the hill of Pnyx and another height to the north of it, which, at its south-eastern end, is separated only by a hollow from the north-western extremity of the

[50] From the Sophist Himerius, (Orat. 3.) we can only infer, that among other attempts made by the emperor Julian to revive paganism, was that of establishing the Panathenaic ceremony, and the procession of the ship.

[51] Thucyd. 6, 57. Hegesandrus ap. Athen. 4, 19. p. 168.

Areiopagus. The remains of the city walls are still traceable along the crest of the hill of Pnyx, from whence they crossed the opening or hollow above mentioned, in a northern direction, towards the site of Dipylum; the situation of which is nearly determined beyond any question, by its having opened from the inner into the outer Cerameicus, and by its having been in a line drawn from the part of Athens lying northward of the Acropolis and Areiopagus, towards the pass of Dhafni, on the *Sacred Way*. In the hollow between the hill of Pnyx and the height to the north of it, there is every appearance of a gate having existed; and here, therefore, we have at least a presumption for placing the Peiraic gate: though it may also have been to the northward of the height above mentioned, since it is evident, that, at the end of a road between four and five miles in length, the divergence of a few hundred yards was of no importance, and the exact position of the gate might have been determined by the nature of the ground.

Nor is the presumption less strong, that the gate by which Pausanias, without naming it, commences his description of the city, was the Peiraic, as he previously describes some remarkable objects on the road to that gate from Peiræeus: and the presumption is confirmed by his subsequent narrative, which shows, that there was an interval between the gate at which he enters the city, and the ancient or Ceramic Agora which encircled the hill of Areiopagus, but that the interval was not considerable. In these particulars, a gate on either side of the height northward of Pnyx would accord with his narrative.

These presumptions, however, have not been found sufficient. It is alleged:—first, that Pausanias may have conducted his reader into Athens by some other gate; for instance, by Dipylum, as being the greatest and most illustrious of all the gates of Athens,[52] and which, as it separated the outer from the inner Cerameicus, and hence was sometimes called the Ceramic gate, could not but have led directly into the Ceramic Agora: or, secondly, that the Peiraic gate may not have been in the situation which I have supposed, but at the upper extremity of the interval between the Long

[52] German translation of the Topography of Athens, note by Müller, p. 457. Mr. Wordsworth is of the same opinion, founding it chiefly on the fact that the Pompeium, or building for the use of the sacred processions, which entered at Dipylum, was a little within the gate by which Pausanias enters: Dipylum, however, he places in the hollow, on the northern side of the hill of Pnyx; though it is difficult to conceive, that a gate so situated could have opened from the inner to the outer Cerameicus, which bordered on the Academy, or that it could have been the commencement of the Sacred Way.

Walls; where, exactly in the direction of them, or rather, of a street midway between them, there is a remarkable opening between the hills Pnyx and Museium, still retaining vestiges of a gate, which terminated an ancient road, still traceable by wheel-tracks in the rock.

But Dipylum could not have been the gate by which Pausanias conducts his reader into Athens, not because its position at the western extremity of the city, in the line of the Sacred Way, was too remote from the direct line between the Peiræeus and the middle of Athens; for, as doubtless there were roads leading from the harbour to all the gates on that side of the city, the traveller would generally be determined in the choice of the gate by which he should enter the city by his subsequent intentions: and hence we need not be surprised, that Lucian represents the persons of one of his Dialogues as entering Athens at Dipylum, when coming from Peiræeus,[53]—that being the greatest and most frequented of the Athenian gates, and which led by the main street of Cerameicus, to the Agora;[54] still less, that Attalus should have entered at that gate, on the solemn occasion of his reception by the Athenians.[55] Dipylum could not have been the gate at which Pausanias enters Athens:—
1. Because it led from the outer to the inner Cerameicus, the main street of which commenced at Dipylum; whereas there was an interval between the Cerameicus and the gate at which Pausanias begins his description.[56]
2. Because on the outside of this gate Pausanias describes a monument, bearing the figure of a soldier standing by a horse, the work of Praxiteles, with the remark, that he did not know for whom this figure was intended: whereas, on the outside of Dipylum stood the tomb of Anthemocritus, as we know from other authorities, as well as from Pausanias himself, who mentions that tomb as standing near the gate, by which, at the end of his description of Athens, he conducts his reader *out of the city*, by the Sacred Way, to Eleusis;[57] thereby proving *that* gate to have been Dipylum.

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[53] Lucian. Navig. 17. [54] Liv. 31, 24. [55] Polyb. 16, 25. [56] Attic. 2, 4. The Stoa Basileius, the first building noticed by Pausanias in the Cerameicus, was doubtless one of the Stoæ, which bordered on either side the δρόμος, or great street, which led from the Ceramic gate, or Dipylum, through the Ceramic Agora, to the Acropolis. Himerius, speaking of the ship (l. c.), describes it as proceeding ἐκ τῶν πυλῶν διὰ μέσου τοῦ δρόμου, ὃς καταβαίνων ἄνωθεν (ex Acropoli) σχίζει τὰς ἑκατέρωθεν στόας, ἐφ' ὧν ἀγοράζουσι Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ οἱ λοιποί. The Macra Stoa bordered the same street, probably from the Basileius to the ascent to the Acropolis.

[57] Pausan. Attic. 2, 3. et 36, 2. Plutarch. Pericl. 30. Harpoc. in Ἀνθεμόκριτος.

Nor is it easy to conceive, on referring to the following authorities, that the gate which stood in the opening between the heights of Museium and Pnyx could have been the Peiraic gate. Plutarch relates, on the authority of Sylla himself, that, "Sylla having been informed that the strength of the Heptachalcum had tempted the Athenians to be less careful in guarding the walls in that quarter than in any other, resolved, after having examined the place, to attempt an assault in that part of the inclosure. Making a breach, therefore, between the Sacred and Peiraic gates, he entered the city in the middle of the night, when so great was the slaughter in and around the Agora, that all the Cerameicus within Dipylum was filled with blood, which, according to many reports, even flowed through that gate into the suburb."[58] The Sacred gate not being named by any other author, one cannot but suspect that it was the same as Dipylum, and that it may have been so called occasionally, as the commencement of the Sacred Way, which we know Dipylum to have been. In this case, one cannot imagine Plutarch to have described the breach as having been made between the Sacred and Peiraic gates, had the Peiraic been in the position between Pnyx and Museium; for this point is more than one thousand yards in direct distance from the site of Dipylum; and there was one, if there were not two, intermediate gates; whereas the words of Plutarch clearly require, that the Sacred and Peiraic should be neighbouring gates. If, on the other hand, the Sacred gate was not the same as Dipylum, as the occurrence of the two names in the same passage of Plutarch may afford some argument for believing, we are under the necessity (on the same hypothesis as to the position of the Peiraic gate, in the opening between Museium and Pnyx,) of supposing that the Sacred gate was the next adjacent gate to the north or south of that opening; and consequently, that the breach was made either on the hill of Pnyx, or on that of the Museium: neither of which is reconcileable with the fact of the breach having been made near the Heptachalcum. Nor would a breach on the heights of Museium or Pnyx have conducted so directly into the Agora as that effected by Sylla appears to have done; as the south-western quarter of the city, and the ridge composed of the two heights of

[58] Ὁ [Σύλλας] δ' οὐ κατεφρόνησεν, ἀλλ' ἐπελθὼν νυκτὸς καὶ θεασάμενος τὸν τόπον ἀλώσιμον, εἶχετο τοῦ ἔργου· * * * αὐτὸς δὲ τὸ μεταξὺ τῆς Πειραικῆς πύλης καὶ τῆς Ἱερᾶς κατασκάψας καὶ συνομαλύνας περὶ μέσας νύκτας ἐσήλαννε φρικώδης * * * ἄνευ γὰρ τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην πόλιν ἀναιρεθέντων, ὁ περὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν φόνος ἐπέσχε πάντα τὸν ἐντὸς τοῦ Διπύλου Κεραμεικόν· πολλοῖς δὲ λέγεται καὶ διὰ τῶν πυλῶν κατακλύσαι τὸ προάστειον.—Plutarch. Syll. 14.

Areiopagus and Acropolis, would have been interposed between the breach and the Agora of the time of Sylla; which latter is shown to have been on the northern side of the Areiopagus, not only by arguments already stated, but also by the tradition related by Plutarch as to the blood having flowed through Dipylum into the exterior Cerameicus: such a circumstance could not have happened, had the Agora been to the southward or westward of the Acropolis, the formation of the ground rendering it impossible. The same intervention of the heights is still more adverse to the supposition of the gate between Museium and Pnyx having been that by which Pausanias commences his description of Athens; since he expressly states, that a single portico led from this gate into the Cerameicus; whence it is evident, that the distance could not have been great, nor interrupted by any such steep ascent as that which forms the connexion between the Acropolis and Areiopagus.

It has been argued, that the distinguished situation of the gate between Museium and Pnyx, and its position in an exact line drawn from the centre of the Peiraic peninsula to the Acropolis, favour the opinion of its having been the Peiraic gate: but we must remember, that this importance of situation availed only while the Long Walls subsisted: it was then indeed the entrance into the city from the Longo-mural inclosure, and the termination of a great street, leading in a direct line from the maritime city to the Acropolis, which may conveniently have been joined by routes from each of the harbours of Phalerum, Munychia, and Peiræeus; but after the ruin and neglect of the Long Walls, which may be dated from the destruction of the maritime fortifications by Sylla, the Longo-mural street was probably abandoned, and the ground cultivated, as it is at present; and although, doubtless, there was always a road into the southern parts of the city at the opening between Museium and Pnyx, it was probably not the ordinary route to the busy parts of the city from Peiræeus, Zea, and Cantharus, the ports where the maritime commerce was then chiefly carried on, and from whence the most convenient road to the Agora led through a part of the plain harder and less liable to be marshy than where the Long Walls had stood: in short, when the Longo-mural inclosure was abandoned, the principal approaches to Athens from its harbours became probably such as they were found by Pausanias, who describes two roads, one from Phalerum and the other from Peiræeus, each ending in a gate on the corresponding side of the city; and who notices the Long Walls in connexion with the Peiraic road, after having

described the road from Phalerum without any mention of them; thereby showing that they were nearer to the Peiraic than to the Phaleric road, which exactly accords with the actual state of things, except that the modern road from Peiræeus has diverged a little to the right, for the sake of the solid causeway furnished by the foundations of the northern Long Wall itself.[59] I venture to conclude, therefore, that the ordinary approaches from the harbours to the city have continued to be nearly the same, from the time of Pausanias, and even from not long after the time of Sylla, to the present day. As to the wheel-tracks in the rocks on the road which terminated the Longo-mural inclosure, there was sufficient traffic on that road, especially during the ages when the Long Walls subsisted, to account for these marks, which are not deeper or more numerous than those remaining upon ancient routes of much smaller traffic in many parts of Greece.

Another argument against the supposition of the Peiraic gate having been that between Pnyx and Museium, may be derived from a passage in the Life of Theseus, where Plutarch, the only author I believe who ever mentions the Peiraic gate, introduces the name in a manner which seems to show, that it was not an ancient appellation, but had been introduced subsequently perhaps to the destruction of the Long Walls. An Athenian antiquary, named Cleidemus, describing the position of the Amazones, when they advanced against the city of Theseus, afterwards the Acropolis of Athens, stated, that their line extended from the Pnyx on the right to the Amazonium on the left; the latter monument having evidently been to the north of the Areiopagus; as Æschylus, by placing the Amazones on the Areiopagus,[60] shows that height to have been the centre of their position. The Athenians attacked the enemy's right from the Museium; and the tombs of those who fell, still existed in the time of Plutarch, in the street leading to the gate at the heroum of Chalcodon, then called the Peiraic gate.[61] The Athenians were then turned by the enemy, and retreated as far as the Eumenides (at the north-eastern extremity of the Areiopagus[62]); but here receiving a reinforcement from the Palladium,

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[59] These foundations, it is said, have now been broken up, to form a new road.

[60] Eumen. 688.

[61] *περὶ τὴν πλατεῖαν τὴν φέρουσαν ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας παρὰ τὸ Χαλκώδοντος ἡρῷον, ἃς νῦν Πειραϊκὰς ὀνομάζουσι.*—Plut. Thes. 27.

[62] Pausan. Att. 28, 6. See Müller, notes to the German translation of Top. of Ath. p. 454. Wordsworth's Athens and Attica, p. 79.

Ardettus, and Lyceium,[63] that is to say, from the north-eastward, the right of the Amazones was again defeated, and they were forced to retreat to their camp. It seems clear, therefore, that the Peiraic gate was beyond the Pnyx, in proceeding from the Museium,—the Athenians having on that occasion been the assailants, and victorious. In their subsequent retreat, they were driven almost to the walls of their fortress; but when joined by the reinforcement, which marched by the northern side of that height, they again resumed the offensive, once more overcame the right wing of the Amazones,[64] and obliged the whole body to retire to their camp, which we may suppose to have been situated beyond the site of the Asty, in some part of the plain.

The heroum of Chalcodon, at the Peiraic gate,[65] seems to accord with the sepulchral monument at the gate by which Pausanias enters Athens, and which he describes as bearing the figures of a horse and man, the work of Praxiteles. If we may judge by numerous monuments of later times, inscribed with the title ἥρως, and bearing similar figures in relief, these were common accompaniments of heroic monuments. This apparent coincidence, therefore, favours the opinion, that Pausanias commences his description of the city at the Peiraic gate.

Plato and Xenophon afford reasons for believing, that even during the existence of the Longo-mural inclosure, the ordinary route from the Peiræeus to Athens passed to the northward of it. The former alludes to a person ascending from the Peiræeus to Athens, under the northern wall;[66] and Xenophon states, that the Peiræeus was approached by a carriage-road,

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[63] The Lyceium was on the outside of Diocharis, or the eastern gate (Topography of Athens, p. 144). Ardettus was near the Panathenaic Stadium; Harpocrat. in Ἀρδηττός.

[64] It has been supposed (by Reiske, not. in p. 57, l. ult. and by others,) that the second δέξιον in Plutarch is an error of the text for εὐώνυμον; that is to say, that the Athenians, when reinforced, attacked the left of the Amazones, towards which their retreat had brought them: but the alteration is not necessary, nor is it of any great importance to the topographical question.

[65] Chalcodon was the father of one of the wives of Ægeus. (Athen. 13, 1. p. 557. Schol. Eurip. Med. 673.) Pausanias says (Att. 2, 3.), that he did not know who the warrior was intended for: but, as the Athenians had doubtless a name for him, the ignorance of Pausanias was affected, either because he did not agree with the ἐξηγηταὶ on this point, or because the statue had been inscribed with some modern name.

[66] Λεόντιος ὁ Ἀγλαίωνος ἀνιὼν ἐκ Πειραιέως ὑπὸ τὸ βορειον τεῖχος.—De Republ. 4. vol. 2. p. 439. Serr.

along which the troops of the Thirty marched,[67] when they proceeded from the city, against Thrasybulus, in the Peiræeus.

Many considerations lead, therefore, to the belief, that Pausanias commenced his description of Athens at the Peiraic gate, and that this gate was in some part of the inclosure of the Asty between Pnyx and Dipylum. Some reasons may be alleged in favour of placing it, not in the pass at the northern end of the hill of Pnyx, but beyond the height, which is on the northern side of that pass:—1. The passage of the ridge is here less steep than at the opening near Pnyx. 2. On this supposition, if the Sacred gate was the same as Dipylum, which is most probable, the wall broken down by Sylla in a single night would be of a more reasonable length. 3. Here the route of Pausanias leads into a more central part of the inner Cerameicus, which seems to accord better with the numerous buildings described by him. 4. The Pompeium would thus have been situated very conveniently for its purposes,[68] near the great street of Cerameicus, through which the Panathenaic processions passed, soon after having entered the city at Dipylum.

The situation of the gate from which Pausanias begins his description of Athens, is an essential preliminary to the understanding of that description; as the author, with his usual conciseness, has not given us any sufficient indication of the intended order of his narrative. His description of Athens is capable however of being divided as follows:—1. Entering the Ceramic Agora at no great distance from the Peiraic gate, he passes the Stoa Basileius, and proceeds by the Metroum, and the Council-House of the Five Hundred, to the Tholus, and from thence by the statues of the Eponymi, to the temple of Mars, near which were the statues of Harmodius and Aristogeiton, on the ascent to the Acropolis. 2. He describes the Odeium, near Enneacrunus, together with that fountain and the temples near it. 3. Returning to the Stoa Basileius, he describes some objects near it, (probably those not on the same side as the Metroum,) then proceeds to the Pœcile, and some buildings in its vicinity, and thence by the Anaceium and Prytaneium, to the temple of Jupiter Olympius, after which he notices the Gymnasia and suburbs on the eastern side of the city, including the Stadium. 4. He resumes his situation at the Prytaneium, and proceeds, by the street of the Tripodes and the theatre of Bacchus, along the south-western side of the Acropolis, to the Propylæa. 5. After describing the Acropolis, he descends to the

[67] ἐχώρουν κατὰ τὴν ἐς τὸν Πειραιᾶ Ἀμαξιτὸν ἀναφέρουσαν.—Xenoph. Hellen. 2, 4. § 10.

[68] οἰκοδόμημα ἐς παρασκεύην τῶν πομπῶν, &c.—Paus. Att. 2, 4.

Areiopagus, and then describes the Academy, and the tombs of the exterior Cerameicus on the road from Athens to the Academy, the third, or last, of the great Athenian gymnasia without the walls.

The great difficulty in this arrangement, and which perhaps has been the principal cause of the doubts thrown upon the truth of the positions which I have assigned to Enneacrunus and the Peiraic gate, is the want of connexion between the first and second parts of the description: since, if those positions are correct, Pausanias has, (as I before hinted,) without the smallest notice, made a leap of half the breadth of the city; namely, from near the western end of the Acropolis to the Ilissus: but this desultory abruptness is a characteristic of Pausanias. He takes frequent occasion, moreover, to remind his readers, as well in his description of Athens, as in other parts of his work, that he does not undertake to describe every object;[69] of which indeed several existing monuments at Athens unnoticed by him, and others mentioned by other authors, furnish ample confirmation. We are to recollect, that his topographical remarks on Athens referred to a place with which he supposes his readers to be well acquainted; that there were several descriptions of the antiquities of Athens extant in his time,[70] as he often hints; that his pursuits were history and mythology, rather than topography and the arts; and that hence, although there is every appearance of a general arrangement throughout his *periegesis*, founded on the order of his travels in Greece, which seem to have occupied, at intervals, the greater part of his life,[71] his observations have reached us in a very com-

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[69] Attic. 26, 5. 35, 4. Lacon. c. 11, 1. Eliac. post. 1, 1.

[70] Polemon, about 200 B. C., wrote four books on the Acropolis, and another on the Sacred Way. (Strabo, p. 396. Athen. 11, 6. p. 472—11, 11. p. 486—13, 6. p. 587. Harpocrat. in Νεμέας Χαράδρα, Ἱερὰ Ὁδὸς, Λαμπάς.) Heliodorus was the author of fifteen books on the Acropolis, (Athen. 6, 3. p. 229.) and of a treatise on dedicatory tripods, (Harpocrat. in Ὀνήτωρ.) Callistratus, or Menecles, was another writer on the topography or buildings of Athens, (Harp. in Ἑκατόμπεδον, Harp., Phot., et Suid., in Ἑρμαῖ. Harp. et Suid. in Κεραμεικός. Schol. Aristoph. Av. 395. Harp. Suid. in Νίκη Ἀθηνᾶ, Προπύλαια ταῦτα.) Ammonius of Lamptra wrote a book on altars. (Schol. in Hermogen. c. de Suav.) The writers of the Ἀτθίδες, Philochorus, Cleidemus, Phanodemus, Androtion, Istrus, and Demon, had frequent occasion also to allude to the topography and antiquities of Athens, as we may judge from their fragments. See the collection of them by Siebelis, with annotations. Leipzig, 1811, 1812.

[71] Compare Attic. 5, 5. Corinth. 27, 7. Eliac. pr. 1, 1. Achaic. 20, 3. Arcad. 43.

pressed form, in which, both in things treated of and in those omitted, as well as in the arrangement of details, he appears to have been guided by considerations connected with his favourite pursuits. Of any city whatever it would be difficult to complete a circuitous description, so as to comprise all the principal objects, without reverting for a new departure to some points before mentioned. Now this Pausanias has only done twice: once, by returning to the Stoa Basileius; the second time, to the Prytaneium. The latter was rendered necessary by the Prytaneium having been the point at which the route into the lower parts of the city (*ἐς τὰ κάτω τῆς πόλεως*)— where the author describes in succession the sanctuaries of Sarapis, Lucina, Jupiter Olympius, Apollo Pythius, and Apollo Delphinius, and the eastern suburbs—separated from the route conducting by the street of Tripodes, the Dionysiac Theatre, and the southern slope of the Acropolis, to the Propylæa. A return to the Stoa Basileius might apparently have been avoided, if he had deferred his mention of the places near Enneacrunus until he had arrived at the Olympium; and if he had included the monuments on the descent from the Acropolis, and around the Areiopagus, in the fifth part of his description; that is to say, after having described the Acropolis. But a double motive may have influenced Pausanias in proceeding at once from his notice of the statues of Harmodius and Aristogeiton, which were on the ascent to the Acropolis, to that of the Odeium, near Enneacrunus. He had found nothing which he thought worthy of introduction into his work, to the south-westward of the hill of the Acropolis, as he has shown by having mentioned the Museium, which bounded that quarter, incidentally only, when describing the Acropolis, and in reference to its having been fortified by Demetrius Poliorcetes.[72] Thus circumstanced, he was desirous, apparently, of bringing, as much as possible, into juxtaposition, the principal historical observations, of which five-sixths of the pages devoted by Pausanias to Athens consist. It is observable, in particular, that from the fifth chapter, in which he describes the statues of the

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[72] Pausanias, in describing the Museium as within the old inclosure of the Asty, *ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου τοῦ ἀρχαίου*, may have alluded to the general ruin of the walls, and the abandonment of all that part of the site, in his time. The word *ἀρχαῖος* may however be differently interpreted, as I shall notice hereafter.

Eponymi, and notices the three new Athenian tribes, Attalis, Ptolemaïs, and Adrianis, as far as the fourteenth chapter, his narrative relates almost entirely to the successors of Alexander the Great, whose history he introduces by the remark, that he had undertaken it, because it was defective in consequence of its antiquity, and the want of contemporary authorities. He interrupts this historical narrative, indeed, (in chapter 8.) in order to notice some monuments situated between the statues of the Eponymi, and those of Harmodius and Aristogeiton; but he resumes it after a single page, in reference to the statues before the Odeium near Enneacrunus, and it seems to have been for the sake of those statues, that the Odeium is so abruptly introduced. Those figures represented the three Ptolemies, surnamed Soter, Philadelphus, and Philometor; an Arsinoë and a Berenice; Philip of Macedonia, his son Alexander, Lysimachus, and Pyrrhus; concerning all which persons he had more or less to relate: so that it is not until the end of five subsequent chapters that he proceeds with the description of the Odeium, which is then dispatched in a single line, and Enneacrunus in three or four.

Referring to these circumstances, to the general nature of the work of Pausanias, and to the existence in his time of accurate descriptions of Athens, it seems no longer unaccountable, that he should have followed an order of narrative which might be made topographically more consecutive; or rather, perhaps, it would be difficult to devise a better, consistently with the objects which he had in view.

I have now to advert to a question of Athenian topography, as to which my present conclusions differ from the 'Topography of Athens;' and in the main, are the same as those published by two recent travellers,—Dr. Forchhammer of Holstein,[73] and the Reverend Christopher Wordsworth.[74]

In the 'Topography of Athens,' (p. 68.) I adverted to the want of evidence as to the ancient name of that peaked summit, considerably higher than the Acropolis, which, crowned with a small chapel of St. George, rises immediately from the site of the north-eastern quarter of the ancient Asty,

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[73] Zur Topographie Athens, Göttingen, 1833; consisting of a letter from Dr. Forchhammer, at Athens, with a reply by Professor Müller, of Göttingen.

[74] Athens and Attica, c. 8.

and bears about east-north-east from the centre of the ancient site. I was disposed to believe it to be the ancient Lycabettus:—1st. Because it is difficult to conceive that such a remarkable feature of the site of Athens, one of the first objects that seizes the stranger's attention, and which enters into almost every view of Athens, should not have had a name of some renown. 2ndly. Because Lycabettus was the only one of the more celebrated Attic mountains of which the identity was not determined. 3dly. Because Lycabettus appears, from the ancient allusions to it, to have been near to Athens, and not among the more distant summits surrounding the Athenian valley. 4thly. Because the mountain of St. George is surrounded by olive plantations; thus according with the character of Lycabettus given by Statius,[75]—

> Dives et Ægaleos nemorum Parnesque benignus
> Vitibus et pingui melior Lycabessus oliva.

But there were two passages in the ancient writers that seemed to militate against this opinion. Plato, describing the ancient, or fabulous state of the hill of the Acropolis, prior to a certain deluge and earthquake, which were supposed to have removed a great quantity of soil, and to have effected an immense change in the site of Athens, states, that the hill of the Acropolis was then so large as to extend to the Eridanus and Ilissus, comprehending within it the Pnyx, as well as the mountain of Lycabettus, which is opposite to Pnyx.[76]

In another fable, related by Antigonus Carystius, on the authority of an Athenian antiquary named Amelesagoras, the infant Erichthonius was said to have been inclosed by Minerva in a box, which she delivered to the three daughters of Cecrops, with strict injunctions that it should not be opened until her return from Pellene, to which place she was proceeding, in order to procure a mountain to serve as an outwork to the Acropolis.[77]

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[75] Theb. 12, 631.

[76] *Ἡ Ἀκρόπολις . . . . τὸ δὲ πρὶν ἐν ἑτέρῳ χρόνῳ μέγεθος ἦν πρὸς τὸν Ἠριδανὸν καὶ τὸν Ἰλισσὸν ἀποβεβηκυῖα καὶ περιειληφυῖα ἐντὸς τὸν Πνύκα καὶ τὸν Λυκαβηττὸν ὄρον* (al. *ὄρος*) *ἐκ τοῦ καταντικρὺ Πνυκὸς ἔχουσα.* Plat. in Critia. Op. vol. 1, p. 112. Serr.

[77] ** * * Ἐριχθόνιον· ὃν τρέφειν τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν καὶ εἰς κίστην καθείρξαι, καὶ παραθέσθαι ταῖς Κέκροπος παισὶν Ἀγραύλῳ καὶ Πανδρόσῳ καὶ Ἕρσῃ, καὶ ἐπιτάξαι μὴ ἀνοίγειν τὴν κίστην, ἕως ἂν αὐτὴ ἔλθῃ· ἀφικομένην δὴ ἐς Πελλήνην, φέρειν ὄρος ἵνα ἔρυμα πρὸ τῆς Ἀκροπόλεως ποιήσῃ· τὰς δὲ Κέ-*

Agraulus and Pandrosus, (Agraulus and Herse, according to Apollodorus and Pausanias,[78]) disobeying her commands, opened the box, and found two serpents coiled around Erichthonius. Meantime, Minerva, as she was on her way back, with the mountain Lycabettus in her hand, was met by a crow, which informed her that Erichthonius was discovered to view; whereupon she threw down the mountain where it now stands, and punished the crow for being a herald of bad news, by forbidding this bird from ever entering the Acropolis.

The words *ἕρυμα πρὸ τῆς Ἀκροπόλεως*, in this passage, compared with the *καταντικρὺ Πυκνὸς* of Plato, appeared to me to agree with no other height than that which is separated from the hill of Pnyx, as well as from the north-western end of the Areiopagus, by the hollow which was crossed by the ancient walls, and was the position of one of the gates. The western being the weakest side of the Acropolis, was that which was chiefly in want of an outwork: it seemed possible, therefore, that the whole ridge of hills to the southward of the Acropolis might have been the original Lycabettus, until the southern and highest part of them (the Museium) having come into distinct notice, from having been formed into a separate fortress by Antigonus king of Macedonia, and his son Demetrius, while another summit of that ridge was occupied by the Pnyx; the name, Lycabettus, might in later times have been confined to the inconsiderable height, adjacent to the Pnyx, on the north-west.[79] There seemed also some indication of the proximity of Pnyx and Lycabettus, in the two facts, that the earliest Heliotropium, or instrument for marking the solstice, was said

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κροκος θυγατέρας τὰς δύο Ἄγραυλον καὶ Πάνδροσον τὴν κίστην ἀνοίξαι καὶ ἰδεῖν δράκοντας δύο περὶ τὸν Ἐριχθόνιον· τῇ δὲ Ἀθηνᾷ, φερούσῃ τὸ ὄρος, ὃ νῦν καλεῖται Λυκαβηττὸς, κορώνην φησὶν ἀπαντῆσαι καὶ εἰπεῖν ὅτι Ἐριχθόνιος ἐν φανερῷ· τὴν δὲ ἀκούσασαν ῥίψαι τὸ ὄρος ὅπου νῦν ἐστι· τῇ δὲ κορώνῃ διὰ τὴν κακαγγελίαν εἰπεῖν, ὡς εἰς ἀκρόπολιν οὐ θέμις αὐτῇ ἔσται ἀφικέσθαι. Hist. Mirab. 12.

A beautiful statue of a deified mortal has lately been discovered in an excavation at Athens, having the thighs lengthened beyond the human proportion, and ending in serpents; —*Ἐριχθόνιος ἐν φανερῷ*. We learn from Hyginus, that Erichthonius was sometimes fabled to have had legs ending in serpents. As to the crow, (V. et Lucret. 6, 749.) the explanation seems to be, that these birds, which are seen in great numbers around the rocks of the Acropolis, seldom rise to the windy summit, preferring the shelter of the rocks.

[78] Apoll. 3, 14. Paus. Attic. 18, 2. [79] Topography of Athens, p. 70.

to have been on the Pnyx;[80] and that Theophrastus was supposed to state, that Meton made the observations, by which he determined the length of the solar year, from Lycabettus.[81]

Since the publication of 'The Topography of Athens,' however, some researches concerning the demi of Attica, the result of which has been published in the 'Transactions' of our Society, have led me to believe that the Pellene, mentioned by Amelesagoras, is the same as the demus of the Pallenenses, where the existence of a temple of Minerva, attested by

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[80] V. sup. p. 193.

[81] *Ἔστι γὰρ αἰεί τινα λαβεῖν τοιοῦτον γνώμονα· καὶ ἔστι σαφέστατα σημεῖα τὰ ἀπὸ τούτων. Διὸ καὶ ἀγαθοὶ γεγένηνται κατὰ τόπους τινὰς ἀστρονόμοι ἔνιοι, οἷον Ματρικέτας ἐν Μεθύμνῃ ἀπὸ τοῦ Λεπετύμνου καὶ Κλεόστρατος ἐν Τενέδῳ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἴδης καὶ Φαεινὸς Ἀθήνησιν ἀπὸ τοῦ Λυκαβηττοῦ τὰ περὶ τὰς τροπὰς συνεῖδε· παρ' οὗ Μέτων ἀκούσας τὸν τοῦ ἐνὸς δέοντα εἴκοσιν ἐνιαυτῶν συνέταξεν. Ἦν δὲ ὁ μὲν Φαεινὸς μέτοικος Ἀθήνησιν, ὁ δὲ Μέτων Ἀθηναῖος. Καὶ ἄλλοι δὲ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἠστρολόγησαν.* Theophrast. de Sig. Pluv.

It is evident from these words that the mountains were gnomons, not observatories. M. Forchhammer supposes that the name Lycabettus is from *λυκάβας*, meaning year-hill. Undoubtedly some point in Athens may be found (and it would not be far from the the Pnyx) from whence the sun may have been observed to rise on the solstitial day, in coincidence with the highest point of the hill of St. George; and thus, by repeated observations, a first approximation to the length of the solar year may have been obtained: but it is difficult to conceive that by such a gnomon, Phaeinus or Meton could have calculated the length of the year with such correctness, that the year of Meton has been found to differ very slightly from modern observations.

M. Forchhammer remarks, in corroboration of his explanation of Theophrastus, that Ida has the same bearing from Tenedus, and Lepetymnus from Methymna, as the mountain of St. George from Athens. But this is not true. No part of Mount Ida lies to the northward of east from Tenedus; and Mount Gargarus, its highest point, is considerably to the southward of east. Lepetymnus, relatively to Methymna, is still more southerly, that city having been at the northern extremity of the island of Lesbus. Following the idea of Hesychius, (*Λυκαβηττὸς ὄρος τῆς Ἀττικῆς· εἴρηται δὲ οὕτω διὰ τὸ λύκους πληθύειν,*) we might suppose the name to be formed of *λυκὸς* and *βῆσσα*, which latter word may have had the same origin as the termination of many Attic names. But, as Mr. Müller observes, the *α* in *Λυκαβηττὸς* is strongly against the etymology of Hesychius. The same able critic remarks, that *λυκάβας* is an Homeric word (Od. Ξ. 161. T. 306.), and that the Homeric language strongly resembled the old Attic. Adhering, therefore, to *λύκη* (the Latin *lux*), as the component of Lycabettus, may not that name, without any reference to astronomy, have been derived from the simple fact, that in all seasons, except the middle of winter, the light of day makes its appearance behind that mountain, so that its summit is the first illumined point in the horizon of the city?

Herodotus,[82] connects that place in some degree with the mythus concerning Minerva. This demus I have shown to have been on or near the road from Athens to Marathon, at about one-third of the whole distance.[83] As Minerva, therefore, was on her return from Pallene to Athens when she met the crow and dropped the mountain, it follows that Lycabettus was in the same direction as Marathon, or to the north-eastward; and that, as Pallene was to the southward of Brilessus or Pentelicum, Lycabettus could scarcely have been any other than the mountain of St. George. Plato, therefore, by *καταντικρὺ Πυκνὸς* seems to have intended the diametrical opposition of Lycabettus to Pnyx with reference to the circumference of the city. As to the words *ἕρυμα πρὸ τῆς Ἀκροπόλεως*, which are not very well adapted to the mountain of St. George, we are to observe, that according to the tenor of the fable itself, Minerva appears not to have placed the mountain where she had first intended.

Although the hill of St. George is surrounded by olive plantations on three sides, and may thus be said to agree with the description of Statius, it is a mere rock in the upper parts, and very dry and barren in the lower slope; and in this respect it accords with the allusions made to it in two dialogues, wherein Socrates, in one instance, is made to contrast the dry soil about Lycabettus with the marshy ground near Phalerum;[84] thus giving reason to believe that it was in the immediate vicinity of the plain of Athens; and, in the other, remarks that the house of the wealthy Polytion would, among the Scythians, be as worthless as Lycabettus to an Athenian.[85] Another reference to the mountain, which shows that it was near Athens, would seem to place it in the direction of Mount Parnes.[86] But as there was no mountain

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[82] 1, 62.

[83] Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature, i. p. 141.

[84] *Ξηρὰ μὲν γοῦν μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι ἡ περὶ τὸν Λυκαβηττὸν καὶ ἡ ταύτῃ ὁμοία· ὑγρὰ δὲ ἡ ἐν τῷ Φαληρικῷ ἕλει, καὶ ἡ ταύτῃ ὁμοία.*—Xenoph. Œcon. 19.

[85] Ps. Plato in Eryx. Op. Vol. 3, p. 400. Serr.

[86] *Ἐς τὴν Πάρνηθ' ὀργισθεῖσαι φροῦδαι κατὰ τὸν Λυκαβηττόν.*—Aristoph. ap. Phot. Lex. in *Πάρνης*. Photius refers this line to the *Νεφέλαι*, but it is not found in the extant edition of that comedy. If it means, that the clouds vanished towards Lycabettus, as they were returning to Parnes, because they were irritated with the reception which

near the city in that direction, we must make allowance for the topographical negligence of a poet; especially as we find a direct and decisive proof that Lycabettus lay more to the eastward than to the northward of Athens, in a writer of the fifth century, whose authority has hitherto been unnoticed on this question. Marinus, a native of the Samarian Neapolis, (now Nablus,) in his 'Life of Proclus,' whom he succeeded as head of the Platonic school at Athens, relates that Proclus was buried at Athens, to the eastward of the city, near Lycabettus (*ἐν τοῖς ἀνατολικωτέροις τῆς πόλεως πρὸς τῷ Λυκαβηττῷ*). Here he had constructed a tomb with a double receptacle, (*δίπλη θήκη*) in order that he might lie beside his master Syrianus; having written his own epitaph, which Marinus has preserved.[87] Although the work of Marinus was written as late as the year of our Lord 485, his authority is not to be despised in an incidental allusion to topography. Even at that late period Athens cherished the memory of her history, and the Platonic school was the centre of all that remained of ancient literature: Plutarch of Athens, Syrianus, Proclus, Marinus, Isidorus, and Damascius, were successively at the head of this school.[88] Both as residents of Athens, and as learned men, deriving their knowledge in an uninterrupted series from former times, they may be supposed to have been correctly informed as to the ancient topography. So clear a reference, therefore, by one of them to an ancient position is of the greatest validity.

It does not follow that the name Anchesmus is to be expunged from the map, as applied to this mountain. Anchesmus and Lycabettus may have been one and the same mountain; or Anchesmus may have been the peak of St. George alone; while Lycabettus, though specifically the same mountain, may have comprehended also the whole of that low ridge of which St.

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they had met with on the Athenian stage, it could not have been in the first edition of the comedy; and yet the extant play alludes to the rejection of a former. (vers. 518. et seq.) This line, therefore, which is found only in Photius, may be added to the other arguments, leading to the belief that the existing comedy is a third edition. (Petit, Miscel. i. 3.—Clinton, Fasti Hell. vol. 2, p. 71.

[87] *Πρόκλος ἐγὼ γενόμην Λύκιος γένος, ὃν Συριανὸς*
Ἐνθάδ' ἀμοιβὸν ἔθρεψε διδασκαλίης·
Ξυνὸς δ' ἀμφοτέρων ὅδε σώματα δέξατο τύμβος
Αἴτε δὲ καὶ ψυχὰς χῶρος ἔεις λελάχοι.
Ap. Marin. in V. Procl. c. 36. Anthol. 2, p. 446.

[88] Marin. V. Procli. Damasc. V. Isid. ap. Phot. Bibl. cod. 242, p. 1027.

George is the highest summit and south-western extremity, and which will thus accord much better with the characteristic of Lycabettus as an olive-bearing mountain, than if it were confined to the rocky or barren height of St. George. The description which Pausanias gives of Anchesmus, as a "small mountain,"[89] applies correctly to the mountain of St. George; at the same time, that by associating Anchesmus with the other Athenian mountains, Pentelicum, Parnes, and Hymettus, he seems to attach the same degree of importance to it, which may be inferred as to Lycabettus from the words of Aristophanes and Strabo, cited below,[90] and which seems to have been derived from the conspicuous abruptness of this hill, and its proximity to the city. At the summit of the mountain of St. George there is an artificial approach to the peak by steps cut in the rock; the platform, occupied by the small church, retains other marks of art; and the chapel itself may be considered as an argument that the summit was a *ἱερὸν*, as, throughout Greece, churches are generally the successors of Pagan temples. Here probably stood the statue of Jupiter Anchesmius. It is highly credible, therefore, that, in the same manner as Brilessus, in the time of Pausanias, was more commonly known by the name of Pentelicum, in consequence of the fame which the Pentelic marble had acquired among the Romans, as I have endeavoured to show in the 'Transactions' of our Society,' (vol. i. p. 116,) so Lycabettus may about the same time have assumed that of Anchesmus, in honour of the Jupiter whose statue stood on the mountain, and whose worship may then have been introduced from abroad.[91] It is remarkable that Pausanias has not named either Lycabettus or Brilettus; while Strabo, who names them

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[89] Καὶ Ἄγχεσμος ὄρος ἐστὶν οὐ μέγα καὶ Διὸς ἄγαλμα Ἀγχεσμίου.—Pausan. Attic. c. 32.

[90] ἦν οὖν σὺ λέγῃς Λυκαβηττοὺς
Καὶ Παρνησῶν ἡμῖν μεγέθη, τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τὰ χρηστὰ διδάσκειν;
Aristoph. Ran. v. 1088.

The poet, doubtless, meant the Attic Parnesus, or Parnassus, commonly called Parnes. Παρνησὸς ὄρος μεταξὺ Βοιωτίας καὶ τῆς Ἀττικῆς.—Tim. Lex. Plat. in v.

Οἵ ῥ' Ἰθάκην εἶχον καὶ Νήριτον· (Il. B. 632.) κυρίως μὲν γὰρ ἀκούων τις, τὴν πόλιν δέξαιτ' ἄν, ὡς καὶ Ἀθήνας καὶ Λυκαβηττὸν εἴ τις λέγοι, καὶ Ῥόδον· καὶ Ἀράβυρια, καὶ ἔτι Λακεδαίμονα καὶ Ταΰγετον.—Strabo, p. 454.

[91] Anchesmus has more the sound of a foreign than of an Attic name: in the Æolic form of Onchesmus, we find it attached to a town and harbour of Epirus. Ἄγχι, in allusion to the proximity of the hill to the city, has also been suggested as an etymology of Anchesmus.

both, and as two of the renowned Athenian mountains,[92] makes no mention of Anchesmus or Pentelicum. Neither of these names, indeed, occur in any author prior to the Roman empire; while some remarks of Theophrastus on the prognostics of tempestuous weather at Athens may be cited as particularly showing that the three conspicuous summits which command the πεδίον, or Athenian valley, were named Parnes, Brilessus, and Hymettus.[93] The change in the customary appellation of the mountains Brilessus and Lycabettus occurred, probably, in the course of the first and second centuries of the Christian era. We already trace it, as to Brilessus, in Vitruvius, who with reference, doubtless, to the famous marble quarries of Pentele on that mountain, denominates it Mons Pentelensis. As to the fact, that Lycabettus was a name still in use in the fifth century, I need scarcely remark, that this furnishes little objection to the supposition of the same mountain having been the Anchesmus of Pausanias, since the learned Platonist would, doubtless, prefer the classical name, even although the other were in vulgar use.

THE LONG WALLS.

I shall now beg leave to submit to the Society a few remarks on the Long Walls of Athens, having particularly in view the passages in Thucydides relating to them, which I formerly found myself unable to reconcile with the existing remains of those works; as well as a new evidence concerning them, which has been obtained by the discovery of an ancient inscription, recording a contract entered into by the government for the repair of all the fortifications of Athens.[94]

Of those singular productions of Greek military architecture, by means of which, cities placed near, but not upon the sea-coast, were connected in the same circuit of defence with their harbours, Athens alone preserves any

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[92] Τῶν δ' ὀρῶν τὰ μὲν ἐν ὀνόματι μάλιστά ἐστιν, ὅτε Ὑμηττὸς καὶ Βριλησσὸς καὶ Λυκαβηττὸς, ἔτι δὲ Πάρνης καὶ Κορυδαλός.—Strabo, p. 399.

[93] Theophrastus says, that lightning over these three mountains prognosticates a great tempest; over two of them a storm less violent; over Parnes only, serene weather; and that a long cloud resting upon Hymettus during a tempest, indicates its approaching cessation.

[94] See a copy of the inscription, and the learned remarks upon it of Professor K. O. Müller, in his work, 'De Munimentis Athenarum,' Gottingen, 1836.

visible remains. Megara,[95] Corinth,[96] Sicyon,[97] and Patræ,[98] were similarly provided; and Argos for a short time.[99] Corinth or Sicyon, being less distant from the sea than Athens, and in situations where long walls were still more useful, may possibly have set the example of this mode of defence; but no city ever constructed long walls of so great a length as Athens.

We have reason to believe that long walls were usually parallel, having a distance between them, varying, probably, according to circumstances, but which, in the instance of Athens, was about a stade, and at Corinth, seems not to have been much greater or smaller than that distance.[100] Of the northern Athenian Long Wall, the foundations, twelve feet in thickness, formed of large quadrangular blocks of stone, and founded on a rocky soil, were conspicuous not many years since, commencing from the foot of the Peiraic heights, at half a mile from the head of Port Peiræeus, and continuing in the direction of the modern road for more than a mile and a half towards the city, exactly in the direction of the entrance of the Acropolis. Where they are no further visible, they have been covered probably by the alluvion of the Cephissus, which river crossed the Long Walls about the middle of their length.[101] The southern Long Wall, having passed through a deep vegetable soil, occupied chiefly by vineyards, was less easily traceable, except at its junction with the walls of Phalerum, and for about half a mile from thence towards the city. Commencing at a round tower situated above the north-western angle of the Phaleric bay, not far eastward of the gate by which the town of Phalerum was entered from Athens, it followed the foot of the hill, along the edge of the Phaleric marsh, for about five hundred yards; then assumed, for about half that distance, a direction

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[95] Thucyd. 1, 103. 4, 66, 69, 109. Aristoph. Lys. 1172. Plutarch. Phoc. 25. Strabo, p. 391. The Long Walls of Megara were built by the Athenians before those of Athens.

[96] Xenoph. Hell. 4, 4. § 7, 8, 18. Agesil. 2. § 17.

[97] Diodor. 20, 102.—Conf. Pausan. Corinth. 7, 1.—Plutarch. Demet. 25.

[98] Plutarch. Alcib. 15.

[99] Thucyd. 5, 82. Diodor. xii. 81. Plutarch. Alcib. 15.

[100] Xen. Hell. 4, 4. Compare § 7, 8, and seq. See Travels in the Morea, vol. 3. p. 251.

[101] The ford of the Cephissus, on the road to Athens from the Peiræeus, is probably that διάβασις τοῦ Κηφισσοῦ, noticed by Xenophon (Hell. 2, 4. § 19.) as the place of sepulchre of the heroic augur who devoted himself to death in aid of the victory of Thrasybulus over the forces of the Thirty in Peiræeus, B. C. 404.

to the north-eastward, almost at a right angle with the preceding; from whence, as far as it was traceable, it ran exactly parallel to the northern Long Wall, at a distance of five hundred and fifty feet from it. Thus the Long Walls appear to have formed a wide street, which at one time was thickly inhabited,[102] leading in a direct line from Phalerum and Munychia, to the Acropolis, through a gate in the inclosure of the city, vestiges of which were (and perhaps may still be) traceable. Excavations in the alluvial part of the plain would probably discover foundations of the Long Walls in the greater part of their extent.

The mode in which the southern wall was united to the inclosure of Phalerum, may give us some means of judging of the manner in which the northern wall was united to the Peiraic defences, as well as both the walls to the Asty; and may give reason to believe that their parallel direction did not proceed as far as the gate in the opening between Museium and Pnyx, but terminated at the south-western extremity of those hills, a little beyond the Ilissus; so that those heights were inclosed by walls diverging from the Long Walls. Of this I found some confirmation in the foundations of a massy wall at the foot of those hills on the western side.

That these heights were at one period excluded from the fortifications of the city, and at another included within it, we have some evidence in the artificial excavations with which they are abundantly covered; for some of these consist of sepulchral chambers and niches, while others were magazines, cisterns, chairs (*θρόνοι*), or seats of a more simple form, foundations of houses, drains, chimneys, and walls in which holes for rafters are observable. There may be a question, whether these heights were a part of the Asty at the time when Thucydides, describing the preparations for the defence of Athens, at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, made a computation of the proportion between the garrison and the length of rampart to be defended in the whole circumference of the Asty, Long Walls, and maritime city,[103] or whether they are to be considered as having formed a part of the longomural inclosure; in the same manner, as it is evident, that we must consider the enlarged portion of that inclosure caused by the diverging of the walls at their maritime termination. An unfortunate omission in Thucydides, as to the distance between the extre-

[102] Xenoph. Hellen. 2, 2. § 3. See Topog. of Athens, p. 346.

[103] Thucyd. 2, 13.

mities of the Long Walls at the Asty, and which the scholiast supplies by a number quite incredible,[104] is the cause of this uncertainty.

The existence of the foundations of the ancient walls of the Asty, along the crest of the hills of Pnyx and Museium, would indeed seem to leave no doubt that the hills in question were part of the longomural inclosure. It is possible, however, that these foundations, although now almost the only parts of the Asteian inclosure easily traceable, belong to the most ancient works of Athens; that this wall has never been entire since the Persian war; that Themistocles, when he renewed the defences of Athens, the year after the retreat of Mardonius,[105] inclosed all the heights to the south and west of the Pnyx and Museium, within the new κύκλος τοῦ Ἄστεως, or inclosure of the city; and that Pausanias, in describing the wall which crossed the Museium, as ὁ ἀρχαῖος περίβολος, referred to this fact.[106] And two considerations may favour this opinion: 1. that, previously to the time of the Thirty tyrants, the bema of the Pnyx is said to have commanded a view of the sea;[107] which, although inconsistent with the Pnyx in its present position, on account of the height of the hill behind it, and only to be understood by imagining not a bema only, but an entire prior place of assembly on the summit of the hill, is more consonant with probability, on the supposition, that the town wall on the Pnyx, after having been demolished, together with the other defences of Athens, by the Persians,[108] was not renewed by Themistocles; since, on the opposite hypothesis, the place of assembly would not have been in the city, but without the walls: 2. that Demetrius, son of Antigonus, in the year 307 B. C., fortified Museium, and placed a garrison in it;[109] a fact, which seems more probable in the absence of any town wall crossing the summit of the height.

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[104] Seventeen stades.

[105] Thucyd. i. 89, 93. Theopomp. et Plutarch. ap. Pl. in Themist. 19. Diodor. 11, 40. Demosth. cont. Leptin. p. 478, 479.

[106] Pausan. Att. 25, 6. It may seem strange that Pausanias should have described this hill as within the inclosure, (ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου ἀρχαίου,) when the wall crossed the summit of it; but it is evident that the part within the walls was particularly called Musæum, from having been the place where Musæus had been buried, and which site was occupied in the time of Pausanias by the monument of the Syrian, still existing.

[107] Plutarch. Themist. 19.

[108] The almost total demolition of the walls of Athens is attested by Herodotus 9, 13. and Thucydides 1, 89.

[109] Plutarch. Demet. 34. Pausan. Att. 25, 6.

Neither of these arguments, however, is of much weight. Demetrius may have made use of the wall as one side of his fortress, and Plutarch may have introduced, without examination, a popular tradition concerning the Pnyx, for which, like some others reported by him, there was little foundation in truth. On the other hand, there is this strong reason for believing that the longomural inclosure is to be measured as far as the wall crossing the crest of Museium and Pnyx; namely, that the length of the Long Walls, measured only to the extremity of the heights, will be much less than that which is ascribed to them by Thucydides.[110] In comparing

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[110] *ὁπλίτας δὲ τρισχιλίους καὶ μυρίους εἶναι ἄνευ τῶν ἐν τοῖς φρουρίοις καὶ τῶν παρ' ἔπαλξιν ἑξαχισχιλίων καὶ μυρίων· τοσοῦτοι γὰρ ἐφύλασσον τοπρῶτον, ὑπότε οἱ πολέμιοι ἐσβάλοιεν, ἀπό τε τῶν πρεσβυτάτων καὶ τῶν νεωτάτων, καὶ μετοίκων ὅσοι ὁπλῖται ἦσαν. τοῦ τε Φαληρικοῦ τείχους στάδιοι ἦσαν πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα πρὸς τὸν κύκλον τοῦ ἄστεως, καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ κύκλου τὸ φυλασσόμενον τρεῖς καὶ τεσσαράκοντα· ἔστι δὲ αὐτοῦ ὃ καὶ ἀφύλακτον ἦν, τὸ μεταξὺ τοῦ τε μακροῦ καὶ τοῦ Φαληρικοῦ· τὰ δὲ μακρὰ τείχη πρὸς τὸν Πειραιᾶ τεσσαράκοντα σταδίων, ὧν τὸ ἔξωθεν ἐτηρεῖτο· καὶ τοῦ Πειραιῶς ξὺν Μουνυχίᾳ ἑξήκοντα μὲν σταδίων ὁ ἅπας περίβολος· τὸ δ' ἐν φυλακῇ ὂν ἦν ἥμισυ τούτου.* Thucyd. 2, 13. Although the historian here omits Phalerum, there can be little doubt that he meant to comprehend the whole inclosure of the maritime peninsula, the northern side of which is marked by a line of foundations along the side of the Phalero-Peiraic height; for, excluding Phalerum, the system of maritime defence would have been incomplete, and sixty stades would be much too great for the periphery. Professor K. O. Müller supposes, (De Mun. Ath. p. 10.) that Phalerum was not comprehended in the maritime inclosure of Themistocles, and was not fortified until the two Long Walls were built. But Phalerum, having contained the ancient harbour of Athens, had probably been fortified long before the time of Themistocles; who, finding a harbour better suited to the rising naval power of Athens in the triple Peiræeus, which had been hitherto neglected as a port, and unfortified as a demus, persuaded the Athenians to secure it by walls. His plan required the inclosing of all the Munychian promontory within his line, which terminated, probably, at the south-western angle of the walls of Phalerum. The difficulty in assigning an exact date to the commencement of the Peiraic fortifications has chiefly arisen from the name of Themistocles being found as that of Archon Eponymus, in Ol. 71, 1. (493 B. C.) But this was three years before the battle of Marathon, when Themistocles was too young to have been archon, as Mr. Müller has well observed: (De M. A. note 15. Plutarch. Themist. 3, 31.) indeed, he had only recently arrived at distinction as a statesman at the time of the second Persian invasion (*ἐκ πρώτου νεωστὶ παριών*, Herod. 7, 143.); whence it seems evident, not only that the great Themistocles, son of Neocles, was not the archon of 493 B. C.; but that his archonship occurred in one of the latter years of the interval of ten years between the battles of Marathon and Salamis, during which the measure of fortifying the Peiræeus was first entertained. Mr. F. Clinton therefore (F. Hell. vol. 2, Int. p. xv. xvi. and p. 28.) seems to have rightly followed the scholiast of Thucydides, in placing the archonship of Themistocles, son of Neocles, in the year 481 B. C. The

the circuit of the maritime city, which, roughly taken, is about five miles, with the sixty stades of the historian, a large allowance may be made for the windings of the shore and the angularities of the ramparts; the object of his computation being that of comparing the disposable force of Athens with the length of rampart requiring defence. A similar allowance may be made in comparing the ground occupied by the Asty, with the forty-three stades of circuit which Thucydides gives to it over and above that portion of it which was included within the extremities of the two Long Walls.

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archonship of Cebris was probably in the preceding year. The following are the authorities upon which chiefly depends this difficult question in the chronology of Athenian antiquities. Ἔπεισε τοῦ Πειραιῶς τὰ λοιπὰ ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς (an. 478. 479.) οἰκοδομεῖν (ὑπῆρκτο δ' αὐτοῦ πρότερον ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκείνου ἀρχῆς ἧς κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν Ἀθηναίοις ἦρξε, νομίζων τό τε χωρίον καλὸν εἶναι, λιμένας ἔχον τρεῖς αὐτοφυεῖς, καὶ αὐτοὺς, ναυτικοὺς γεγενημένους, μέγα προσφέρειν ἐς τὸ κτήσασθαι δύναμιν. Thucyd. i. 93. Πρὸ δὲ τῶν Μηδικῶν ἦρξεν ἐνιαυτὸν ἕνα. Schol. ibid. Ὁ δὲ Πειραιεὺς δῆμος μὲν ἦν ἐκ παλαιοῦ. πρότερον δὲ πρὶν ἢ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἦρξεν, ἐπίνειον οὐκ ἦν· Φαληρὸν δὲ, ταύτῃ γὰρ ἐλάχιστον ἀπέχει τῆς πόλεως ἡ θάλασσα, τοῦτό σφισιν ἐπίνειον ἦν . . . . Θεμιστοκλῆς δὲ ὡς ἦρξε (τοῖς τε γὰρ πλέουσιν ἐπιτηδειότερος ὁ Πειραιεὺς ἐφαίνετό οἱ προκεῖσθαι καὶ λιμένας τρεῖς ἀνθ' ἑνὸς ἔχειν τοῦ Φαληροῦ) τοῦτό σφισιν ἐπίνειον εἶναι κατεσκευάσατο. Paus. Att. 1. § 2. Φιλόχορος ἐν τῇ πέμπτῃ Ἀθηναίων φησὶ περὶ τοῦ πρὸς τῇ πυλίδι Ἑρμοῦ ὡς ἀρξάμενοι τειχίζειν τὸν Πειραιᾶ, οἱ ἐννέα ἄρχοντες τοῦτον ἀναθέντες ὑπέγραψαν·

Ἀρξάμενοι πρῶτοι τειχίζειν οἵδ' ἀνέθηκαν
Βουλῆς καὶ δήμου δόγμασι πειθόμενοι.
(Harpocr. in Πρὸς τῇ πυλίδι Ἑρμῆς.) V. et Suid. et Phot. Lex. in v.

To which lines the names of the nine archons were of course appended. Ἀγοραῖος Ἑρμῆς· οὕτως ἐλέγετο ὄντως, καὶ ἀφίδρυτο Κεβρίδος ἄρξαντος, ὡς μαρτυρεῖ Φιλόχορος ἐν τρίτῳ (Ἀτθίδος). Hesych. et Phavor. in v. Φιλόχορος ἐν πέμπτῳ Ἀτθίδος φησὶν, ὡς οἱ ἐννέα ἄρχοντες ταῖς φυλαῖς ἀνέθεσαν Ἑρμῆν παρὰ τὸν πυλῶνα τὸν Ἀττικόν (lege Ἀστικόν). Harpocr. in Ἑρμῆς ὁ πρὸς τῇ πυλίδι. V. et Suid. et Phot. Lex. in eadem v. It is easy to conceive, that, although the walls of Peiræeus may have been begun towards the end of the archonship of Cebris, and that the nine archons of that year may have been anxious to secure the honour of having been in office on such a memorable occasion by means of an inscribed dedication in the Agora; the commencement of the walls may have been more commonly attributed in subsequent times to the archonship of the illustrious author of the undertaking. That the walls were merely commenced when the archonship of Cebris had expired, may be inferred from a comparison of the ἀρξάμενοι πρῶτοι of the distich with the ἄρξαντος of Philochorus. There is some reason to believe, from Andocides de Pace cum Lac. p. 23, 24. that the fortification of Peiræeus was not *completed* until long afterwards, about 449 B. C.

But no such allowance can be made in the case of the Long Walls, which were built in direct lines, or at least only once or twice forming angles—the Phaleric of thirty-five stades, the Peiraic of forty stades. Now the distance from the extremity of the heights of Museium to the harbour of Phalerum is about six thousand yards, or twenty-nine stades; that to the harbour Peiræeus is scarcely seven thousand yards, or about thirty-five stades; and whatever may have been the rate of the stade employed in later times, and in other parts of the ancient world by navigators and geographers, there is no proof whatever that in Greece any other stade was in use in terrestrial measurements than that of the foot race in the stadium, which was six hundred Greek feet, equal to about six hundred and ten English.[111] In the time of Thucydides, in particular, it is impossible, in the face of Herodotus,[112] to assign any other measure to the stade. In the works of both these historians we may indeed occasionally find distances exceeding the truth, according to this rule of comparison; but they were caused probably by the excess so frequently found to occur in the computation of distances which have not been measured, and which could hardly have happened in regard to the Long Walls, as they had been recently constructed, and their length must have been very exactly known. We may further add, perhaps, in support of the opinion, that the heights on the western side of Pnyx and Museium were included within the longomural inclosure; that if the Long Walls had continued their parallelism, with the distance of less than a stade between them, quite to the

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[111] The force disposable for the defence of the rampart seems well proportioned to its length, according to this rate of the stade. The former was 16,000.

Length of rampart to be defended:	
Of the Asty	43 stades.
Of the Long Walls	75
Half the Peiraico-Munychian rampart	30
	148

148 × 610 ÷ 16,000, is equal to a little less than 5 feet 8 inches for each man.

[112] *Αἱ δ' ἑκατὸν ὀργυιαὶ δίκαιαί εἰσι σταδίου ἑξάπλεθρον, ἑξαπέδου μὲν τῆς ὀργυιῆς μιτρεομένης καὶ τετρακήχεος· τῶν ποδῶν μὲν τετρακαλαίστων ἐόντων τοῦ δὲ πήχεος ἑξακαλαίστου.* Herod. 2, 149.

Astic inclosure, where it crosses the hills of Museium and Pnyx, Thucydides would hardly have thought it necessary to advert at all to so minute a proportion of the entire circumference of the Asty, or at least, would hardly have expressed himself regarding it as he has done.

An important fact resulting from the inscription lately discovered, is, that at the time of its publication there were only two Long Walls, named the Northern (*τὸ Βορεῖον*), and the Southern (*τὸ Νότιον*): it accords therefore with the mention made of them by Andocides,[113] Plato,[114] Xenophon,[115] Æschines,[116] Lysias,[117] and Livy,[118] as well as with the words *σκέλη* or *brachia*, often applied to the Long Walls, and with present appearances, which clearly show the connexion of the one with the fortifications of the maritime city on the Phaleric side, and of the other on the Peiraic side. On the other hand, Thucydides, although he notices only the completion, soon after the battle of Tanagra, B. C. 457, of two walls, one to Peiræeus, the other to Phalerum,[119] refers, when he comes to describe the measures taken for the defence of Athens at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, to three walls; namely, to two Peiraic Long Walls (*τὰ μακρὰ τείχη πρὸς τὸν Πειραιᾶ*), besides the Phaleric (*τὸ Φαληρικὸν*); remarking, that it was thought necessary only to man the Phaleric and the outer of the two Peiraic Long Walls.[120] It appears, therefore, that during the twenty-five years occurring between the two events, a third wall had been built, of which fact Thucydides has taken no notice. Plato, however, in his dialogue entitled Gorgias, alludes to the building of this wall, which he calls the intermediate wall (*τὸ διαμέσου τεῖχος*);[121] and the fact is confirmed by one of the best philologers of later times, who not only refers to a lost play of Aristophanes, in which

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[113] De Pace cum Lac. p. 23, 24 (91, 93).

[114] De Repub. 4, vol. 2. p. 439. Serr.

[115] Hellen. 2, 2. § 15.

[116] De Fals. Legat. p. 51 (335, 336).

[117] Cont. Agorat. p. 130 (451).

[118] 31, 26.

[119] *Ἤρξαντο δὲ κατὰ τινὰς χρόνους τούτους καὶ τὰ μακρὰ τείχη ἐς θάλασσαν Ἀθηναῖοι οἰκοδομεῖν, τό Φαληρόνδε καὶ τὸ ἐς Πειραιᾶ.*—Thucyd. i. 107, 108.

[120] Thucyd. 2, 13. V. sup. p. 222. n.

[121] ΓΟΡΓΙΑΣ. . . . . *οἶσθα γὰρ δήπου ὅτι τὰ νεώρια ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τείχη τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ ἡ τῶν λιμένων κατασκευὴ ἐκ τῆς Θεμιστοκλέους συμβουλῆς γέγονε· τὰ δ' ἐκ τῆς Περικλέους· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκ τῶν δημιουργῶν.* ΣΩΚΡΑΤΗΣ. *Λέγεται ταῦτα, ὦ Γοργία, περὶ Θεμιστοκλέους· Περικλέους δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἤκουον, ὅτε συνεβούλευεν ἡμῖν περὶ τοῦ διαμέσου τείχους.*—Plat. Gorg. vol. i. p. 455. Serr.

the poet had noticed three walls, but adds, that they were named the Northern, Southern, and Phaleric; and that the one called Southern was the middle wall.[122]

These are the principal evidences on this question. The difficulty has arisen from the silence of Thucydides as to the building of the third wall: we might even conclude from his words, that the Phaleric and northern Peiraic walls, ten or twelve feet thick, sixty feet high, with towers at the usual intervals,[123] and extending eight miles in length, were completed in the short space of one year. But it seems impossible that Athens could have found hands to accomplish such a work in so short a time, even supposing all the upper part of the walls to have been constructed of crude brick.[124] We may take the words of Thucydides (*κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους τούτους*), therefore, with some latitude, and make a compromise, perhaps, between his evidence and that of Plutarch, who states, with a great appearance of probability, that though these walls were not finished till much later, their foundations were first laid by Cimon, when the Athenians applied the riches, brought home by that commander after the battle of the Eurymedon (B. C. 466), to the improvement of the city. As Cimon was recalled from banishment, after an absence of five years, in 456 B. C.,[125] the same year that the two walls were finished; the year 462 is the latest to which the commencement of the walls can be ascribed.

In the course of the thirty years intervening between that time and the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, the intermediate wall (*τὸ Νότιον*, or *τὸ διαμέσου τεῖχος*) was built. If Socrates (as we may presume) was of sufficient age to be entitled to attend the popular assembly, when he heard

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[122] *Διαμέσου τείχους, Ἀντιφῶν πρὸς Νικοκλέα· τριῶν ὄντων τειχῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ, ὡς καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης φησὶν ἐν Τριφάλητι, τοῦ τε Βορείου καὶ τοῦ Νοτίου καὶ τοῦ Φαληρικοῦ, διὰ μέσου τούτων ἐλέγετο τὸ Νότιον οὗ μνημονεύει καὶ Πλάτων ἐν Γοργίᾳ.*—Harpocration in v.

[123] The walls were probably not so thick above, as at the foundations; but ten feet was not an uncommon thickness in Greek works of defence. There is no direct evidence of the height of the Long Walls; but as Appian (Mithrid. 30.) informs us, that the walls of the Peiraic city were forty cubits high, we may presume those of the Long Walls were not less. The towers were absolutely necessary to such a work, and the inscription relating to the Long Walls leaves no question as to their having existed.

[124] See Müller de Mur. Ath. p. 12, 13.

[125] Plutarch. Cimon 17. Corn. Nep. Cimon 3. Clinton, F. Hell. vol. 2, p. 46, 48.

Pericles recommend the building of this wall, the circumstance could not have happened before the year B. C. 449-8.[126] Nor was it begun probably before Pericles assumed the sole management of affairs, in 444 B. C.; for Plutarch attests, that Callicrates was the builder of the wall mentioned by Plato in the Gorgias;[127] and Callicrates we know, from the same authority, was one of the chief persons employed by Pericles in the public works. The same year was the commencement of the thirty years' truce with Sparta; and in two Athenian orations we find it stated, that the Southern wall was built after the ratification of that treaty:[128] on the other hand, that the wall could not have been commenced long after that year, may be partly inferred from the sarcasm of a comic poet as to the tardiness of its progress;[129] the cause of which we may easily conceive to have been, that Pericles was then occupied with works of greater beauty, and, until danger threatened from without, far more interesting to the Athenians: its completion, therefore, may have been protracted almost to the beginning of the Peloponnesian war.

It happens, unfortunately, that the beginning of the inscription, lately discovered, is deficient: we are deprived therefore of the name of the archon, with which all similar Athenian documents commenced. Mr. K. O. Müller, however, by the happy restoration of a few letters of the inscription, has left little or no doubt, that Habron, son of Lycurgus, son of Lycophron, was at that time treasurer of the administration (*ταμίας τῆς διοικήσεως*, more commonly called *ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς διοικήσεως*). As history has preserved the fact of a great repair of the Athenian walls at the period of the battle of Chæroneia, being about the same time that Lycurgus and Habron flourished, we are led immediately to the presumption, that the inscription

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[126] Clinton, F. Hell. vol. 2, p. xx. 39.

[127] *τὸ δὲ μακρὸν τεῖχος, περὶ οὗ Σωκράτης ἀκοῦσαί φησιν αὐτὸς εἰσηγουμένου γνώμην Περικλέους ἠργολάβησε Καλλικράτης.*—Plutarch. Pericl. 13.

[128] Andocid. de Pace cum Lac. p. 23, 24. (91, 93.) Æschin. de Fals. Leg. p. 51. (335, 336.) On these passages, see Clinton, F. Hell. vol. 2, p. 257. The earlier of these orations was pronounced fifty-four years after the event alluded to: the text of both is corrupt, and Æschines seems only to have repeated the words of his predecessor; but, correcting Andocides by Thucydides, we may infer from them as much at least as I have stated; and perhaps also, that the Peiraic fortifications were not completed until after the five years' truce, B. C. 450.

[129] Cratin. ap. Plutarch. Pericl. 13. et De Gloria Athen. p. 350. Mr. Müller remarks, De M. A. p. 22. that Cratinus could not have alluded to any but the *Νότιον*, or Southern Peiraic wall; because he did not exhibit comedies until Ol. 81, 3. or B. C. 454. (Clinton, F. Hell. vol. 2, p. 49.) when the Northern and Phaleric walls were already built.

relates to the same repair; for Habron having been the eldest son of Lycurgus, and probably not a very young man, it is difficult to believe that another repair could have been required within his lifetime; at least, such a repair as the inscription shows to have been undertaken, extending over all the defences of the Asty, Long Walls, and maritime city; and indicating by the specification that they were in a very dilapidated state.[130]

The defences of Athens had been neglected prior to the war with Philip, when, in the year 339 B. C., the Athenians took down the pillar which recorded their state of amity with the king of Macedonia; and, soon afterwards, among other preparations for war, caused each tribe to elect a superintendent (τειχοποιὸς) and treasurer (ταμίας) for the repair of their walls. Upon this occasion, Demosthenes was chosen for the former office, by his tribe, the Pandionis. After the defeat at Chæroneia, in the month of August, B. C. 338, the same care was renewed. Demosthenes was chief director of the operation, and, in addition to the ten talents which he received from the public treasury for his tribe, expended three talents of his own.[131] It is evident, that this operation, which was defrayed by means of a direct issue of money from the treasury to the superintending officers, was of a different kind from that to which the inscription refers; this document being the register of a contract entered into for the repair of the walls, by the treasurer of the state; conjointly with the πωλῆται, or ten officers who had the charge of all public sales, leases, and contracts.[132] A chief architect and ten subordinates were appointed by the government; the required repairs were exactly described; the work was divided into ten parts, and the contractor named by whom each part was to be executed. We find, also, that a term of not less than five years was contemplated as the duration of the work; a delay, which seems incompatible with that apprehension of immediate danger which caused the measures of the year 339-8. Nevertheless, there is reason to believe, that the repair recorded in the inscription occurred

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[130] The mode even of repairing the foundations is prescribed.

[131] Demosth. Olynth. 3. p. 36. Reiske. — De Contrib. p. 175. — Adv. Aristocr. p. 689. — De Cor. p. 243. 266. 325. Æschin. cont. Ctesiph. p. 57 (420). Plutarch. De X. Orat. in Demosth. Lycurg. cont. Leocrat. p. 153 (172). Dionys. Hal. Ep. i. in Am. 11. et Philochor. ibid. Clinton, F. Hell. vol. 2, p. 146. 363. Müller. de Mur. Ath. p. 25.

[132] Hyperid. et Aristot. ap. Harpoc. in Πωληταὶ—v. et Suid., Phot. Lex., Hesych. in v. et Lex. in v. ap. Bekker. Anecd. Gr. vol. 1, p. 291. Boeckh's Economy of Athens, vol. 1, p. 209.

very soon after that in which Demosthenes was employed, and was, in fact, a continuation of it. Lycurgus was in reality at the head of the financial administration of Athens during twelve years, and this period appears to have begun at the time of the alarm excited by Philip;[133]

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[133] Lycurgus is stated to have restored, on an alarm of war, many of the defences of the city, which were in a ruinous state; and to have prepared four hundred triremes for service. (Ps. Plutarch. de X. Rhet. in Lycurg. Phot. Bibl. p. 1483.) This operation could only have been when the Athenians were preparing to defend themselves against Philip, in 339-8 B. C., or against Alexander, in the year 336: but the latter could hardly have been the first year of the financial administration of Lycurgus, because he governed twelve years in that capacity, and died about 325; having, a year or two before his death, been displaced by his adversary Menesæchmus (Phot. Bibl. ibid. Dionys. Dinarch. 11. Vit. de X. Rhet. in Hyperid. et Lycurg. Epist. Demosth. 3. Clinton, F. Hell. vol. 2, p. 159. 163): his administration commenced therefore before the year 336. On the other hand, it could not have been long before the battle of Chæroneia; because, until the preparations for war against Philip suspended those works of the Peiræeus, which Lycurgus completed, and caused the naval expenditure to be diverted to the former object, the distribution of the public funds had been in the hands of Eubulus of Anaphlystus.—Philochor. ap. Dionys. Hal. Ep. 1. ad Amm. 11. Æschin. cont. Ctesiph. p. 57. (417.) Dinarch. cont. Demosth. p. 102. Plutarch. Pr. Pol. Op. p. 812. (238.) It becomes highly probable, therefore, that the armament against Philip was the period at which the financial administration of Lycurgus commenced, as well as the penteteris during which he governed in his own name. The circumstance of Callias, son of Habron, of Bate, his brother-in-law, having been treasurer of war (*ταμίας τῶν στρατιωτικῶν*) in the year of the battle of Chæroneia, renders it probable that Lycurgus was then in office. See, on the date of the administration of Lycurgus, Boeckh's Economy of Athens, vol. 2, p. 184. C. Ins. Gr. No. 157. Müller. de Mur. Ath. p. 28. If we knew exactly the age of Lycurgus at the time of his administration, we might form some judgment as to that of Habron; but this is doubtful. Taylor (præf. ad Lycurg. ap. Or. Gr. vol. 4, p. 105. Reiske) supposes Lycurgus to have been born about Ol. 93 (408-407 B. C.), which would make him seventy at the time of the battle of Chæroneia; but it seems very unlikely that he should have begun his long administration at so advanced an age, or that he should have been so much as twenty or thirty years older than his colleagues, Demosthenes and Hyperides, pupils of Plato and Isocrates as well as himself, and who, without his advantages of birth, arrived at distinction as statesmen about the same time, and who, together with him, were the objects of the resentment of Alexander. (Vit. X. Rhet. in Lycurg. Demosth. Hyper. Arrian 1, 10. Plutarch. Demosth. 23. Diodor. 17, 15.) Taylor rests his opinion entirely on the words of the biographer of the Ten Orators (*Λυκοῦργος πατρὸς ἦν Λυκόφρονος τοῦ Λυκούργου, ὃν οἱ τριάκοντα ἀπέκτειναν*); and those of Photius (cod. 268, p. 1484—*υἱὸς μὲν ἦν Λυκόφρονος τοῦ Λυκούργου ὃν ἡ τῶν τριάκοντα τυραννὶς ἀνεῖλε*): which he supposes to mean, that Lycophron was put to death by the Thirty; but it was more probably Lycurgus; for the naming of a grandfather was unusual, and seems to have been here introduced for the express purpose of showing, that the orator was the grandson of *that* Lycurgus (noted as the Ibis of Aristophanes, Av. 1296.) who had been destroyed by the

but as, according to a law introduced by himself, he could not hold that office for more than one penteteris, or interval of four complete years, he governed under the name of a friend [134] in the two other similar intervals. The presumption immediately follows, that his son Habron was one of these substitutes, in the second or third penteteris: I prefer the second, which began probably with the archonship of Evænetus, B. C. 335. The threatened danger had then ceased; Philip. had been assassinated; the vengeance of Alexander had fallen upon Thebes; Athens had escaped; and Alexander was on his march into Asia. Nothing seems more likely, than that the Athenians, relieved from their apprehensions, but still resolved upon completing their defences, should have then preferred to spread the expense over several years, and to complete the work by contract.

There is no reason to believe, that the fortifications of Athens suffered any damage from the fortune of war until the occupation of Athens by Demetrius, son of Antigonus, in the year B. C. 307. This event may indeed have happened in the lifetime of Habron; but, as the damage done by the Poliorcetes was confined to Munychia, such a repair as that recorded by the inscription could not have been required in consequence of it. Unless, therefore, we suppose this repair to have been the same which occurred under the financial administration of Habron, it will be necessary to attribute the damage which occasioned it to some great unrecorded earthquake, which occurred between the year 337 and the death of Habron.

As the Phaleric wall no longer existed in these times, or at least was so neglected as not to be worthy of a repair, we may infer that it had continued so from the time of the destruction of the walls by the Lacedæmonians, sixty-six years before the battle of Chæroneia. There is even reason to suspect, that, from the time of its first erection, it had never been repaired, and was, at the capture of Athens in the Peloponnesian war, in such a state, as made it unworthy of the destroying efforts of the conquerors; for Xenophon relates, that the first proposal of the Lacedæmonians was to throw down ten stades of *each* of the Long Walls,[135]

Thirty. This question, although of minor importance, is interesting, as relating to one of the most able, liberal, and honest statesmen Athens ever possessed, and to whom, next to Pericles, she was indebted for her superiority over all other cities in the beauty and magnificence of her public buildings.

[134] *τῶν φίλων ἐπιγραψάμενός τινα.*—Vit. X. Rhet. in Lycurg. It appears also from the same authority that Habron was employed in some high official situations, (*πολιτευσάμενον ἐπιφανῶς.*)

[135] Xen. 2, 2. § 15. V. et Lys. c. Agorat. p. 130. (451.)

thereby indicating that only two were in question. The erection of the Southern, or διαμέσου wall, may perhaps have been the cause of the neglected state of the Phaleric Long Wall. Having traversed the marsh of Phalerum, as we may infer from the words of Plutarch, in describing its construction,[136] it followed a direction not parallel to the Peiraic Long Walls, but direct to the Asty, from the angle of the *bay* of Phalerum; leaving between it and the Peiraic wall a space, which may have been found, towards the maritime extremity, too wide for the military purposes of such works, which, as before observed, were usually parallel and with a much smaller interval: hence probably the advice of Pericles to build the southern Peiraic wall, which, when executed, not only remedied the defect of the too great distance of the Phaleric wall from the northern Peiraic near the maritime city, but rendered the Phaleric almost unnecessary. The strength of the Athenian navy rendered Attica little exposed to maritime invasion during the Peloponnesian war; the Phaleric wall, therefore, was an additional defence on the side where it was least wanted, and after the building of the southern wall became little better than a superfluous outwork.

If the Phaleric wall had been found unimportant during the Peloponnesian war, and unworthy of notice when the Lacedæmonians destroyed the two other Long Walls, we may easily conceive that it was not repaired when they were restored by Conon, eleven years after their destruction. Conon may even have made use of its materials in raising the neighbouring parts of the Long Walls or Peiraic fortifications, and in forming a new wall, for the purpose of uniting the *Νότιον*, or Southern Peiraic wall, to the Phaleric *κύκλος*, or inclosure, in the manner still shown by the existing foundations: at least, no further notice of the Phaleric wall occurs in history, nor have any vestiges of it been yet discovered.

Seventy-one years after the re-establishment of the Peiraic Long Walls, when the attempt made by Athens and a large portion of Greece to throw off the yoke of Macedonia had been defeated at Crannon, a Macedonian force under Antipater occupied in succession Munychia, Peiræeus, and the Long Walls:[137] the latter appear, therefore, to have been still in a good state of

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[136] χάλικι πολλῷ καὶ λίθοις βαρέσι τῶν ἁλῶν πιεσθέντων.—Plutarch. Cim. 13.

[137] Plutarch. Demosth. 28. — Phocion 28. Diodor. 18, 18. Dionys. Dinarch. 2. Φρουρὰ δὲ Μακεδόνων ἐσῆλθεν Ἀθηναίοις, οἱ Μουνυχίαν, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ Πειραιᾶ καὶ μακρὰ τείχη ἔσχον.—Pausan. Att. 25, 4.

repair. During the eighty years which elapsed between the Lamiac war and the capture of the Acro-Corinthus by Aratus, which led immediately to the liberation of the Attic fortresses from the Macedonians by purchase,[138] Munychia was constantly occupied by a garrison of that people, with the exception of two intervals,—one of eight, the other of five years: the former, when Demetrius Poliorcetes restored Athens to liberty; the latter, after the Athenians had expelled his garrisons from Museium and Munychia.[139] During these eighty years, the defences of Athens suffered no injury from war, with the exception, on the former occasion, of those of Munychia, which doubtless were speedily restored. By the possession of this natural citadel of maritime Athens, which commands all the harbours, and thereby the city itself, the Macedonian princes insured the preponderance of the party favourable to them; and, treating the Athenians with clemency and favour,[140] had no motive or pretence for destroying the Long Walls. But the Athenians had as little for incurring expense in repairing them; and accordingly, forty-two years after the retreat of the Macedonians from Attica, we find a strong evidence of the neglected state of the Long Walls, in the statement of Livy, that Philip, son of Demetrius, was then repulsed, in a sudden irruption which he made into "the space between the two half-ruined Long Walls."[141] It seems evident, that Philip found the walls in this state, not that he himself reduced them to it; for which his desultory and unsuccessful, though destructive invasion, hardly afforded time. They were probably never completely repaired after this time, though still considered one of the objects of admiration at Athens; as appears from the terms in which the same historian mentions them, when L. Æmilius Paullus, in the year B. C. 167, made a progress through Greece, after completing the

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[138] Plutarch. Arat. 34. Pausan. Corinth. 8, 5. [139] Pausan. Att. 26, 1, 3. 29, 11.

[140] Diodor. 18, 74. Κάσσανδρος . . . πρὸς Ἀθηναίους ηὐγνωμόνησε.—Strabo, p. 398. This does not agree, indeed, with the δεινόν τι ὑπῆν οἱ μῖσος ἐς Ἀθηναίους of Pausanias, Att. 25, 5; but the former alluded chiefly to the time when Cassander occupied Munychia, and Demetrius of Phalerum governed Athens; the latter, to the effects of the successful opposition of the Athenians to Cassander, after the expulsion of Demetrius; but which ended in the re-establishment of the influence of Cassander at Athens, under the administration of Lachares.

[141] inter angustias semiruti muri, qui brachiis duobus Piræeum Athenis jungit.—Liv. 31, 26.

conquest of Macedonia.[142] Eighty-one years later, the remains afforded materials of stone to Sylla, for the erection of mounds against the Peiraic fortifications, while the groves of Academus furnished timber for his engines.[143] Sylla, when he had taken the Peiræeus, destroyed its defences; and from this time it is probable that the Asty alone continued to be surrounded with walls. The Long Walls, being of no further utility, met probably with the usual fate of great ruined buildings,—that of serving as materials for the construction of more ignoble edifices.

From the brief remarks made by Pausanias, about the middle of the second century of our era, little more can be derived, than that the Long Walls were in ruins at that time; and we may suspect, that very little of them then remained, as Pausanias does not even allude to the southern wall, in proceeding from Phalerum to Athens, though he could not but have passed very near its remains; reserving his notice of the Long Walls for his remarks on the road from the Peiræeus to Athens,[144] which probably then passed immediately on the outside of the northern Peiraic wall; but which, since the ἐρείπια, or ruins of his day, have been reduced to mere θεμέλια, or foundations, has followed the foundations themselves. Spon, in 1676, asserts that the foundations of the Peiraic Long Wall were visible "almost all the way" from the Peiræeus to Athens;[145] but this is not exactly confirmed by his companion Wheler, who states only that the "foundations are seen in many places."[146] They allude only to one wall, and evidently had not observed the remains of the southern or *intermediate* wall.[147]

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[142] "Athenas—multa visenda habentes: arcem, portus, muros Piræeum urbi jungentes."—Liv. 45, 27.

[143] Appian. de B. Mithrid. 30.

[144] Ἀνιόντων δὲ ἐκ Πειραιῶς ἐρείπια τῶν τειχῶν ἐστι, ἃ Κόνων ὕστερον τῆς πρὸς Κνίδῳ ναυμαχίας, ἀνέστησε.—Pausan. Att. 2, 2.

[145] "En revenant à Athènes, on voit presque tout le long du chemin les fondemens de la muraille, qui joignoit le Pirée à la ville."—Spon, Voyage, tom. 2, p. 136.

[146] Wheler's Journey, p. 420.

[147] The scholiast, on the words διαμέσου τεῖχος, in the Gorgias of Plato, remarks, that the wall was still in existence in his time, (ἄχρι νῦν ἐστιν ἐν Ἑλλάδι,) but he mistook the wall in question; for he places it in Munychia, and describes it as connecting that fortress on one side to Peiræeus, on the other to Phalerum.

PEDIMENTS OF THE PARTHENON.

I shall take this opportunity of stating, though it seems hardly necessary, that I have not attempted to defend the opinion advanced in the 'Topography of Athens,' on the representation intended by Phidias in the two pediments of the Parthenon, since I have found it opposed to that of such judges as Visconti, Letronne, Quatremère de Quincy, K. O. Müller, Bröndsted, and Millingen. Admitting, therefore, that the eastern pediment contained a configuration of the birth of Minerva, and the western that of the contest of Neptune and Minerva, I shall here only offer a few words in justification of the names attached to the several figures in the accompanying delineation, which is a reduced copy of that drawn by Jacques Carrey in the year 1674, two years before the visit of Spon and Wheler to Athens, and thirteen years before the explosion which destroyed all the middle of the temple. I presume the reader to be acquainted with the publications on this subject of Visconti,[148] Quatremère,[149] Müller,[150] Bröndsted,[151] Cockerell,[152] and Millingen.[153]

At what time the eastern pediment was reduced to the condition in which it was delineated by Carrey is quite uncertain: the excavations recently made around the Parthenon have not brought any remains of the central figures to light, and hence we are led to the belief that their loss, whether the effect of Roman plunder, of iconoclast fury, of an earthquake, or of an original defect in that part of the structure, occurred at a distant period of time.

It must ever remain doubtful, therefore, for what personages were

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[148] Mémoire sur les Ouvrages de Sculpture du Parthenon. Londres, 1816.

[149] Restitution des Deux Frontons du Temple de Minerve. Paris, 1825.

[150] De Phidiæ Vita et Operibus, Comment. 3. Gottingæ, 1827.

[151] Voyages en Grèce. Préface de la 2ème livraison. Paris, 1830.

[152] Ancient Marbles of the British Museum, part 6. London, 1830.

[153] Remarks on the 'Ancient Marbles,' part 6. in the Annali del' Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica, an. 1832. p. 197. The reader will here find a very convenient specification in the tabular form of the several hypotheses which have been advanced as to the names of the statues.

intended the eight pieces of sculpture from this pediment which are now in the British Museum;[154] and which, with the exception of the loss of two heads, are still nearly in the same state as they are represented in the drawings of Carrey.[155] Deprived of all the central part of the composition, and having no intimation from antiquity of the manner in which the main subject was treated by Phidias, we are left to judge of it from the subordinate figures alone, assisted by such insufficient information on Athenian mythology as may be collected from the ancient writers—those figures, moreover, being so broken and injured, that little remains of the original character of the greater part of them, beyond the sex.

The following is the hypothesis of the Chevalier Bröndsted:—

"Dans le fronton oriental, Jupiter était assis sur son trône, au centre de l'univers, entre le Jour et la Nuit, entouré des divinités généthliques du sort, c'est à dire des trois Heures (Saisons) et des trois Parques avec la Fortune Bienveillante (Ἀγαθὴ Τύχη) et des divinités, qui président aux accouchemens, —Aphrodite-Uranie, et Ilithyie, Hephæstus et Prométhée, Arés et Hermes. Le père tout-puissant des dieux venait d'enfanter de sa tête la fille divine, qui s'élançait dans les airs, brillante de ses armes d'or: elle planait au dessus de son père assis, s'élevant vers le sommet du fronton.[156] . . . . . (Le Jour et la Nuit) avaient tous deux leurs satellites, analogues à la religion de l'Attique: car de même que Atropos ou la figure appuyée en arrière sur le giron de Lachesis était entièrement tournée vers le char de la Nuit, de même le regard du favori Attique du Jour et de l'Aurore, c'est-à-dire Kephalos, était entièrement tourné vers le char du Jour sortant de l'océan oriental."[157]

If we adopt this ingenious hypothesis, the elegance and simplicity of which cannot be denied, and the probability of which the author has ably supported by ancient authorities, the names of the several figures will be

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[154] Now marked from No. 91 to No. 98, inclusive. Nos. 94 and 97 contain two figures each.

[155] The draped torso (No. 96 of the British Museum) was not seen by Carrey, as it was prostrate on the platform of the pediment.

[156] Voyages en Grèce, liv. 2. Préface, p. xi.

[157] Ibid, note 3.

those which are attached to them in the annexed plate with the initial B. V. indicates the opinion of Visconti as to the same figures.

Of the statues of the western pediment, we have better means of judging; the composition, with the exception of the horses of Amphitrite, having been nearly complete in the time of Carrey: nor is there much hope of our ever obtaining better information than that which his drawings afford; a recent excavation at this end of the Parthenon having only brought to light a portion of a colossal bust, supposed to be a part of the Neptune, with the body and right leg of the last male figure towards the southern angle of the pediment, as designed by Carrey.

We learn from Apollodorus, that the fable of the contest of Neptune and Minerva was related in two different manners: according to one version, Cecrops, the reigning monarch, bore testimony before the twelve gods sitting in judgment, that he had seen the olive of the Pandroseium planted by Minerva: according to the other mythus, not only Cecrops, but his successors Cranaus and Erechtheus were also present:[158] in or after the reign of which last monarch, therefore, we must suppose the contest to have occurred. Phidias followed the latter version, or at least supposed the gods invisible, ranging the Attic kings who had been protected by Minerva on her side, and the followers of Neptune on the other. By the side of the car of Minerva stood Erechtheus or Erichthonius, to whom the goddess had revealed the art of yoking horses to chariots. Beyond the car were the three daughters of Cecrops with his son Erysichthon, then Cecrops himself, and Cranaus, in the angle, raising himself to obtain a view of the action in the centre. I am disposed to place Pandrosus nearest to Minerva, because she was the most favoured of the daughters of Cecrops, and had a temple under the same roof with the goddess.

In the southern half of the pediment none but the four last names in the

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[158] *γενομένης δὲ ἐρίδος ἀμφοῖν περὶ τῆς χώρας, Ἀθηνᾶν καὶ Ποσειδῶνα διαλύσαι Ζεὺς, κριτὰς ἔδωκεν, οὐχ, ὡς εἶπον τινὲς, Κέκροπα καὶ Κραναὸν, οὐδὲ Ἐρεχθέα, θεοὺς δὲ τοὺς δώδεκα, καὶ τούτων δικαζόντων, ἡ χώρα τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἐκρίθη, Κέκροπος μαρτυρήσαντος ὅτι πρῶτον τὴν ἐλαίαν ἐφύτευσεν.*— Apollod. 3, 14. Ovid followed this version, (Met. 6, 70.) and Callimachus apparently a third, (ap. Sch. Il. P. 53.) making Cecrops, then reigning, the sole judge.

accompanying plate require any remark. The first of these personages is very uncertain: possibly it was Euryte, whose son Halirrhothius was said to have been slain by Mars for offering violence to Alcippe, his daughter by Aglaurus; upon which Mars was brought to trial by Neptune, the father of Halirrhothius, before the twelve gods assembled on the areiopagus.[159] The three remaining figures, (for a gap in the drawing of Carrey after the last-mentioned seems to warrant the supposition of that number,) I conjecture to have been Cephissus, Ilissus, and Callirrhoe; Neptune, as the god of waters, having a clear right to all the rivers and fountains of Athens in his train. The Ilissus I have placed next to Callirrhoe; because in reality the river was contiguous to the fountain, and because Cephissus would probably be the nearest to the centre, in consequence of the greater magnitude of the river, and that superior importance in Attic mythology, which is indicated by the exclusive notice it has received from the poets.[160]

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[159] Apollod. 3, 14.

[160] See Wordsworth's Athens and Attica, p. 161.

XVIII. *On a Royal Egyptian Coffin in the British Museum. With a Plate.*

By the Rev. G. Tomlinson.

Read December 10, 1835.

In the collection of Egyptian antiquities belonging to the late Mr. Salt, which were sold in London during the last summer, there was a coffin which was purchased for the British Museum, and which, from its very great antiquity, as well as from its being the only royal coffin yet discovered, may be thought deserving of a short notice from the Society.

I think it right to observe, that this coffin is not the one mentioned in Mr. Sotheby's Catalogue, erroneously, as containing the mummy of a royal personage, but is found in that list under the article No. 986, in which it is simply described as "the mummy of a priest in its case." The fact was, that the inscription, which is now perfectly legible, escaped notice at the time on account of the dirty state of the gilded covering; and the Museum obtained possession of this interesting relic for a mere trifle.

The coffin, which is represented in the accompanying plate, (Plate x.) is about five feet seven inches long, and is made of wood: the upper half, or lid, was originally covered on the outside with rich gilding. The greater part of this still remains; and though much tarnished and faded when it was first purchased, it has since been cleaned with great care, and is now a very beautiful specimen of the art of gilding as practised by the Egyptians. The coffin, in shape, resembles a mummy, the head having been carved to represent the countenance of the deceased. The face has a very pleasant expression; and the eyes, which are of glass, or some composition resembling it, are perfect, the eyelids being of metal gilt. In the front of the cap is the square orifice, into which the uræus, or royal asp, was fixed; and beneath the chin a larger orifice, into which the beard was inserted. On the front of the coffin are represented those folded wings which are frequently painted upon mummy cases, as covering the body of the deceased.

There are only two mythological figures delineated on the coffin; these are upon the foot; and, though much defaced, sufficient remains to show that they are figures of Isis and Nephthys offering up prayers: between these figures is a single line of hieroglyphics.

The inscriptions, which have been very accurately copied by the artist, are given in the accompanying engraving. The inscription on the front consists of the longer line of hieroglyphics, represented on the left side of the plate, which run from the breast downward to the feet. The first word of it is obliterated, but it seems to have begun, as the longitudinal inscription in the centre usually does, with the word Osiris or Osirian; then follows the royal name or title inclosed, as the kings' names generally are, in the oval or cartouche. This name reads *Nantoph* or *Enantoph*, and is already known from other inscriptions which have been published.

The general sense of this inscription can be made out without much difficulty, though there are some variations from the common forms. The words in Italics are doubtful. It may be read thus:—"ENANTOPH deceased. *Direct* thy arms to Osiris. We give thee a good funeral; thy heart, and thy seed *or race* (belong) to Isis and Nephthys."

There is another inscription running across the foot of the coffin, between the figures of Isis and Nephthys, which is simply this:—"The saying (*or words*) of Isis and Nephthys. We come to offer prayers to the ruler of gods; the ruler, the king, Enantoph, deceased."

In the interior of the lid were found a few small fragments of papyri, with a portion of the mummy-cloth, adhering to the bitumen with which the inside was originally covered.

These fragments are in the hieratic character; and, though they are too minute to afford any connected sense, yet they establish the fact, that, at the remote period in which this prince must have lived, the hieratic character was already in use.

I do not pretend to assign this prince a place in the list of Egyptian monarchs; nor, indeed, do I think, from the circumstances, that he could have been one of the Pharaohs, though undoubtedly from his titles he must have been a royal personage: and there is good reason to believe, that he belonged to the times preceding the eighteenth dynasty, as it was called by Manetho.

Two or three ovals containing this name are found among the *ancestors* of Thothmes the Third, (the Mœris of the Greeks,) the fifth king of the eight-

eenth dynasty, in the chamber of kings at Karnac; and, from several sepulchral tablets extant in the Museum, it appears that the name was common in the royal family of the Osirtasens, the great Theban dynasty, which preceded the eighteenth; but it never occurs in monuments of a later date. The coffin also agrees, both in the simplicity of its ornaments and the form of its inscriptions, with other monuments of that dynasty. There would seem, therefore, to be no reason to doubt the correctness of Mr. Wilkinson and of Rosellini, in placing the prince, to whom this coffin belonged, in the times preceding the eighteenth dynasty; and consequently, the lowest date which can with any probability be assigned to this curious relic is the seventeenth century before the Christian era: but more probably it is two centuries older.

The body which was in the coffin when purchased was certainly not that of the prince for whom it was originally made, but that of a priest of a much later date. Probably the change was made by the Arabs, who are in the habit of practising such impositions.

Before I conclude this paper, I may be allowed to make one or two remarks upon this royal name of Enantoph, as it appears on the tablet of Karnac, where it occurs twice or thrice.[1]

Mr. Cullimore, in his ingenious attempt to make that tablet harmonize with the tablet of Abydos, has placed the three ovals of these princes over those of Osirtasen the First, and two of his predecessors: but I cannot accede to this arrangement, for the following, among other reasons: I find in Mr. Burton's 'Excerpta,' (pl. v.) an inscription of the date of Amenemhè, the *successor* of Osirtasen, which mentions a person of this name who is called royal, though his name is not inclosed in an oval; and, in turning to the tablet of Karnac, I find these princes placed exactly over the ovals of Osirtasen's successors. But, besides this, I may add, that between two of these names on that tablet, there is the fragment of another royal name beginning with characters answering to the letters MN. in the way which is usual in writing the name Mandouthph; and I find upon another tablet in the 'Excerpta,' of the date of the same Amenemhè, the successor of Osirtasen, the name of Mandouthph, apparently a younger brother of Amenemhè; for both these princes are said to be of the race or sons of Isi-na-Ra.

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[1] Thrice in Wilkinson and Burton, but only twice according to Rosellini.

On another tablet[2] in the British Museum there is the name of Mandouthph with nearly the very same title as that borne by the prince to whom this coffin belonged,—"King of gods," or thrice divine king. It is also very remarkable that his father's name was Enantoph, and one of his son's the same: so that the princes in this tablet are in the same order as those on the tablet of Karnak; namely, Enantoph, Mandouthph, Enantoph. Another of the sons of this Mandouthph is called Amenemhè. Putting these circumstances together, I think we have sufficient grounds for placing these princes in the time of Amenemhè and his successors. That they were not independent princes, we may conclude from the expressions in the first of the inscriptions referred to in the 'Excerpta,' where they are called chiefs, apparently of the land of No: yet it is certain that they sometimes assumed the title of Pharaoh; for one of these names, Nantoph-na, or Nantoph the elder, is found inscribed on the fragment of a small pyramid in the British Museum, accompanied by a regular prenomen, and inclosed in two ovals, like the Pharaohs; and, it is interesting to add, that this name and prenomen are both found on the first of Mr. Burton's inscriptions, already referred to, with a slight variation of the prenomen.

By this means we arrive at a conclusion, which is of some importance to the chronology of Egypt; for it thus appears to be quite certain, that one series, at least, of the long list of royal names in the tablet of Karnak is *contemporary* with a part of the line of succession in the tablet of Abydos. Future researches will probably bring out similar results with regard to other series:[3] but, at all events, enough has been said to show, that it will require something more than the tablet of Karnac to make us believe in a succession of sixty-four Pharaohs before the time of the Exodus.

G. T.

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[2] Since published by Mr. Sharpe, in his 'Egyptian Inscriptions,' pl. 18.

[3] I have since observed, that the name of Senofrè, the first of the ovals in the uppermost row on the left hand in the tablet of Karnac, occurs also in the inscriptions from Wady Magara, in Burton's 'Excerpta,' dated the forty-first year of Amenemhè III. The same name is also found without a cartouche, on a tablet of Amenemhè II. in the British Museum, published by Mr. Sharpe, pl. 19; so that the names in the uppermost row were also those of princes contemporary with that dynasty.

Since this paper was read, the following remarks have appeared in the preface to Signor d'Athanasi's account of his 'Researches and Discoveries in Upper Egypt,' p. x.

"Reverting to the subject of the antiquities, I would observe, that in the collection I brought over to this country, there was the mummy of a priest contained in a case; for an account of which the reader is referred to the annexed catalogue, No. 986. After the discovery that had been then made by the Rev. Mr. Tomlinson and others, of the case having belonged to the mummy of a king, I promised that I would obtain from those employed in my service in Upper Egypt, every information possible on the subject.

"I have now much pleasure in being able to state, in confirmation of this discovery, that during the researches made by the Arabs in the year 1827, at Gourna, they discovered in the mountain, now called by the Arabs —'Il-Dra-Aboul-Naggia,' a small and separate tomb, containing only one chamber, in the centre of which was placed a sarcophagus hewn out of the same rock, and formed evidently at the same time as the chamber itself; its base not having been detached. In this sarcophagus was found the above-mentioned case, with the body as originally deposited. The moment the Arabs saw that the case was highly ornamented and gilt, they immediately, from their experience in such matters, knew it belonged to a person of rank: they forthwith proceeded to satisfy their curiosity by opening it; when they discovered, placed around the head of the mummy, but over the linen, a diadem composed of silver and beautiful mosaic work, its centre being formed of gold representing an asp, the emblem of royalty. Inside the case, alongside the body, were deposited two bows with six arrows, the heads of which were tipped with flint.

"The Arabs, on discovering their rich prize, immediately proceeded to break up the mummy, as was their usual custom, for the treasures it might contain; but all the information I have been able to obtain, as to the various objects they found, is, that the scarabæus, which was purchased by the British Museum from Mr. Salt's collection, (see Catalogue, No. 209.) was placed on the breast, without having, as is usual, any other ornament attached to it."

The following Letter from Dr. Conrad Leemans, director of the Royal Museum at Leyden, will serve to confirm the statements of Signor D'Athanasi :—

London, March 24, 1837.

My dear Sir,

I remember that, during my stay in London last year, among much other useful and valuable information about the Egyptian antiquities of the British Museum, you had the kindness to communicate to me your discovery of an inscription on a mummy case in the same Museum, stating that the body of an Egyptian king of one of the earlier dynasties had been buried in it.

As it seemed hardly probable that the body of a king could have escaped for such a long period either the effects of decay and destruction, or the still more ruinous devastations of the ancient invaders of Egypt, and the indefatigable researches of the Arabs of later time, I could scarcely avoid the suspicion, that the case might have served for receiving the body of a priest, or some other person of rank, after the removal of the body which it contained first; a suspicion, which was rendered in some degree probable by the fact that many tombs, after the disappearance of the first tenants, have served to receive the bodies of others. But the valuable information of Giovanni d'Athanasi, on the circumstances accompanying the discovery of this interesting monument of the British Museum, has thrown a new light on the subject; and nothing was wanting to prove, that the body found by the Arabs in that mummy case was that of the king mentioned in its inscription, but the discovery of the diadem itself with the asp, which was said to have been found on the head of the deceased. According to the information which Signor D'Athanasi got from the Arabs, this was not sold to the same person as those to whom the coffin and the scarabæus, belonging to the same discovery, were delivered. I need not mention how little confidence one can place in the assertions and descriptions given by the Arabs employed in antiquarian researches in Egypt; but I have the pleasure to state that all doubt is at length removed by the discovery of the diadem itself in the Museum of Antiquities at Leyden, where it was received, together with the col-

lection formed by the Chevalier D'Anastasy, having been sold to the Dutch government in 1828.

This most valuable, and probably unique monument, is formed in the usual shape of the royal diadem, of which we have a figure in the hieroglyphical sign of the word *Mour.*[4] It consists, as far as I am able to remember now, of a leathern band, inlaid with small silver horizontal stripes, and adorned on the centre part, corresponding with the middle of the forehead, with an ureus of gold, about 0.02 high, fixed upon a sort of ornament, which also is formed of smaller golden plates inlaid in the leather.

This agrees well enough with the description given by the Arabs to Signor D'Athanasi; and, as the combination of all these particulars adds a high interest to a precious object of the Leyden Museum, upon which I had hitherto got no information whatever, I presumed, in the mean time, that the mention of it would be of some interest to you, especially as you are engaged now in printing the interesting paper which you communicated to the Royal Society of Literature some time ago on the mummy case of the British Museum.

Believe me, my dear sir,

Your very truly obliged,

C. Leemans.

The Reverend G. Tomlinson.

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[4] Diadems of the form alluded to may be seen upon the head of Shishak in Rosellini's Monumenti, M. R. pl. xi., and upon the head of Psammeticus, pl. xiii. They consist of a simple fillet or band of gold or silver, with the uræus, or royal asp, in the middle of the forehead, and with the ends hanging loose from the knot or fastening behind.

XIX. *Notice of Two Roman Inscriptions relative to the Conquest of Britain by the Emperor Claudius Cæsar, in which the spuriousness of the one, and the authenticity of the other, are attempted to be established.* By JOHN HOGG, ESQ., M.A. *Fellow of St. Peter's College, Cambridge.*

Read January 26, and February 9, 1837.

WAITING one morning, in the spring of 1826, in the hall of the Palazzo Barberini at Rome, for a considerable time, until the servants and family were ready—the former to show me, and the latter to leave, the apartments in which are contained so many celebrated and beautiful paintings—I ventured to take a stroll about the court-yard, behind the palace. I had scarcely gone beyond the corner of the building, before I beheld a white marble tablet built into an opposite wall, on which is cut the following inscription in very large letters:—

No. I.

TI · CLAVDIO · CAES
AVGVSTO
PONTIFICI · MAX · TR · P · $\overline{IX}$
COS · $\overline{V}$ · IMP · $\overline{XVI}$ · P · P
SENATVS · POPVL · Q · R · QVOD
REGES · BRITANNIAE · ABSQ
VLLA · IACTVRA · DOMVERIT
GENTESQVE · BARBARAS
PRIMVS · INDICIO · SVBEGERIT

I was extremely delighted in discovering so interesting an account of the conquest of Britain by the Emperor Claudius Cæsar, and immediately copied it into my journal, intending to inquire (if it were really ancient) from what remains of antiquity this marble had been originally taken; where it had been found; and all other circumstances connected with it. However, during my stay in Rome, I could obtain no accurate information about it, although I showed my copy of the inscription to several good

scholars, who are well versed in Roman antiquities. Two learned friends especially, who went to see the tablet itself, were as much pleased with it as I myself was, and said that they would investigate every thing relating to it: but what their success may have been, I do not know; for, I have to lament, that one is now no more; and the other, having become a denizen of Tuscany, I have not had the pleasure of seeing since we parted at Rome, nearly eleven years ago.

Having partially examined the subject, I beg to lay before the Royal Society of Literature a notice of this inscription, as well as of a similar one, which is also said to be preserved amongst the antiquities of the Barberini collection.

The only work on Rome in which I have been able to find the above inscription (No. I.) is in Wright's 'Observations in Travelling,'[1] in 1720-22, at p. 293, where this author says he saw it behind the Barberini Palace, in one of the walls of a trench, over which an imitated ruin of a bridge led into the gardens.

But I will here merely observe, that I consider this inscription to be altogether spurious; and will, after having made some remarks upon the next one, (No. II.) give my reasons for so esteeming it.

The second inscription is likewise noticed in the Addenda to Wright's 'Observations:' it seems to have been first given to the world by Gauges de' Gozze, next by Martinelli, and shortly after by the editor of Donati's work, and by Nardini; all celebrated antiquaries, and faithful topographers of Rome.

Considering then the value and importance of this last discovery, I cannot do better than quote the words of those authors. Martinelli, in the third edition of his 'Roma Ricercata,' (p. 263.) thus writes: "La Piazza di Sciarra, dove il Prencipe de Carbognano hà fatto rinovare il suo palazzo. Con occasione, che l'anno 1587 furono cavati in essa alcuni pietroni, scrive il Ferrucci al cap. 8. del lib. iv. dell' Antichità del Fulvio, esser nella medema stato l'arco di Claudio Cesare. L'anno 1461,[2] cavandosi di nuovo in detta piazza fù

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[1] This work was first published in the year 1730. It contains the same accounts of both inscriptions as those in the second edition, and extracted, post, p. 247.

[2] This date, so printed in the original, is a misprint for 1641.

ritrovato un pietrone di marmo col principio di nove versi, che furono suppliti da Gauges de' Gozze, e stampati nella forma, che vi hò accennata nella seconda editione di questa mia opera."—'Roma Ricercata, da Fioravante Martinelli,' Rom. 1658. (The Piazza di Sciarra, where the Prince de Carbognano has rebuilt his palace. In the year 1587 some large stones having been dug up there, Ferrucci remarked, on the eighth chapter of the fourth book of Fulvio's 'Roman Antiquities,' that the arch of Claudius Cæsar formerly stood on that spot. In the year 1641, in digging again in the same place, a large piece of marble was discovered with the beginning of nine lines, which were completed by Gauges de' Gozze, and have been printed in the manner that I have shown in the second edition of this my work.[3])

The note of Ferrucci, just alluded to, is this:—

(This present year, 1587, excavations having been made in the Piazza di Sciarra, here mentioned by the author (Fulvio), in the identical spot which leads to the portico of Antoninus, either for the purpose of making water-courses, or for some other purpose, I saw some large pieces of marble brought to light, which afforded a proof that some remarkable piece of antiquity had stood there: but soon afterwards I was informed by Mr. Biasio Stefanonio, the apothecary, that many people supposed that the arch of Claudius Cæsar formerly stood in that place; and he showed me in his shop a fragment of one of the pilasters of that arch formed of peperino.)—"Questo presente anno 1587, essendosi cavato nella Piazza di Sciarra, qui citata dall' auttore nell' istesso loco, che va al portico d'Antonino, ò per far acquedutti, ò per altra cagione, ho visto scoprire alcuni pietroni di marmo, che davano inditio, che ivi fusse stato qualche notabile antichità. Ma poco dopo da Messer Biasio Stefanonio spetiale ivi nel canto mi fu riferito, che in quel luogo era tenuto da molti esservi stato l'arco di

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[3] I am sorry that I have not as yet been able to meet with the second edition, which must have been published between 1644 (the date of the first edition) and 1658. The first edition makes no mention of this discovery, and the third does not insert the inscription; and I have not found any notice of it in such of the works of Gauges de' Gozze as I have at present seen. Yet the inscription itself, as supplied by that same person, is given hereafter, at (No. III.) p. 246. from Nardini's 'Roma Antica.'

Claudio Cesare, e egli mi mostrò nella sua stessa bottega l'osso di uno de' pilastri di detto arco, fatto di peperino."[4]

Now the third edition of Donati's 'Roma' has afforded us the following most exact information:—

"Cùm anno 1641 ab illustrissimo atque excellentissimo Carboniani Principe, ex præclarissimâ Columnensium familiâ, instaurarentur ædes, in plateâ quæ vulgò Sciarræ nuncupatur, non longè ab arcû (Portugalliæ) in (Viâ) Flaminiâ, inter jaciendum portæ fundamenta, quædam in ruderibus lateritia lapideaque vestigia eruta fuisse: undè Leonardo Augustino, eminentissimi ac reverendissimi principis Francisci Barberini Cardinalis antiquario, aliquas inibi præclaras subesse antiquitatis reliquias, non temerè arbitrante, ad 23 palmos, in eâdem Flaminiâ, terra circum egesta, antiquum pavimentum taxillatum detectum est, effossumque ingens marmoris frustum, cum triumphalibus titulis imperatoris Claudii. Effossæ insuper ex Africano marmore striatæ sed dirutæ columnæ simulque captivi truncus, quæ omnia arcum imperatoris Claudii fuisse abundè testantur. Sed ut nihil remaneret dubii, aureus quoque nummus ipsius Claudii est adinventus, qui exhibet ab uno latere, imperatoris caput cum litteris,

TI · CLAVD · CAESAR · AVG · P · M · TR · P · VIIII[5] · IMP · XVI

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[4] Antichità di Roma di Andrea Fulvio, con le annotationi di Girolamo Ferrucci, lib. iv. cap. 8. p. 115. Venet. 1588.

[5] This edition of Donati has TR · P · VIII, but here is clearly an omission of an I in the type. A mistake of this kind is very likely to occur in copying from coins, where the letters are often both indistinct, and obliged, from the want of space, to be very close together. No medal of Claudius occurs with TR · P · $\overline{\text{VIII}}$ · IMP · $\overline{\text{XVI}}$, in Mediobarbus. (Vide Imperatorum Rom. Numismata, Mediol. 1730.) This medal, I consider, had been struck on the enlargement of the bounds of the city (Pomerium) by Claudius, which took place in the year U. C. 802, and A. D. 49, when he was TR · P · $\overline{\text{VIIII}}$ · IMP · $\overline{\text{XVI}}$ · Vide Tacit. Annal. lib. xii. cap. 23. The triumphal arch, with the equestrian statue of the emperor between two trophies upon the top, and the epigraph DE BRITANNIS on its reverse side, would prove that the Pomerium was increased in consequence of the recent conquests in Britain; to which, the words used in the inscription that was erected upon the occasion, "auctis Populi Romani finibus," evidently refer. See the inscription preserved in Gruter's work, vol. i. p. 196. no. 4. ex edit. Grævii. Amst. 1707; and for a well-executed cut of the same medal, see p. 193 of Speed's 'Hist. Brit.' 2nd edit. 1627.

ab altero verò arcum ipsum, cum equestri Claudii statuâ inter trophœa, et litteris DE BRITANNIS. Inscriptionis porrò fragmentum, sic genuinæ restituimus antiquitati:[6]

No. II.

TI · CLAVDIO · DRVSI · F · CAESARI
AVGVSTO · GERMANICO
PONTIFICI · MAXIMO · TRIB · POT · IX ·
COS · V · IMPERATORI · XVI · P · P ·
SENATVS · POPVLVSQVE · ROMANVS · QVOD
REGES · BRITANNIAE · PERDVELES · SINE
VLLA · IACTVRA · CELERITER · CAEPERIT
GENTESQVE · EXTREMARVM · ORCHADVM
PRIMVS · INDICIO · FACTO · R · IMPERIO · ADIECERIT.[7]

Fragmentum ipsum ad Barberinas ædes in Quirinali asportatum adservatur, cum eodem Claudii nummo, in antiquitatum larario: Britanni vero captivi exesus truncus extat in ædibus D. Camilli Maximi propè locum ejusdem Claudii arcûs in Flaminiam."—Donati, Roma Vetus ac Recens, lib. 3. p. 384. edit. 3. Romæ, 1665.

The very same account, which is in fact only a reprint of Donati's, is also contained in Thesaur. Antiq. Roman. à Grævio, tom. iii. p. 751. Lugd. 1696.

Nardini, writing on the Via Flaminia, has thus fully detailed the finding of the identical marble:—" Della nobiltà della (Via) Flaminia (oggi il Corso) sono segni i spessi archi trionfali, che v' erano; oltre quelli, de' quali nella Via Lata parlammo. Sul principio della Flaminia nella piazza detta di Sciarra già fu un' arco dove è per appunto la strada, che dalla fontana di Trevi va in piazza di Pietra, come dagli Antiquarj del passato secolo

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[6] The editor of the edition 1665 must be here intended, because Alexander Donati is said to have died at Rome on the 23rd of April, 1640, the year before that inscription was found.

[7] The part which has been lost, and is supplied, I have given in red ink, in order that it may be more distinctly seen; and the same is done with all the restorations throughout this paper.

si riferisce; e nelle muraglie dell' un lato, e dell' altro qualche pietra di residuo si vede ancora. Il Ferrucci nelle annotationi al Fulvio stimollo di Claudio; nè fu pensier vano, perchè il marmo ritrovato l'anno 1641 nella medesima piazza sotterra, apportato dal Martinelli nella Roma Ricercata ne dà la certezza con l'inscrittione, se ben mutilata, che v'era, la quale è questa supplita eruditamente da Gauges de' Gozze."—(Roma Antica,[8] lib. vi. cap. 9. p. 362. Rom. 1666.)

Which, being translated, is as follows:—

(Of the importance of the (Via) Flaminia, (now the 'Corso,') the many triumphal arches which stood there are proofs; besides those of which we have spoken in the Via Lata. At the beginning of the Flaminian Way, in the Piazza Sciarra, there formerly was an arch where the street joins it, which leads from the fountain of Trevi into the Piazza di Pietra, as some antiquaries of the last century have related; and in the walls on each side are still to be seen some small remains. Ferrucci, in his annotations on Fulvio,[9] thought it was the arch of Claudius; nor was his conjecture incorrect, because the marble found in the year 1641 under ground in the same place, introduced by Martinelli in his 'Roma Ricercata,' makes it quite certain, together with the inscription, which, although mutilated, is this, and has been learnedly restored by Gauges de' Gozze.)

No. III.

TI · CLAVdio Drusi f. Caesari
AVGVsto Germanico Pio
PONTIFICi Max. Trib. Pot. IX.
COS · V · IMperatori XVI. Patri Patriai
SENATVS · POPVlusque Romanus quod
REGES · BRITanniai perduelles sine
VLLA · IACTVra celeriter caeperit
GENTESQ · Extremarum Orchadum
PRIMVS · INDICIO facto R. Imperio adiecerit.

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[8] This was a posthumous work; for its author, Famiano Nardini, died in 1661. The above is the first edition, which was published by Ottavio Falconieri.

[9] This is the same note which has been given before at p. 247.

Nibby, in his edition of Vasi's 'Itinerary of Rome,' has made a brief allusion to this inscription:—

"En sortant de le palais Sciarra il faut remarquer que plusieurs découvertes faites pendant le pontificat de Pie IV., et d'autres, qui ont été faites en 1641, dans le siècle suivant, de même que quelques restes qui alors existaient ont fixé avec une grande probabilité le site de l'arc triomphal de l'Empereur Claude près du carrefour, qui se débranche du cours vers la fontaine de Trevi, et vers la douane jadis temple d'Antonin, non loin de l'arc moderne dit de Carbognano. Ce monument fut érigé à Claude par le sénat et le peuple Romain après la conquête de la Grande Brétagne et des Iles Orchades, comme il résulte d'un fragment d'inscription ancienne qu'on y trouva et qui est rapporté par Nardini."—(Itinéraire Instructif de Rome, par Vasi, édit. A. Nibby, à Rome, 1824. tom. i. p. 32.)

The next is Wright's account:—

"To the inscription (No. 1.) I have given (at p. 293), containing the triumphal titles of Claudius Cæsar, and setting forth with how much ease, and how, without any loss, he had made the kings of Britain subject to him; it will not be amiss to add another, which in substance is the same with the above mentioned. This I am now going to add is given by Alexander Donatus, and is to be seen in 'Græv. Thesaur.' vol. iii. p. 752. He tells us, it was dug up in the year 1641, near an arch which was commonly called Arco di Portogallo,[10] in the Via Flaminia, which has since been taken away. It was only a fragment, (he calls it 'ingens marmoris frustum, cum triumphalibus titulis imperatoris Claudii,') one side of it being lost, and the beginning of all the lines wanting:[11] but he has restored them to what he esteems them to have been at first ('genuinæ restituimus antiquitati.') [Here follows the inscription, No. 11.]

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[10] This arch is supposed by the learned editor of Donati, and by Nardini, to have been the arch of the emperor M. Aurelius Antoninus: it stood in the Via Flaminia, now the Corso, a little to the north of the column of the same emperor in the Piazza Colonna, and very near the church of S. Lorenzo in Lucina. There is an excellent engraving of it in Thesaur. Antiq. Rom. à Grævio, tom. iii. p. 750. fig. 37.

[11] This is most incorrect, for Martinelli has distinctly said that the marble was found,—"*col principio* di nove versi," *with the beginning* of nine lines. See antè, p. 247.

"This fragment, Donatus says, is kept in the Barberini Palace; but I did not see it, though it was there I observed the inscription. (No. I.) The word *facto*, in the last line of the fragment, may help to explain its preceding one (*indicio*), which is likewise in the other inscription, but without the addition of *facto:* as they are put together, they seem to imply a notification to the Britons, by some *fæciales*, or heralds, of the approach of Claudius, and a demand of their submission to him; which was accordingly made upon his personal appearance among them, without any blood shed, or blow struck; as appears by what Suetonius says of this expedition." (See 'Observations in Travelling' in 1720—2. Addenda to second edit. 1764.)

Horsley, in a note to the same passage of Suetonius, (cap. 17. Vit. Claud.) at p. 21 of his 'Britannia Romana,' (edit. 1732.) observes,—"When I was in Cheshire, I saw at Mr. Wright's of Stretton, among other curiosities, an inscription which confirms this account of Suetonius in a beautiful manner. This ingenious gentleman had taken the copy himself from the Palace Barberini at Rome, and has now (1730) published it in his 'Travels,' p. 293." (Here is given the inscription, No. I.) "Agricola uses these words in his speech before the engagement with Galgacus:—'Inventa Britannia et subacta.' (Tacit. Vit. Agr. c. 33.) 'Veni, vidi, vici,' is well known. But how far such expressions are parallel to that in this inscription, 'indicio subegerit,' I shall not determine. But this gentleman, in the Addenda to his work, has obliged us with another inscription, referring to the same affair; the latter part of which, being somewhat different from the other, I shall here transcribe the last four lines, which will stand connected with the five first of the former, that are in substance the same in both." (Here follow the last four lines of the inscription, No. II.) "This inscription, it seems, is likewise in the same palace, where it was copied by Alexander Donatus;[12] but, being broken and imperfect, was supplied by him in the manner it is here represented. The word *facto* added to *indicio* gives a different turn to the expression; and the nations thus subdued by Claudius are here said to be the inhabitants of the Orchades, which likewise Eutropius and some other later historians (as Orosius) have affirmed of him.

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[12] See the note 6, at p. 249.

But whether of these two inscriptions may be the more ancient and authentic, I must leave others to judge, since Mr. Wright himself has thought fit to leave it undetermined. It is plain, however, that neither of these inscriptions could be erected till some years after Claudius was in Britain; since his triumph on that occasion was in the year 44, soon after his third consulate; whereas his fifth consulate did not commence till the year 51: and there were coins struck upon the account of this conquest the same year with his triumph, as we find in Mediobarb. In Goltzius I. the *Tr. p. IX.* and *imp. XVI.* (as in this inscription) answer to *Cos. IV.* perhaps then it has been also *Cos. IV.* in this inscription. Claudius had his fourth consulate in the year 47."

The last author who has made mention of these inscriptions is Gough, whose relation is this:—

"The success of Claudius in Britain is commemorated in two inscriptions at Rome, published by Mr. Wright in his 'Travels:' (p. 293, and Addenda.) The first of them runs thus in great uncial characters (No. I.), and the other thus (No. II.). The first, mentioned before by Nardini,[13] was in the Barberini gardens, worked in the wall of a trench, over which was built a modern ruin of a bridge leading to the southern avenue of the palace; but, upon narrow examination, Mr. Breval found half the stone to be modern,[14] ('Travels,' i. 88. n.) though he has not told us which half. The other No. II. Donati says was dug up in 1641 near the Arco di Portogallo, since taken away in the Via Flaminia: he calls it 'ingens marmoris frustum cum triumphalibus titulis imperatoris Claudii,' one side lost; and the beginning of all the lines wanting[15] he had restored, as in No. II. It is also in 'Grævii Thesaur.' iii. 752. Mr. Wright supposes *indicio*, and *indicio facto*, in both these inscriptions, to refer to some demand of submission by heralds, which was immediately made on the emperor's approach. It must be confessed they are unusual expressions. How far they are parallel to those of Galgacus,—'inventa Britannia et subacta,' (Tacit. Vit. Agr. 33.) Mr. Horsley (p. 22) does not determine; but the date of Claudius's fifth

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[13] This is a mistake; for I have not been able to find any account of the inscription No. I. in Nardini's work, 'Roma Antica,' edit. 1666, or in the late edition of it by Nibby, Rome, 1819.

[14] For my remark on this observation of Breval, see post, p. 282. note 87.

[15] Here is the same error that I have before corrected in note 11, at p. 251.

consulate was seven years after this triumph. Eutropius vii. 13. and Orosius vii. 6. as well as these inscriptions, ascribe the reduction of the Orkneys to Claudius. Tacitus expressly calls him the author of the reduction of this island,—'Divus Claudius auctor operis.'—Vit. Agr. 13." (See note [t] p. 79. Præf. vol. i. Camden's 'Britannia,' by Gough, edit. 2. 1806.)

I have thus given all the observations which have hitherto been published, as far as I am aware, concerning these two inscriptions; and which I have thought better to transcribe at length from each author, than to have given a mere abstract or reference to each; because some of the above descriptions are contained in old and valuable books, which, from their scarcity, many of my readers cannot readily consult.

In the first place, I will proceed to make a few *comments* on the inscription No. II., following the principal parts of it in order.

TI·CLAVDIO. The commencement here omits IMP·, the prænomen or title of emperor, which I have not noticed in any of the inscriptions[16] to Claudius Cæsar, collected by the accurate epigraphologist, Gruter; and Suetonius expressly tells us that he refused that title,—"prænomine Imperatoris abstinuit." (Vit. Claud. c. 12.) This affords a proof in identifying to what Claudius the marble must be referred. And a still farther and more satisfactory proof that it belonged to Claudius,[17] the fifth Roman emperor, is, that a large stone, having the three following inscriptions cut on it, was found in the same place with the present fragment, namely, in the Piazza di Sciarra, about the year 1562: they are published in Gruter's 'Inscriptiones Antiquæ,' vol. i. p. 236. No. 9.

1.	2.	3.
ANTONIAI	IVLIAI·AVG	NERONI
AVGVSTAI	AGRIPPINAI	CLAVDIO·AVG·F·CAISARIS
DRVSI	GERMANICI	DRVSO·GERMANICO
SACERDOTI·DIAI	CAISARIS·F	PONTIF·AVGVRI·XVIIR·S·F
AVGVSTI	TI·CLAVDI·CAISAR·	VIIIIR·EPVLONVM
MATRI·TI·CLAVDI	AVGVSTI	COS
CAISARIS·AVG·P·P	PATRIS·PATRIAI	PRINCIPI·IVVENTVTIS

[16] I may here remark, that this prænomen is omitted on all the coins of that emperor.

[17] See also an additional reason given for this, infrà, p. 263.

Of these, the first is dedicated to Claudius's mother Antonia; the second, to his wife Agrippina;[18] and the third, to his stepson Nero.

It may be noticed, that Julia Agrippina is here styled Augusta, agreeably to what Tacitus has written, (Annal. lib. xii. c. 26.) "augetur Agrippina cognomento Augustæ;" which surname appears to have been bestowed on her in A. D. 50, when C. Antistius and M. Suillius were consuls, and upon the adoption of her son Domitius, and after he had received the name of Nero. But in the sixth line of the third inscription Nero is called "Consul:" now both Panvinio and Almeloveen fix the first consulship of Nero in the year U. C. 808, or A. D. 55, which would be the year after the death of Claudius. Yet the want of the epithet DIVI[19] in the sixth line of the first, as well as in the fifth line of the second, of these inscriptions, affords strong evidence that Claudius was still alive when this stone had been cut; and, in addition to this, I think that the third inscription here would have commenced IMP·NERONI· if Claudius had been dead at the time of its erection; as Suetonius (Vit. Ner. c. 8.) informs us, upon Nero having been saluted emperor, of all the titles with which he was loaded, he only refused that of "Pater Patriæ," on account of his youth, for he was then but seventeen years old. Also the last title, PRINCEPS·IVVENTVTIS· (prince of the youth,[20] i. e. heir to the throne,) would be incorrect, if

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[18] According to Tacit. Annal. lib. xii. cap. 5—8. Claudius married Agrippina in the year C. Pompeius and Q. Veranius were consuls, which was the year U. C. 802. and A. D. 49. Suetonius (Claud. c. 29.) says, "initio anni . . . . die ipso Claudii et Agrippinæ nuptiarum."

[19] See concerning Claudius's deification, or apotheosis, Dio Cass. lib. lx. c. 35. Suetonius in Vit. Claud. c. 45. et Ner. c. 9. and Tacitus, Ann. lib. xii. c. 69, and lib. xiii. c. 2. The first and third inscriptions are interesting as affording examples of the use of the inverted Æolic digamma, which, according to Quintilian, (lib. i. c. 13.) was first introduced by Claudius for the purpose of giving a particular pronunciation of the letter *v*,—"in his, *s*ervus et *v*ulgus, Æolicum digamma desideratur." And so Tacitus, I conceive, uses the word "*v*ulgavit" to express the same thing,—Annal. xi. c. 13. "Exstat talis scriptura in plerisque libris, actis diurnis, *titulisque* operum." (Claud. c. 41.)—true indeed is this observation of Suetonius even at the present day. Compare likewise the remark of Tacitus at the end of the fourteenth chapter of his eleventh book of Annals.

[20] It is not unlikely the present royal title in Spain of *Infánta* was derived from this ancient Roman one.

Nero had at that time been actually proclaimed the successor of Claudius. Hence COS must be read Consul *elect* only; or, most probably, the farther abbreviation DES may have been broken off this portion of the stone; for the annalist most distinctly writes,—"Ti. Claudio quintùm, Ser. Cornelio Orfito consulibus,[21] virilis toga Neroni maturata, quò capessendæ reipublicæ habilis videretur. Et Cæsar adulationibus senatûs libens cessit, 'ut vicesimo ætatis anno consulatum Nero iniret; atque interim *designatus*, proconsulare imperium extra urbem haberet, ac Princeps Juventutis appellaretur.'" (Vide Annal. lib. xii. c. 41.)

This passage, therefore, clearly illustrates the period at which these inscriptions have been erected, that is to say, soon after the above decree of the senate, which was made in the year of the city 804, or A. D. 51. Is it probable that Claudius had caused this stone to be erected upon his own arch (which stood, according to the Roman antiquaries, close to the spot where the stone itself was discovered) about the time this triumph took place? And, if so, might it not have formed a part of the attic over the second or hinder gateway, and thus corresponded with the inscription No. v., which must have been upon the attic of the front, or principal gateway?

GERMANICO· The name or cognomen of "Germanicus" the senate first gave to Drusus, the father of Claudius, to bear to himself and to his posterity, on account of his great conquests in Germany (vid. Sueton. in Vit. Claud. c. 1.): and we learn from the same writer, that Claudius, when young, "Germanici cognomen assumpsit." (Vid. ibid. c. 2.)

It is somewhat remarkable, that this emperor never assumed the honorary surname of Britannicus; at least, it does not occur either in his inscriptions or on his coins, whilst that of Germanicus is generally seen upon both. And this strikes me as being the more worthy of notice, because Dion Cassius informs us, (lib. lx. c. 22.) the senate surnamed him "Britannicus," (*Βρεττανικὸν τε αὐτὸν ἐπεκάλεσε,*) in consequence of his exploits in Britain; and as Claudius had ever after prided himself on his conquest of that island, I should have supposed that he would have been ambitious

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[21] Refer to the inscription, infrà, p. 267.

of bearing the name of Britannicus, and that he, being naturally a weak man, would have been very proud of it, and would, during the remainder of his life, have made constant use of it in preference to that of Germanicus. His biographer Suetonius, however, has related, that he surnamed his son by his wife Messalina, first Germanicus, but soon afterwards Britannicus,[22] "quem primò Germanicum, mox Britannicum cognominavit." (Vit. Claud. c. 27.) This son was born in Claudius's second consulship,[23] whose name his father changed upon his expedition to Britain, in order to commemorate that undertaking; and indeed, after the return of Claudius to Rome, the same name was confirmed to his son by a decree of the senate,—*τῷ τε υἱεῖ αὐτοῦ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἐπέθεσαν, ὥστε καὶ κυρίως τρόπον τινὰ Βρεττανικὸν αὐτὸν ὀνομασθῆναι.* (Vide Dion. Cass. lib. lx. p. 781. edit. H. Steph. 1592.) TRIB. POT. IX. COS. V. IMPERATORI XVI. Here is a considerable error in the part which has been supplied in both the inscriptions, No. II. and No. III.: TRIB. POT. IX. IMPERATORI XVI. should be TRIB. POT. $\overline{XI}$· IMPERATORI $\overline{XXII}$. In proof of this correction, I will here give the titular formulæ from such authentic inscriptions of the emperor Claudius Cæsar, as are published in Gruter's accurate work; and I will arrange them in the following chronological order:—

(1) TRIB · POT · COS · DESIG · $\overline{II}$ · IMP · $\overline{II}$ · (See Gruter. p. 188. No. 3.)

(2) TRIB · POT · $\overline{II}$ · COS · DESIG · $\overline{III}$ · IMP · $\overline{III}$ · (p. 237. No. 5.)

(3) TRIB · POT · $\overline{III}$ · COS · $\overline{III}$ · IMP · $\overline{III}$ · (p. 188. No. 4.)

(4) TRIB · POT · $\overline{IIII}$ · COS · $\overline{III}$ · IMP · $\overline{VIII}$ · (p. 176. No. 4.)

(5) TRIB · POT · $\overline{V}$ · COS · $\overline{III}$ · DES · $\overline{IIII}$ · IMP · $\overline{XI}$ · (p. 237. No. 8.)

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[22] Dion Cassius has also stated the same,—*ὃς τότε μὲν Κλαύδιος Τιβέριος Γερμανικὸς, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ Βρεττανικὸς ἐπωνομάσθη.*—Rom. Hist. lib. lx. p. 773.

[23] This is according to Suetonius, who says that he was born on the 20th day of the reign of Claudius, and in his second consulate; "Britannicum vigesimo imperii die, inque secundo consulatû natum." (c. 27.) Therefore, as Claudius came to the throne on the ix. kalend. Febr., or on the 24th January, A.U.C. 794. A. D. 41. the twentieth day of his reign would be the Prid. Id. Feb., or the 12th February. But, strictly speaking, he was only Consul *designatus* secundùm at that time, as appears from the inscription in Gruter, p. 188. No. 3. and of which the titular form is given above in No. (1).

(6) TRIB · POT · VII · COS · IIII · IMP · XV · (p. 113. No. 1.)
(7) TRIB · POT · VIIII · IMP · XVI · COS · IIII · (p. 196. No. 4.)
(8) TRIB · POT · X · IMP · XIIX · COS · IIII · DESIG · V · (p. 113. No. 3.)
(9) TRIB · POT · XI · IMP · XXIIII · COS · V · (p. 188. No. 6.)
(10) TRIB · POT · XII · COS · V · IMP · XXVII · (p. 176. No. 1.)

I have not been able to find any authorities for the titular forms—TRIB · POT · VI ·, TRIB · POT · VIII ·, TRIB · POT · XIII ·, and TRIB · POT · XIV · Hence, as there is no inscription bearing TRIB · POT · IX · COS · V · IMP · XVI ·, it is quite clear that that formula[24] ought exactly to correspond with No. (7) in the above series; but we see that COS · V · is the only ancient and authentic portion left of the titular form; the restoration therefore should be made to agree with No. (9); yet I am inclined to think that the following formula would be more correct,[25] TRIB · POT · XI · COS · V · IMP · XXII ·

REGES · BRITANNIAE Here the word REGES admirably illustrates the phrase 'capti Reges,' used by Tacitus, in describing the progress of the Roman arms in Britain under Claudius. Conf. Tacit. in Vit. Agr. c. 13. See also "Regem aliquem capies," in the fourth Satire of Juvenal, v. 126.

The Kings of Britain, and the royal personages related to them, appear, about this time, to have been,—Cunobelinus, king of the Trinobantes; Adminius; Togodumnus; Caractacus, king of the Silures; Cogidunus; Cartismandua, queen of the Brigantes; Prasutagus, king of the Iceni; Boadicea, queen of the Iceni; Arviragus; &c. Britain was divided into many petty states; or, in the words of Pomponius Mela, (lib. iii. c. 6.) Britannia "fert populos Regesque populorum:" and, according to Dion, (lib. lx. p. 779.)—*οἱ Βρεττανοὶ ἦσαν δὲ οὐκ αὐτόνομοι, ἀλλ' ἄλλοις Βασιλεῦσι προστεταγμένοι.* But the names of most of these kings have neither been handed down to us; nor have their achievements or their works, with few exceptions, been recorded in the pages of history.

SINE · VLLA · IACTVRA · Suetonius, I think, must have taken his statement, though somewhat exaggerated,[26] namely, "sine ullo prœlio aut sanguine,"—(in Vit. Claud. c. 17.) from this inscription. Allusion is here

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[24] And see infrà, p. 267. [25] Refer to the reason given for this in note 43. p. 267.
[26] See also the note 77. at p. 277.

evidently intended to be made to the emperor's personal expedition to Britain, and the rapid success consequent thereon. But these words will also correctly refer to Claudius's subsequent victories, when Publius Ostorius commanded in Britain. This victorious general appears, from Tacitus's Annals, (lib. xii. c. 31—36.) to have carried on the campaign with great and signal success, without any loss to the Roman army; and, in the space of a few months, to have quickly subdued several important states, and to have taken Caractacus, the king of Siluria, together with his family, and sent them prisoners to Rome.[27] Thus, the following stanza of the poet, commemorating the splendid conquests of a former,— may, perhaps, as justly be applied to the present,—Claudius,—

> Ut Barbarorum Claudius agmina
> Ferrata vasto diruit impetû,
> Primosque et extremos metendo,
> Stravit humum, *sine clade* victor.[28]

GENTESQVE· See, as well, the words "domitæ gentes" of Tacitus, in the passage before cited (Vit. Agr. c. 13.), as the expression "gentium victor," of Mela, (lib. iii. c. 6.)—and both are made use of in reference to this Cæsar.

EXTREMARVM·ORCHADVM· The learned antiquaries, Gauges de' Gozze, and the editor of Donati's Roma, edit. 1665, have evidently completed this eighth line from the accounts of the following ancient authors:—

Eutropius writes of Claudius,—"quasdam insulas etiam ultra Britanniam in Oceano positas, Romano imperio addidit, quæ appellantur Orcades." —Hist. Rom. lib. vii. c. 13.

St. Jerome, in his translation of the 'Chronicon' of Eusebius, says,— "Claudius Orchadas insulas Romano adjecit imperio."—Eusebii Chronicon, D. Hieronymo interp. p. 72. Basil. 1536.

Orosius tells us, that Claudius "Orcadas etiam insulas ultrà Britanniam in Oceano positas, Romano adjecit imperio."—Vide Hist. lib. vii. cap. 6.

And the Chronicle of M. Aurelius Cassiodorus has (p. 160.)—"Clau-

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[27] But Ostorius, soon after this, suffered much loss to his troops. Vide Tacit. Annal. lib. xii. c. 38. 39.

[28] Horat. Carm. lib. iv. od. 14. v. 29.

dius de Britannis triumphavit, et Orcadas insulas Romano adjecit imperio."

Now, I can find no earlier authority for attributing the addition of the Orkneys to the Roman empire by Claudius, than the Breviary of the Roman History by Eutropius; and as this author wrote above three centuries after the death of Claudius, it is most likely that he made this statement from the mere common report of that day, and not from any authentic source. Next, St. Jerome, about twenty-five years afterwards, translating at Rome the Chronicle of Eusebius into Latin, has, in all probability, inserted either from the like report, or from the work of Eutropius, the same circumstance; for I do not believe, that this statement was ever written by Eusebius himself at Cæsarea in Palestine. Indeed, in the work of Scaliger, called 'Thesaurus Temporum,'—wherein that learned author has collected all the Greek fragments of the original 'Chronicon' of Eusebius, which had then been preserved,—no such account exists; although at p. 79 of *Χρονικῶν Λόγος Πρῶτος*, these words alone occur,—*Κλαύδιος κατὰ Βρεττανῶν ἐθρίαμβευσεν.*—Vide Thesaur. Temp. Euseb. à Scaliger. Amst. 1658.

Then the Spaniard Orosius, half a century after Eutropius, has copied his account very nearly in his own words. In like manner, after a farther lapse of one hundred and thirty-five years, Cassiodorus has transcribed St. Jerome's Latin into his own Chronicle: and so with the later writers. Hence we must reject this statement, as resting principally, if not entirely, upon Eutropius;—an authority, though respectable, still on this particular point, after so long a time as three hundred and ten years from the supposed conquest by Claudius, not sufficient to warrant our receiving it as historically true.

It is perhaps here worthy of remark, that Mela and Pliny, both contemporaries with this emperor, having described the Orkneys, very possibly from information obtained by some of the Roman soldiers then in Britain, would, if Claudius had really discovered and received the submission of those isles, have related such important facts.

But Tacitus, on the contrary, has distinctly stated,—"incognitas ad id tempus insulas, quas Orcadas vocant, invenit, domuitque," (Vit. Agr. c. 10.) —that Agricola discovered and subdued the isles called Orkneys, which were until that time unknown: and I confess we must acknowledge this to be the most probable and just account, and, upon the whole, the most

correct. Here, however, I would interpret the word "incognitas" to mean *unknown*, by the Romans never before having *actually visited* them, and not *unknown* by report,—that is to say, *unheard of;* because, in this latter sense, they were known to the Romans previous to the time of Agricola, as mention is made of those islands[29] in the works of Pomponius Mela (Sit. Orb. lib. iii. cap. 6.), and of Pliny the elder (Nat. Hist. lib. iv. c. 16.); both of whom wrote their accounts some years before Tacitus had composed his biographical memoir of Agricola. Indeed, I cannot find any satisfactory reason for holding, that the Romans, during the reign of Claudius, ever proceeded even to the borders of Scotland, much less to the extreme Orkneys. We learn from Seneca, who, speaking of Claudius, says,—[30]

Ille Britannos	Ultra noti
Litora ponti,	Et cæruleos
Scuta Brigantes	Dare Romuleis
Colla catenis	Jussit:

—that he first conquered the Brigantes; the southern parts of whose territory, I think, formed the limits of the progress of Claudius's army in the North. I therefore agree entirely with the accurate Tacitus, in attributing the discovery and conquest of the Orkneys to Agricola, notwithstanding any supposed prejudice, that might have induced this affectionate historian to incline rather too much in favour of his illustrious father-in-law. Again, as to the exact period of this occurrence, Tacitus (Vit. Agr. c. 10. and c. 38.) informs us, that Agricola caused a voyage of discovery to be undertaken round the coasts, when Britain was first proved to be an island; and during which voyage, the Orkneys were visited, were also found to be isles, and were first subdued, much less by the force, than through the fear

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[29] Cary's 'Universal Atlas' (Lond. 1808) gives a neat map of the Orkneys; from which it appears that the number of the isles is above forty, though some of them seem to be extremely small. Mela states their number to be thirty, and Pliny forty. However, this difference is easily accounted for, by the transcribers having either omitted an x, and written xxx, instead of xxxx; or else *triginta* for *quadraginta*.

[30] See L. A. Senecæ Ludus de Morte Claudii Cæsaris. Ex edit. Ruhkopf. Lips. 1808, vol. iv. p. 406.

of the Roman arms. This circumnavigation took place A. U. C. 837, which was about thirty-three years after the time of Claudius, here referred to. I will now, lastly, observe, that Juvenal mentions the Orkney islands in the following passage (Sat. ii. 159):—

> Arma quidem ultrà
> Litora Juvernæ promovimus, et modò captas
> Orcadas, ac minimâ contentos nocte Britannos:

—and the note in the Variorum edition (à C. Schrevelio, Lugd. Bat. 1664.) thus explains "modò captas Orcadas," i. e. "paulò antè captas: nam Claudius illas insulas imperio Romano adjecerat;"—which has been doubtless taken from the sources before cited. Yet, as Juvenal was contemporary with Agricola and Tacitus, I consider the above verses do not allude to Claudius's achievements, but to the subsequent conquest of Britain by Agricola; and consequently, "modò captas Orcadas"—"the Orkneys which have been just now subdued"—relates to Agricola's victory and exploits in the year after Christ 84, and about the very time in which the poet was writing; and who clearly seems to me to have commemorated in those lines the then recent and splendid success of the Roman army.

Wherefore, instead of the word ORCHADVM, I would suggest that INSVLARVM be here substituted, signifying, the British Islands: or perhaps the line might be better restored thus:—

GENTESQVE·EXTREMAS·ORBIS·TERRAI [31]

and either correction will complete that line, by making it contain twenty-eight letters; the same number with the three preceding lines.

PRIMVS·INDICIO·FACTO· "Having first discovered them,"—*primus invenit;* or literally, "he first, the discovery of them having been made;"

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[31] I have adopted this mode of writing the AE, because it so appears in the inscriptions given at p. 254. which were, as I have shown, erected in the same year with that now under examination. I have likewise so written it in the following amended inscriptions, No. IV. and No. V.

or, "having first made the discovery of them:" and I do not see how Wright, in the account before given (p. 252.),[32] could have so misinterpreted "indicium," as to make it signify, "a notification by heralds, and a demand of submission;" for the word here simply means, "a discovery." This passage of Pomponius Mela clearly explains the last two lines of the inscription:—"Britannia qualis sit, qualesque progeneret, mox certiora et magis explorata dicentur. Quippè tamdiù clausam[33] aperit ecce Principûm maximus, nec indomitarum modò antè se,[34] verùm ignotarum quoque gentium victor, qui propriarum rerum fidem ut bello affectavit, ità triumpho declaraturus portat." (De Sit. Orb. lib. iii. c. 6. edit. Gronov. Lugd. Bat. 1722.) Should any one, however, after what has been already stated at p. 254—6, be at all sceptical as to the identity of the *Ti. Claudius* to whom this inscription is dedicated; and if he should suppose it to have been erected to Tiberius, the third Roman emperor and Cæsar,—*Ti. Clau.* would answer very well in support of such a supposition; so, perhaps, would *Cos. V.;* but the following words could in no manner be applied to that emperor:[35]—"Reges Brit." ..... "Gentesque" ..... "Primus indicio" ..... because, in addition to the passage just cited, we learn from Tacitus (Agric. c. 13.), Suetonius (Claud. c. 17.), and Eutropius (Hist. lib. vii. c. 13.), that no one attempted the discovery and invasion of Britain, from the time of Julius Cæsar, till Claudius, the fifth emperor, did so.

R·IMPERIO·ADIECERIT· These last words have been most assuredly supplied from those of St. Jerome, Orosius, and Cassiodorus, before quoted; but for R·IMPERIO I purpose writing only R·I·, or rather I·R·, since the line will then be more uniform with the four previous ones.

The inscription, therefore, as corrected according to my suggestions, will now stand thus:—

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[32] Also in Gough's note, antè, p. 253.

[33] This is a fair pun, and a compliment to Claudius.

[34] To him I may safely apply this line from Tibullus (lib. iv. Carm. i. v. 149.):—

Te manet invictus Romano Marte Britannus.

The people at Rome scarcely gave any credit to Julius Cæsar's report of Britain.

[35] Tiberius, in fact, made the advice of Augustus,—"consilium coërcendi intrà terminos imperii," (vide Tacit. Annal. i. cap. 11.)—the rule of his conduct during his reign.

No. IV.

TI · CLAVDIO · DRVSI · F · CAISARI
AVGVSTO · GERMANICO
PONTIFICI · MAXIMO · TRIB · POT · $\overline{XI}$
COS · $\overline{V}$ · IMPERATORI · $\overline{XXII}$ · P · P
SENATVS · POPVLVSQVE · ROMANVS · QVOD
REGES · BRITANNIAI · PERDVELES · SINE
VLLA · IACTVRA · CELERITER · CAIPERIT
GENTESQVE · EXTREMARVM · INSVLARVM
PRIMVS · INDICIO · FACTO · I · R · ADIECERIT

If we refer to the way in which Wright[36] and Gough have printed the lines (alternately) of this inscription, we shall perceive, that it is not in accordance with that adopted in the editions of Donati and Nardini; for No. II. and No. III. have been accurately copied from those works, where we find, that the commencement of each subsequent line places its first letter directly under the first letter of the antecedent one; thus showing that the inscription, when entire, would form nearly a square. Presuming, then, that Donati's editor, and Gauges de' Gozze (from whom Nardini took his inscription), have both followed the original fragment,[37] and have correctly placed the beginning of it in the same right line, I have restored it in the following manner, which will render the termination of each line more regular in length,[38] and so nearly complete the original square or parallelogram:—

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[36] We must remember, that as Wright never saw (antè, p. 252.) the original marble, his mode of placing the lines is entirely imaginary.

[37] I must be here excused in making a remark, which I hope all travellers will especially remember,—that unless an inscription be copied, as it is actually seen to exist, upon the original monument, it becomes, comparatively, of little value to the Epigraphologist. A true copy of an inscription ought, in fact, to be an exact drawing; every line correctly placed, every letter according to its relative position and size, every broken portion and every mutilated letter accurately and proportionably given.

[38] The eighth line might perhaps be as correctly restored thus,—

GENTESQVE · EXTRA · ORBEM · TERRARVM

No. V.

TI · CLAVDIO · DRVSI · F · CAIS
AVGVSTO · GERMANICO · PIO
PONTIFICI · MAXIM · TRIB · POT · $\overline{XI}$
COS · $\overline{V}$ · IMP · $\overline{XXII}$ · PATRI · PATRIAI
SENATVS · POPVLVSQ · ROMANVS · QVOD
REGES · BRITANNIAI · HOSTILES · SINE
VLLA · IACTVRA · CELERITER · SVBEGIT
GENTESQVE · EXTIMAS · TOTIVS · ORBIS
PRIMVS · INDICIO · FACTO · I · R · ADDIDIT

In the next place, I purpose assigning to this inscription the *year* in which it has been erected, with as much accuracy as I may be able; and, at the same time, briefly considering some points of Roman history that chiefly bear upon it, either by way of proof, or of illustration.

Having before decided that the correct titular form is, TRIB · POT · $\overline{XI}$ · COS · $\overline{V}$ · IMP · $\overline{XXII}$ ·, I shall be enabled from this to solve the exact date of the inscription.

First, then, TRIB · POT · $\overline{XI}$ · signifies "tribunitiâ potestate undecimùm;" i. e., the emperor Claudius had been eleven times invested with the tribunitian power. Now, Dion Cassius expressly informs us, that the emperors

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for Britain was commonly held by the Roman people to be out of the world: thus Virgil (Ecl. i. v. 67),—

Penitùs toto divisos orbe Britannos.

So Dion relates, that Plautius (on his invasion of Britain) with great difficulty led his troops out of Gaul, for they were indignant that the war was going to be carried on "beyond the world:"—ὁ Πλαύτιος . . . . τὸ μὲν στράτευμα χαλεπῶς ἐκ τῆς Γαλατίας ἐξήγαγεν· ὡς γὰρ ἔξω τῆς οἰκουμένης στρατεύσοντες ἠγανάκτουν. (lib. lx. c. 19.) I however prefer the line as above supplied, because it is more agreeable with the extended boundaries of the "orbis Romanus," after the time of Julius Cæsar; and this is confirmed by Horace, in Carm. lib. i. od. 35. v. 29. where he says,—

Ultimos
Orbis Britannos.

assume the whole of the tribunitian power, such as it generally was, and the years of their reign are reckoned by it; for the office was still accounted an annual one, after the time when it was held perpetually by the same persons:—*τὴν δὲ δὴ δύναμιν τὴν τῶν δημάρχων πᾶσαν, ὅσηπερ τὰ μάλιστα ἐγένετο, προστίθενται, καὶ δι' αὐτῆς καὶ ἡ ἐξαρίθμησις τῶν ἐτῶν τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτῶν, ὡς καὶ κατ' ἔτος αὐτὴν μετὰ τῶν ἀεὶ δημαρχούντων λαμβανόντων, προβαίνει.* And to this passage the erudite Reimarus has subjoined the following explanatory note:—"anni tribunitiæ potestatis Imperatorum numerantur, non à calendis Januariis, neque à quarto antè idus Decembres, quo munus suum tribuni plebis inire solebant; sed à *die* quo susceperunt imperium, vel tribunitiâ potestate sunt potiti. Vide C. G. Schwartzii Diss. de August. Cæsarumque Trib. Pot. a. 1715, § 20. Horum annorum numeros frequenter in antiquis nummis et inscriptionibus memorari notum est eruditis, undè lux chronologiæ non contemnenda accenditur, ut docet E. Spanhemius, Diss. xii. de Usû Numismatum, tom. ii. p. 433."—(Dio Cassius, Hist. Rom. lib. liii. c. 17. p. 712. vol. i. edit. Reimar., Hamb., 1750.)

Hence we observe, that this inscription bears the date of the eleventh year, reckoned from the day in which this emperor had been invested with the tribunitian power; and as I cannot find any account at what period of his reign Claudius had first received this power, we must therefore conclude, that he obtained it on the *day* of his accession to the throne, and that the first year of his reign would also be the first of his tribunitian power. This supposition is thoroughly confirmed by reference to the titular formulæ before given, and in particular to No. (1) antè, p. 257. which may be seen in Gruter's work, p. 188. No. 3: besides, Onufrio Panvinio writes,—"ut primùm Princeps creatus est, omnia imperatorum insignia[39] et titulos accepit, *præter* Imperatoris prænomen."—(Vide Panvinii Comment. in lib. ii. Fast. p. 199. Heid. 1588.)

Secondly, as to the year in which Claudius entered upon his fifth consulship,—Panvinio, in his second book of Fasti, makes Claudius COS·DESIG·$\overline{V}$· in the year of Rome 803, or after Christ, 50.—COS·DESIG·$\overline{V}$·, or, consul designatus quintùm, that is to say, consul *elect* for the fifth

[39] And Dion states, that Claudius,—*τὰ μὲν ψηφισθέντα εὐθὺς πάντα, πλὴν τῆς τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐπωνυμίας, ἐδέξατο· ταύτην γὰρ μετὰ ταῦτα προσέθετο.* (lib. lx. c. 3.)

time.[40] The consuls, being usually elected at this period of Roman history in July or August, from the day of their election till January first (in Kal. Jan.) ensuing, (the day in which they entered upon their office) were named,—Coss. Designati.[41] (See Adam's Rom. Antiq. p. 111. edit. 2.) Wherefore Claudius would fully commence his office of fifth consul,—COS·V· with the January of the year (A. D.) 51.; and this accords with the computation given both by Panvinio and Almeloveen, and with the account of Suetonius, in cap. 14. Vit. Claud.

This fact is moreover indisputably proved by the following inscription from a stone tablet, which was discovered under the new church of St. Peter in the Vatican, A.D. 1596, and is preserved in Gruter's 'Corpus Inscriptionum,' p. 300. No. 1.

TI · CLAVDIO · CAESARE · AVG · GERMAN · V
SER · CORNELIO · ORFITO · COS
P · R · C · ANN · DCCCIIII

And this affords sufficient authority that TRIB·POT·IX·, and COS·V· cannot stand together in the same titular form; because after Jan. 24,[42] (the day of his accession to the throne,) in the year post Romam conditam 804, or A. D. 51., when also Claudius was COS·V· complete, he would have entered upon his TRIB·POT·XI. as will be seen at No. (9) of the series of titular formulæ before given (p. 258.) from Gruter; and therefore the form, as restored in the amended inscriptions No. IV. and No. V. is so far correct.

And thirdly, IMP·XXII·[43] or Imperator vigesimùm secundùm,—that is, twenty-two times called Imperator, on account of his victories. The title, cognomen, or surname of Imperator, or Commander in chief, was con-

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[40] Compare this with the inscription No. 3. p. 113. of Gruter's first vol., of which the titular form is given at No. (8) antè, p. 258.

[41] This custom seems to hold good at this period, but it cannot be very accurately depended upon in the later times of the empire.

[42] Nono Kalend. Feb.—the day in which Caligula was assassinated, (see Suetonius, Vit. Calig. c. 58.) I have also called the day of Claudius's accession.

[43] The titular form of the series No. (9) at p. 258. has IMP·XXIIII· but I consider the present inscription to have been erected in the spring of A. D. 51. (vide post, p. 272.), and prior to that, from which the above form is taken.

ferred upon a victorious general; though in the time of the empire, principally upon the emperor alone. Dion Cassius tells us, that Claudius was surnamed Imperator several times during the war in Britain, but that it was contrary to the custom of his country, which did not permit the taking of that title more than once in the same war:—*αὐτοκράτωρ πολλάκις ἐπωνομάσθη παρὰ τὰ πάτρια· οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν ἐν οὐδενὶ πλέον ἢ ἅπαξ ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ πολέμου τὴν ἐπίκλησιν ταύτην λαβεῖν.*—(lib. lx. c. 21.) Consult also E. Spanheim, de Usû Numis. Antiq. vol. ii. Diss. 12. p. 404. edit. Amst. 1717.

In elucidation of this, a reference to the commentary (p. 201.) on the second book of the Fasti, by Onufrio Panvinio, will show, that Claudius assumed the title of Imperator five times, viz., IMP · XVII ·—XXI · in A. D. 50., and this assumption was in consequence of the success of his army under Ostorius, then in Britain.

It may be observed from a former passage, (p. 254.) that the title Imperator, when signifying Emperor, was placed first, as a prænomen.

But it must be confessed that the forms, IMP · XXII · and IMP · XXIIII ·, &c., are of much less importance to chronology than the two preceding, which relate to the tribunitian power, and the consulship; and they are by no means to be relied upon with the same degree of certainty: yet they nevertheless afford some proof of the year of the empire, in which any great war may have been sustained, or victory gained, by the increase or addition of the numerals to the abbreviation, IMP.

We have thus ascertained from the foregoing authorities, that the date of this inscription is the eleventh year of the reign of Claudius, or after he had been eleven times invested with the tribunitian power, and in his fifth consulship; and as we know that this emperor came to the throne in the year of Rome 794, or in the year of our Lord 41, the exact *date* will be,—A.U.C. 804, or A.D. 51.

Let us now take a view of such portions of History as may be explanatory of the *cause* of this inscription having been erected to Claudius at this precise date.

Tacitus, in his twelfth book of Annals, chapter 31 to chapter 37, has clearly and explicitly written, that Publius Ostorius[44] was proprætor of

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[44] Called Ostorius Scapula, in the Life of Agricola, c. 14.

Britain; that he first defeated the Iceni; then laid waste the territories of the Cangi; that he settled the revolt which had broken out among the Brigantes; that he next marched against the fierce Silures, who, under their renowned chief, Caractacus,[45] advanced into the country of the Ordovices, and fortified a steep place in the mountains; that they were there attacked by Ostorius, and after an obstinate battle and vast slaughter the Romans gained a complete victory; that the wife and daughter of Caractacus being taken captive, and his brothers[46] having surrendered themselves, the Silurian king sought the protection of queen Cartismandua, by whom he was basely delivered up to the conqueror; that these royal captives were sent to Rome, and that they were exhibited in chains with vast pomp before the Roman people, who were purposely assembled by the emperor Claudius to witness "the splendid spectacle,"—or, as the same author has in another passage (Hist. iii. c. 45.) called it,—"the triumph of Claudius Cæsar."

After this memorable victory over Caractacus, nothing of any importance is related to have taken place in Britain, during the fifth consulship of Claudius, which indeed continued for the remainder of his reign. An epitome of what Tacitus has narrated, as having subsequently transpired in that island, is the following. The legionary cohorts next suffered a considerable loss from the Britons, in the territory of the Silures:[47] this brave people, in order to revenge the captivity of Caractacus, fought most valiantly, and continued to harass and plunder the Roman troops by their predatory mode of fighting. Ostorius himself soon after died, worn out with fatigue and anxiety.[48] A. Didius[49] was appointed the successor of Ostorius Scapula, and immediately set out for Britain; where he found

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[45] Dion names him Cataratacus, Καταράτακος, (lib. lx. c. 20.) and the Byzantine historian, Zonaras,—Caratacus, Καράτακος. Vide Annal. lib. xi. c. 10. edit. Du Cange, Paris, 1686.

[46] Who these were, history does not inform us: two other brothers of Caractacus were Togodumnus and Adminius. The former of these, Dion tells us, (lib. lx. c. 20.) was defeated by A. Plautius, and he soon after (in c. 21.) speaks of his death: and the latter is mentioned by Suetonius (in Vit. Calig. c. 44.) as having surrendered himself to the emperor Caligula.

[47] Vide Annal. lib. xii. cap. 38.

[48] Ibid. cap. 39.

[49] Named Didius Gallus, in Vit. Agric. cap. 14.

affairs in great commotion, as the legion under Manlius Valens had just been defeated.[50] He merely repelled the progress of the Silures; put down the civil war, that was then raging between Venusius and Cartismandua; and by means of his officers kept the Britons in check; he in fact only retained the acquisitions his predecessors had made.[51] To him succeeded Veranius, who laid waste parts of the country of the Silures in a few incursions; but, dying within the year,[52] was quickly prevented from farther carrying on the war.

Yet it does not appear certain, whether Veranius was appointed governor of Britain by Claudius, or by Nero; though, I conclude, by the latter, because Tacitus tells us,—"supremis testamenti verbis ambitionis manifestus: quippè, multâ in Neronem adulatione, addidit, 'subjecturum ei provinciam fuisse, si biennio proximo vixisset;'"[53]—and surely this piece of flattery,—"That if he had lived for the two next years, he would have subjected the province of Britain to Nero,"—would not otherwise have been directed to that emperor!

Wherefore the preceding account of Tacitus, relating to the conquest of Caractacus, I feel convinced, contains a most satisfactory illustration of the *cause*, why the inscription No. v. now under our notice, was erected to Claudius; for we shall, I trust, upon a more minute investigation of all the particulars there detailed, be fully persuaded of the certainty of it, not only as regards the *events* therein stated, but also the *time* of their occurrence.

Authors agree that P. Ostorius Scapula arrived in Britain in A. D. 50, or A. U. C. 803; and this coincides with the twelfth book of the Annals, where Tacitus begins his twenty-fifth chapter thus,—"C. Antistio, M. Suillio consulibus;" and that these persons were consuls in that same year, the Fasti of Almeloveen and Panvinio also show: he then, in the thirty-first chapter, proceeds to describe the turbulent state of Britain upon the arrival of Ostorius; and, from his words, "novum ducem, exercitû ignoto," it would appear that he had just been appointed Proprætor, or governor of Britain, and in the order of time there given by Tacitus: likewise the expression of "cœptâ hieme," "the winter having begun," would prove

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[50] Annal. lib. xii. cap. 40.
[51] Vit. Agric. c. 14.
[52] Annal. lib. xiv. cap. 29. et Vit. Agric. c. 14.
[53] Annal. lib. xiv. cap. 29.

that this new general must have arrived in that island very early in the above-mentioned year. Still, in spite of the winter, Ostorius commenced his warfare with good fortune in putting down the rebels, and in easily conquering the Iceni. He then marched against the Cangi, "ductus in Cangos exercitus," (c. 32.) and having approached the Irish sea, most likely on the western part of Lancashire, he retraced his steps to quell certain tumults which had arisen amongst the Brigantes,—"ortæ apud Brigantes discordiæ retraxere ducem," either in the south-eastern part of Lancashire, or in the neighbouring West Riding of Yorkshire. From thence he marched against the Silures, "itum indè in Siluras," (c. 33.) or people of South Wales under the command of Caractacus, who thereupon transferred the war into the territory of the Ordovices, perhaps Montgomeryshire in North Wales,—"transfert bellum in Ordovicas;" and afterwards selected a place for battle, probably among the adjacent hills of Shropshire,[54] altogether favourable to his own troops. Caractacus next strongly fortified those sides of the mountains, which were more easy of approach, with ramparts of stone. Here the Roman general attacked them, and, after a severe engagement, obtained a signal victory,—"clara ea victoria fuit." (c. 35.) Caractacus at first fled for protection to Cartismandua, queen of the Brigantes;[55] but he was afterwards treacherously[56] delivered up by her in chains to the victorious Romans. (c. 36.)

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[54] Camden mentions this place to be situated on the south-western borders of Shropshire, near the confluence of the river Clun with the river Temd: there ariseth the hill, still called Caer Caradoc, i. e. Castrum Caractaci, the camp of Caractacus. The remains of the fortifications to this day are very considerable: yet is not the memory of this gallant Briton, nor the story of this battle, extinct among the country people.—'Britannia,' vol. i. p. 647. second edition, by Gibson.

[55] The spot to which Caractacus fled, I am inclined to think, was Catterick in Yorkshire. The ancient Cataractonium, or Cataracton, is supposed by Bishop Gibson to have stood on the high ground a little to the west of Catterick Bridge. Instead of deriving the name from the Latin, Catarracta, a cataract or water-fall, as Camden does; I would rather suggest that it was so called from Caractacus; or, as Dion Cassius has written that name, Καραράκος; the words Cateric, Cataric, or Catarac, being only a corruption of Cataratacus. The naturally wild and secluded situation of Catterick amongst hills and forests, in the very centre of the territory of the Brigantes, would seem to strengthen the conjecture, that this unfortunate king might have fled thither, to crave the protection of Cartismandua, and to conceal himself from his victorious enemy.

[56] Thus Tacitus, in Hist. lib. iii. c. 45. "capto per dolum rege Caractaco."

Now the *events*, here briefly enumerated, must, notwithstanding the great and rapid success of Ostorius, have necessarily occupied several months in being transacted; and if, in addition to them, we comprehend the time that would be required in the transmission of the royal prisoners of war from Britain to Rome, whether partly overland by way of Marseilles,[57] or entirely by sea, we cannot assign a shorter period than fourteen or fifteen months, at the least, for the full completion of all those acts. If therefore we assume the month of January, in the year after Christ 50, as the time when Ostorius arrived in Britain, (and that he came in the *winter* of that year, has been already shown,) the month of March, or of April, in the succeeding year, or A. D. 51, might be about the time in which Caractacus and his family would, very probably, reach the Roman capital; and this date corresponds with that which I have before (p. 268.) proved to belong to the titular formula of the inscription No. v. Moreover, in farther corroboration of it, Tacitus has distinctly stated, that Caractacus was given up by Cartismandua to the Romans in the *ninth* year after the war in Britain had commenced: "victoribus traditus est, nono post anno, quàm bellum in Britanniâ cœptum." (Annal. xii. c. 36.) And Dion Cassius, writing (lib. lx. c. 19.) of certain matters which took place at Rome in the third consulship of Claudius (c. 17.), and before the emperor had appointed Vitellius as his colleague for six months (c. 21.), says, "whilst these things were transacting in the city, and at the very same time, Aulus Plautius led his army into Britain,"—*ἐν μὲν δὴ τῇ πόλει ταῦτ' ἐγίγνετο· κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον χρόνον, Αὖλος Πλαύτιος, βουλευτὴς λογιμώτατος, ἐς τὴν Βρεττανίαν ἐστράτευσε,* (c. 19.) which must have happened early[58] in the year of Rome 796, or A. D. 43, according to the Fasti Consulares. Consequently, the *ninth* year would be A.U.C. 804, or A. D. 51.

But it is to be regretted, that Tacitus did not give the exact years, in the order in which the events before narrated, successively occurred, instead of relating them altogether under one continued description, in that single year of the Annals, when C. Antistius and M. Suillius were consuls, and in which the commencement of those events took place. Yet it is certain that

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[57] Suetonius (Claud. c. 17.) and Dion Cassius (lib. lx. c. 21.) relate that Claudius took this route on his expedition to Britain in A. D. 43.

[58] Consult the note 78. infrà, p. 277.

many of them were carried on after Claudius was consul for the fifth time; for he describes, in ten consecutive chapters, viz. in cc. 31—40., the transactions of several years (perhaps five) under P. Ostorius Scapula and A. Didius Gallus; and the latter did not succeed to the command in Britain till A. D. 52., one year after the order of time given to the following chapter, which was the year of Claudius's fifth consulship with his colleague Ser. Cornelius Orfitus. The words of the historian are these: "Hæc quamquàm à duobus Ostorio Didioque proprætoribus plures per annos gesta, conjunxi, ne divisa haud perindè ad memoriam sui valerent."[59]

We may here examine Tacitus's description of that *triumph* of Claudius Cæsar, which was acted at Rome in the year of our Lord 51.

When Queen Cartismandua had, as was before mentioned, treacherously delivered Caractacus[60] bound and in fetters to the victorious general P. Ostorius; the unfortunate prince, (with his wife, daughter, and brothers,) was transmitted in captivity to Rome. Thither the fame of Caractacus had long preceded him; it had passed throughout the neighbouring provinces, and had become celebrated all over Italy. Every one was anxious to behold what sort of a person he was, who for so many years had despised the Roman power. Not even in Rome was the name of Caractacus inglorious. Claudius, whilst he extolled his own praise for the victory, added honour to the captive chief; and called the people together, that they might be present at the splendid spectacle. The Prætorian cohorts, in full armour, stood on the plain which extended before their tents.[61] In the first rank

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[59] Vide Annal. lib. xii. cap. 40.

[60] Of course, every one is familiar with Mason's admirable dramatic poem of 'Caractacus.' That poet has ably followed some of the most striking incidents in this account of the annalist; but I must nevertheless regret that he has committed two such needless anachronisms in it; attributing to the Roman general, Aulus Didius, what in fact was done by P. Ostorius, and making the Isle of Mona the scene of his tragedy. How I wish he had selected for the latter, that beautiful and wild part of the territory of the Brigantes, on the banks of the picturesque river, and in a grove of ancient oaks, near Catterick! There he might still have introduced his faithful chorus of venerable Druids.

[61] That is to say,—"on the Campus in front of the Castra Prætoria;" which Castra are supposed to have been situated without the Porta Viminalis, to the north-east of the city, and

the companions of the royal prisoners marched in order; then the trappings, the collars, the many ornaments and spoils, that had been taken in the different battles in Britain, were carried in state; presently proceeded the brothers of Caractacus, and his wife, and his daughter; last of all, the king himself was presented to public view. The captives in general, being afraid, showed no great spirit, and were importunate in their supplications: but Caractacus, with an undaunted demeanour, having arrived before the imperial tribunal, and caring not for mercy,[62] obtained for himself and his family the free pardon of the emperor.

Upon this, the British king, his queen, and brothers, being loosed from their chains, approached the empress Agrippina, who was conspicuously seated on another throne, not far from that of her husband, and saluted her, with the like praises and grateful thanks, which they had just bestowed upon the emperor. This indeed was a novelty, and a thing unknown to the customs of ancient Rome,—that a woman should have presided among the Roman standards.[63]

It may perhaps be objected, that this was in fact a mere pompous exhibition of the British prisoners of war to the Roman populace, and not properly a regular *triumph;* inasmuch as Tacitus has here only used the words "insigne spectaculum," a magnificent pageantry,—and not "triumphum," which he would have done had such been the case: but I consider our author has here made use of "spectaculum," as synonymous with the word "triumphus," which indeed is fully proved by his expressions in chapter 45 of the third book of his History,—"capto per dolum rege Caractaco, instruxisse *triumphum* Claudii Cæsaris videbatur."[64] Having

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not far from the baths of Diocletian. Suetonius writes of the emperor Tiberius,—"Romæ Castra constituit, quibus Prætorianæ cohortes, vagæ antè id tempus, et per hospitia dispersæ, continerentur."—Vit. Tib. c. 37.

[62] See Annals, book xii. chap. 36. [63] Ibid. chapter 37.

[64] I suppose that the following passage of Juvenal (Sat. iv. 125.), which is addressed to Domitian, alludes to this triumph over the captive monarch Caractacus:—

> Et ingens
> Omen habes, inquit, magni clarique triumphi:
> Regem aliquem capies.

also composed the Histories some years before he wrote the Annals, he would necessarily use the word "spectaculum," with reference to "triumphum," in the passage just cited, which had been previously recorded by him. And if any additional evidence[65] were requisite to determine, that Claudius had really the honour of a *triumph* over Caractacus, it is what Tacitus, immediately after describing that scene in the Roman capital, proceeds, in chapter 38 (Ann. xii.), to furnish, when he states, that the Senate, having met, decided, "that neither was this victory [over Caractacus] to be esteemed less glorious, than those when P. Scipio conducted Syphax, and L. Paulus sent Perses, prisoners to Rome; and when other generals had exposed kings loaded with chains to the gaze of the Roman people." Now, it is certain that both Scipio[66] and Paulus[67] were awarded the honours of a triumph over their respective and conquered monarchs; and as the family of Caractacus were exhibited before the Roman people in the triumphal procession, so the family of Perses had occupied a mournful place in the triumph of L. Paulus. It is worth while to remark, that the expression Tacitus uses, "populo Romano ostendêre," in allusion to these triumphs of Scipio and Paulus, is nearly parallel to the former phrase, "vocatus .... ad insigne spectaculum[68] populus:" and, in order

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[65] I may add likewise this numismatic testimony, as being farther illustrative of the event. Count Francesco Mezzabarba (Mediobarbus), at p. 84, mentions a silver medal, having in its legend the letters TR · P · $\overline{XI}$ · COS · $\overline{V}$ ·; and the reverse bearing the superscription, PACI · AVGVSTAE ·, with a winged figure of Peace, standing erect, having in her right hand an ornament (*bulla*) suspended from her neck, in her left the caduceus, with which she is touching a serpent reposing at her feet: on which allegorical figure the learned Count observes, "Pacis simulacrum penitùs hieroglyphicum est;" and has given, at p. 81, a full explanation of it. He considers the serpent there represented, as an emblem of war; and the caduceus, with which Peace is touching the reptile's head, "ut sopitum bellum innuatur." The titular form in the legend exactly agrees with the date of this triumph; and doubtless the medal had been minted on that occasion; and to declare, that upon the captivity of Caractacus, the war in Britain had ceased, and that the island was reduced and dedicated to Peace.

[66] Vide Polybii Hist. lib. xvi. § 12. p. 1019. vol. ii. edit. Gronov. Amst. 1670; et Val. Max. lib. vi. c. 2. § 3.

[67] See Plutarch. in Vit. Pauli; and Livy, book xlv. c. 39, 40.

[68] So likewise Suetonius uses this word, in reference to a triumph:—"triumphavitque maximo apparatû. Ad cujus spectaculum," &c. See Vit. Claud. c. 17.

to remove the conjecture, that this triumph might have been granted to the conqueror P. Ostorius,[69] and not to the emperor Claudius, this quotation from the annalist will suffice,—"censentur Ostorio triumphi insignia."[70] Hence, I am satisfied, that this "magnificent spectacle" was in reality a "splendid triumph;" on which occasion, the present inscription (No. v.) was erected to Claudius Cæsar.

This *triumph*, however, must not be confounded with the *one* mentioned by Suetonius, which, he tells us, took place immediately after Claudius's expedition to Britain. The account given by that biographer is as follows:—A part of Britain,[71] after a very few days, surrendered[72] to Claudius without a battle having been fought, or any blood shed: he then returned to Rome, in the sixth month after he had set out, and triumphed with the greatest pomp. To swell which spectacle, the emperor permitted not only the governors of provinces, but also several exiles, to come into the city; and among the spoils of the enemy he placed a naval coronet, close to the civic crown, upon the top of the imperial palace, in token of his having passed over, and, as it were, conquered, the very Ocean.[73] His wife, Messalina, followed the triumphal car in her own carriage;[74] then came

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[69] It may also be said, that Ostorius, by reason of his having vanquished the Silurian king, ought to have triumphed instead of Claudius, who had no personal share in the conquest, as Scipio (about B. C. 200) and Paulus (B. C. 168) did; but it is to be remembered, that after the year of Rome 740, a triumph was reserved for the emperors alone (Dio Cass. lib. lxii. c. 19. 23); and their generals, who actually gained the victories, were only honoured with an ovation, or else with triumphal ornaments. (Dio, lib. liv. c. 24. 31.) Consult Suet. in Vit. Tib. c. 9.

[70] Tacit. Annal. lib. xii. cap. 38.

[71] Supposed to have been the Atrebates, Canti, Regni, and Trinobantes, who lived in the south-eastern parts of the island.

[72] Claudius afterwards exhibited this surrender, in a mock engagement, in the Campus Martius:—"edidit et in Martio Campo expugnationem direptionemque oppidi ad imaginem bellicam, et deditionem Britanniæ Regûm, præseditque paludatus." Suet. Vit. Claud. c. 21. Compare, likewise, Dion's account of the games celebrated at this triumph, lib. lx. c. 23. where, he says, Claudius *τὴν πανήγυριν τὴν τῶν νικητηρίων ἐποίησεν.*

[73] Seneca, in his Octavia (v. 40), mentioning Claudius's expedition to Britain, has,—

Paruit liber diù
Oceanus, et recepit invitus rates.

[74] The senate, according to Dion Cassius (lib. lx. c. 22), upon this occasion decreed, that

those generals who had gained in that same expedition the ornaments of a triumph; but the rest were on foot, and dressed in the toga prætexta.[75]

Dion Cassius has likewise fully described this triumph (lib. lx. c. 23); but it is remarkable, that neither he[76] nor Suetonius has made any mention of the *second* triumph; namely, that over Caractacus, in A. D. 51. The circumstances which led to the *first* triumph, as Dion relates, are these:— Plautius, not long after his arrival in Britain, finding himself in difficulty, sent for Claudius, which he had been commanded to do, if he should find it necessary. The emperor, having received the message, committed to the charge of L. Vitellius, his colleague, (whom he had made consul with himself for six entire months,) both the civil and military affairs, and he himself set out upon his expedition. Having arrived in the island, he immediately overcame the Britons in a battle, and then took many places, some indeed by surrender, but others by force.[77] (c. 21.) A part of Britain being thus subdued, Claudius returned to Rome, after an absence of six months, (of which he spent only sixteen[78] days in Britain,) when Caius Crispus (for the

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Messalina should be borne in a carriage (*τῷ καρπεντῷ χρῆσθαι*), and have the chief or first seat (*τὴν προέδριαν*) in the spectacle. So Agrippina enjoyed a similar place in the triumph over Caractacus; see antè, p. 274.

[75] See chapter 17 of the Life of Claudius.

[76] Has not the narrative of this conquest and triumph over the Silurian prince been lost? Because, in the sixtieth book, (which comprises the reign of Claudius,) in Reimar's edition of Dion Cassius, many fragments are inserted, which are wanting in the earlier editions of that author; for example, in Henry Stephens's edition, 1592: and unless such were the case, the statement of Dion, "that he would mention each of Claudius's actions," (*λέξω δὲ καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον ὧν ἐποίησε*, lib. lx. c. 3.) would be untrue.

[77] Dion's words are, *μάχῃ τε ἐνίκησε . . . . κἀκ τούτου συχνοὺς, τοὺς μὲν ὁμολογίᾳ, τοὺς δὲ καὶ βίᾳ προσαγόμενος*; and they convey a more probable account than that of Suetonius, which states, "sine ullo prælio aut sanguine intrà paucissimos dies parte insulæ in deditionem receptâ;" and which is at variance with the following passage, of the same author, who, writing of Vespasian, says, "in Britanniam translatus tricièns cum hoste conflixit. Duas validissimas gentes, superque xx. oppida, et insulam Vectem Britanniæ proximam in deditionem redegit; partim Auli Plautii consularis legati, partim *Claudii ipsius* ductu." (In Vit. Vesp. c. 4.) Hence, the phrase in the inscription itself, "sine ullâ jacturâ," must mean, not that these kings were subdued without any *battle*; but merely that the troops, both under Claudius and his generals, conquered them without any *loss to the Roman army*.

[78] The original is *ἑκκαίδεκα*, which must be an error in transcribing for *ἑξήκοντα*, sixty. It has been before (p. 272.) stated from Dion, that Plautius commenced his invasion of Britain

second time) and Titus Statilius were consuls. (c. 23.) Whereupon, the senate, on account of those achievements, decreed him a triumph, annual games, and an arch bearing trophies to be erected in the city,—*καὶ ἀψῖδα τροπαιοφόρον ἐν τῇ πόλει.* (c. 22.)

Now, on reference to the Fasti, it will appear, that C. Crispinus (or Crispus) and T. Statilius were consuls in A. U. 797, or A. D. 44; in which year (according to Dion, c. 23.) Claudius not only was honoured with a triumph, but he also caused triumphal games to be celebrated with the greatest magnificence.

And this date is farther authenticated by the following testimony of ancient Roman medals:—

One of gold, with the letters TR · P · $\overline{\text{IIII}}$ · in the legend, on the obverse; and a triumphal car (*quadriga*) with four horses, upon its reverse, with the letters EX · S · C · :[79] a second, of silver, exactly the same: and a third, of brass, bearing on the obverse a head of Claudius, crowned with a wreath of laurel; and the reverse representing a banner, two shields, and other military ensigns, with the epigraph, DE · BRITANNIS · S · C · .[80] Vaillant has

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in the third consulate of Claudius; and it is here expressly said, that the emperor, having been sent for, appointed L. Vitellius consul (together with himself) for six months, and that he returned to Rome in the consulship of C. Crispinus II. and T. Statilius. Now, the Fasti declare, that Claudius III. and L. Vitellius were consuls in A. U. 796, or A. D. 43, and that the two latter were consuls in the next year; wherefore, as Claudius (*ἐξ μῆνας ἀποδημήσας*) was absent from Rome only six months, it follows that he must have returned in January or February, A. D. 44: but he made L. Vitellius consul for the *whole* of six months (*ἐξάμηνον ὅλον ὑπατεῦσαι ἐποίησεν*), and we have seen (p. 267.) that the new consuls began their office on the first of January; consequently, the month of July, in the year of the city 796, would be the first month of L. Vitellius's second consulate. Claudius must have set off for Britain either in July, or August at the latest; and if he really only remained sixteen days in the island, he must have taken nearly five months and a half in his journey to and from Britain: but if we consider, that he fought a battle with the Britons, and took some places by force, sixteen days must evidently be much too short a time. Sixty days, therefore, would be a more likely period for the achieving of those exploits; and I conclude the time when the emperor arrived in Britain was about the beginning of autumn in the year (A. D.) 43.

[79] "Ex senatûs consulto" very probably alludes to the triumph as having been decreed by the senate to Claudius; and not that the medal was coined by the authority of the senate. This, and the two next, are described by the Count Mezzabarba, p. 82.

[80] The letters S · C · signify, that the senate had caused this medal to be struck upon that

also well figured (p. 53.) an elegant little gold coin, which has on its obverse the laurelled head of Claudius; and on its reverse, the words, VICTORIAAVGVST, with the figure of Victory, who, having her right foot on a globe, is inscribing something upon a shield. It is thus explained by that author: "Victoriæ typus spectat ad victoriam quam Claudius in Britanniâ retulit anno 796, ob quam triumphavit maximo apparatû: illa pedem globo imponit, quasi novum orbem[81] sub ditione Romanâ redegerit: nam Britannia, toto orbe divisa,[82] tanquam alter Romanis videbatur." (Numis. Imp. Rom. vol. ii. p. 56. edit. Rom. 1743.) But, since the letters TR · P ·, in the legend of the obverse, have not any numbers annexed to them, this coin, as well as the one in brass, (noticed from Mezzabarba,) may perhaps relate just as accurately to Claudius's *second* triumph, as to the *first*; although the two medals, here first mentioned, determine that they were minted expressly in commemoration of the emperor's *first* triumph "over the Britons," just after he had been invested with the tribunitian power for the fourth time, and which took place in the year (as before stated) U. C. 797, or A. D. 44. The titular formula for that time would be, TRIB · POT · IIII · COS · III · IMP · VIII ·

Suetonius adds afterwards, that Claudius decreed an ovation[83] to Aulus

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occasion. The senate, in the time of the empire, caused all the brass coins to be minted; whilst the emperors coined those in gold and silver.

[81] Thus, the verse of Claudian (in II. Cons. Stil. lib. v. 149.)—

Vincendos alio quæsivit in orbe Britannos.

[82] Again, the same poet has (de Mal. Theod. Cons. v. 51.)—

Nostro diducta Britannia mundo:

and see the former note 38, p. 264.

[83] Vit. Claud. c. 24. Compare Tacit. Annal. xiii. c. 32. Eutrop. vii. c. 13. and Dion Cass. lib. lx. c. 30. where it is said, ὁ δὲ Πλαύτιος, ἀπὸ τοῦ Βρεττανικοῦ πολέμου . . . . ἐθριάμβευσε, i. e. had a lesser triumph, or an ovation (ὁ θρίαμβος ἐλάττων); which occurred, according to Dion, when Claudius was in his fourth, and L. Vitellius in his third, consulship. Now, a gold and a silver medal, described by the numismatologist Mezzabarba, (p. 83) illustrate, as I conceive, this event: upon their obverses, the titular form, TR · P · VI · IMP · XI ·, is seen in the legend; and on their reverses is the epigraph DEBRITANN, with the representation of a triumphal arch, and a man on horseback, in a military costume, between two trophies. A third coin, also in gold, is mentioned, as of the same date, having

Plautius,[84] the fortunate invader of Britain; and as he entered the city, he went out to meet him, and accompanied him both in going to, and in returning from, the Capitol.

Again, it may be asked, why Tacitus did not notice the *first* triumph in the same clear manner, in which he has related *that* over Caractacus? To this the answer is, that he assuredly had done so; and most likely, in the ninth and tenth books of the Annals, which have been lost;[85] wherein he had doubtless, also, given a description of the invasion of Britain by A. Plautius, of Claudius Cæsar's personal expedition thither, and of the successes of the Roman army in that island, until the year in which Plautius ceased to command: after which, he has resumed his narration from the time when the new proprætor, P. Ostorius Scapula, had arrived in Britain, in the thirty-first chapter of the twelfth book of the Annals, as we have already seen.

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on its reverse the word BRITANNIA, with the figure of a woman, erect, holding a rudder with her hand, and at her feet is the prow of a ship. The Fasti exhibit, that in the year U. C. 800, from January 1, those persons were consuls until March 1, when Ti. Plautius Silvanus Ælianus was also chosen consul; and after January 24, the day of his accession, Claudius would enter upon his TRIB · POT · $\overline{\text{VII}}$ ·, but till that day he would be only in his TRIB · POT · $\overline{\text{VI}}$ ·; and his correct titular form, from January 1 to January 24, in the year of Rome 800, would be, TRIB · POT · $\overline{\text{VI}}$ · COS · $\overline{\text{IIII}}$ · IMP · $\overline{\text{XI}}$ ·, which, indeed, coincides with that form in the legends of the medals. Hence, the ovation was surely performed upon one of the first twenty-three days of the month of January, in A. U. C. 800, or A. D. 47: and, since the emperor specially assisted in person at the triumph-like honour granted to his fellow-commander and fellow-invader of Britain, Aulus Plautius;—I think, that he caused these medals to be coined commemorative of this event; and not only allusive to their joint achievements in that island, but also to his own previous triumph and triumphal arch, decreed to him by the senate.

[84] An interesting inscription is given in Gruter's work, p. 453. No. 1, from a marble tablet, seen upon the sepulchre belonging to the family of the Plautii, now called "sepolcro della famiglia Plauzia," of which a rough etching is published in Vasi's Itin. Ins. de Rome, tom. ii. p. 564, situate near the Ponte Lucano, not far from Tivoli. It is dedicated to Ti. Plautius Silvanus Ælianus, who is therein named as the son of Marcus Plautius, and is styled "Comes Claudii Cæsaris in Britanniâ:" he seems to have been the same person who was consul *ȣ kal. Mart.*, in A. U. C. 800.

[85] I may perhaps express a hope, that we may even yet be able to recover those lost books of the Annals, by means of the palimpsestic art.

Against the facts of Claudius having received at Rome

Duo rapta manû (bellaci) ex hoste *trophæa*,—

and of his having been honoured with *two triumphs*, the one in A. D. 44, and the other in A. D. 51, (in consequence of the many victories gained over the Britons by his successful generals,)—there is nothing to raise any valid objection; on the contrary, every circumstance connected with that period of the Roman empire will go far in convincing us of the extreme probability of them. The period, indeed, was one when the emperor and his court unblushingly and openly practised every species of vice and crime, when the patricians were effeminate and base, the people cruel and profligate, and the senate abject, and ever ready to flatter the vanity of the emperor.

Now, as regards the former existence of a *triumphal arch*,—"arcum triumphis insignem,"[86]—and its exact situation in Rome, the united testimony of the discovery of an antique tessellated pavement, some fluted columns of African marble, the trunk of the statue of a captive Briton, several pilasters, and other remains, in the same place,—namely, in the line of the ancient Via Flaminia, as detailed by the Roman antiquaries, Ferrucci, Stefanonio, Martinelli, the editor of Donati, Nardini, and others,—has sufficiently proved. I therefore only refer the reader to the works of those credible authors, for a fuller account of the different discoveries of those antiquities, and of the several years in which they were made; whilst I state, that the identity of the person to whom this arch had been erected, is also satisfactorily determined by the finding of the large marble fragment, in that very spot, in the year 1641, upon which the beginnings of the nine lines of the inscription now under notice, and marked by the black letters, were cut; and as I have before proved those lines to be dedicated to Claudius Cæsar, so they show the arch itself to have been built in honour of that emperor.

Lastly, it is perhaps superfluous for me to observe, that there cannot for a moment be entertained any shadow of doubt, either respecting the actual

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[86] These words are from the inscription, still existing upon the splendid arch of Constantine, at Rome.

discovery of this fragment of marble, or respecting the *black* portion of the inscription (Nos. II—V.), without entirely discrediting the statements given by the most respectable and learned antiquaries, Gauges de' Gozze, Fioravante Martinelli, the editor of Donati's 'Roma,' and Famiano Nardini. It is to be concluded, that as those very statements were published by the same authors, soon after that marble had been dug up; if they had been untrue, or in any wise incorrect, they would doubtless have been immediately contradicted, and noticed in the subsequent editions of their works. Moreover, Donati's editor especially writes,—"fragmentum ipsum ad Barberinas ædes in Quirinali asportatum adservatur . . . . . in antiquitatûm larario;"—to which Palace any one might surely, at that day, have had access, for the purpose of satisfying himself of its existence, and of the authenticity of its inscribed lines.

My readers will at length, I trust, coincide with me in opinion, that this inscription (No. V.) is *authentic* and ancient, except the concluding portion of it which I have so restored; and that it was erected by the Senate and Roman People in honour of the emperor Claudius Cæsar, in consequence of the victories obtained by his generals in Britain, and upon the occasion of his own triumph in the city of Rome over the brave and noble Caractacus; being a monument of antiquity, indeed of value to History in general, but to that of our own country of the greatest interest; so much so, that I must always hope, "Monimenti . . . . . memoria nostri durabit."

It now only remains for me to give, as briefly as I can, my reasons for holding that the first inscription (No. I.) is entirely *spurious*.

I am not aware that any one has made any mention of this inscription before Wright, in the description quoted before at p. 246, and which was published about a century ago. Breval shortly afterwards noticed it, but without having added the inscription itself. This author says, "the inscription concerning Claudius's conquest in Britain is mentioned by Nardini,[87] and very lately by Mr. Wright; it is in great uncial characters

[87] Breval has here confounded the two inscriptions. No. III. is given by Nardini, see antè, p. 250; but No. I. is not. See my former note 13, p. 253. I am inclined to think that Breval has composed his note from Wright's descriptions of both inscriptions, and that he actually never saw either of them. His statement of, "upon narrow examination I found half the stone to be modern,"—he most probably wrote from what Wright has said of the inscription No. II. "one side of it being lost."

under the bridge that leads to the southern avenue of the Palace (Barberini); but, upon narrow examination, I found half the stone to be modern." ('Remarks on several Parts of Europe,' vol. i. p. 88, note, edit. 1738.)

Hence it seems, that upon the testimony of these two English travellers rests all that is known about this inscription; for the other English authors, Horsley and Gough, have merely copied[88] their accounts; and, as far as I can learn, no Italian, or foreign writer, has made even any allusion to it.

Next, in order to show that the present inscription has been taken from the previous one, (No. II.) I have thus written it:

No. VI.

TI · CLAVDIO · CAES
AVGVSTO
PONTIFICI · MAX · TR · P · $\overline{IX}$
COS · $\overline{V}$ · IMP · $\overline{XVI}$ · P · P
SENATVS · POPVL · Q · R · QVOD
REGES · BRITANNIAE · ABSQ
VLLA · IACTVRA · DOMVERIT
GENTESQVE · BARBARAS
PRIMVS · INDICIO · SVBEGERIT

Here then it is apparent, that the part in black ink is the same with that portion which was preserved upon the fragment of marble, discovered in the Piazza di Sciarra, as before detailed; and the part in red ink has been so supplied, by omitting some words to make up the square, as concisely as the sense would permit. The author, however, of this reading has made the same mistake in the titular formula; a circumstance, which will have some weight in proving that it has been strictly copied from the former restoration in the inscription, No. II. The words here differing are only

[88] A copy of this inscription occurs in Tindal's second edition of Rapin's 'History of England,' note 6, p. 14, book i. vol. i. fol. 1732; and Dr. Henry, in his 'History of Great Britain,' has given another copy of the same. See vol. i. p. 35. fifth edition, 1814.

ABSQ · DOMVERIT · BARBARAS · and SVBEGERIT · which are respectively substituted for—SINE · CAEPERIT · EXTREMARVM ORCHADVM · and ADIECERIT · of which the first, second, and fourth in the first are nearly synonymous with the first, second, and fifth words of the second; and the third has, I fancy, been taken from this passage of Seneca, in his 'Octavia,' (v. 44.) wherein he is speaking of Claudius in Britain,—"interque gentes Barbaras."[89]

But it may possibly be advanced by some one, in consequence of Breval's statement, of finding "half the stone to be modern,"[90] that the other half must necessarily be antique; and that, in fact, it must be the identical fragment (with the black portion) which was dug up, as recorded by the Italian antiquaries. To this supposition, however probable it may at first seem, I must make two principal, and I think, decisive, objections: first, that the manner in which the commencement of each line is given, namely, alternately in the inscription No. I. does not accord with that in the inscription No. II. or that in No. III., which is placed exactly in the same line:[91] and, secondly,—concluding the marble tablet, which I saw in 1826, in the wall behind the Barberini Palace, to be that which was seen about a century before by Wright in the gardens of that palace,—that the square tablet which I beheld was of clean white marble, and had all the letters of the inscription No. I. of a like form and uniform cutting. Indeed the whole of it looked equally white and equally modern; no part being fresher or cleaner than the other; and no crack or joining being distinguishable, whereby it might be conjectured, that a new piece of white marble had been affixed to the original fragment. Neither do I think that if any part of the tablet had lain long buried in the earth, it could have presented so uniformly white a colour, without betraying some stain or earthy tint. It is somewhat singular, that neither Wright nor myself were shown this inscription, but both of us discovered it whilst we were out of the usual path for visitors, and both, it may be said, committing something of

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[89] Perhaps the word "Barbaras" was chosen facetiously in reference to the Barberini family.

[90] I cannot suppose that Breval meant to apply this to No. I., but to No. II. See the preceding note 87, at p. 282.

[91] Consult my remark, antè, p. 264.

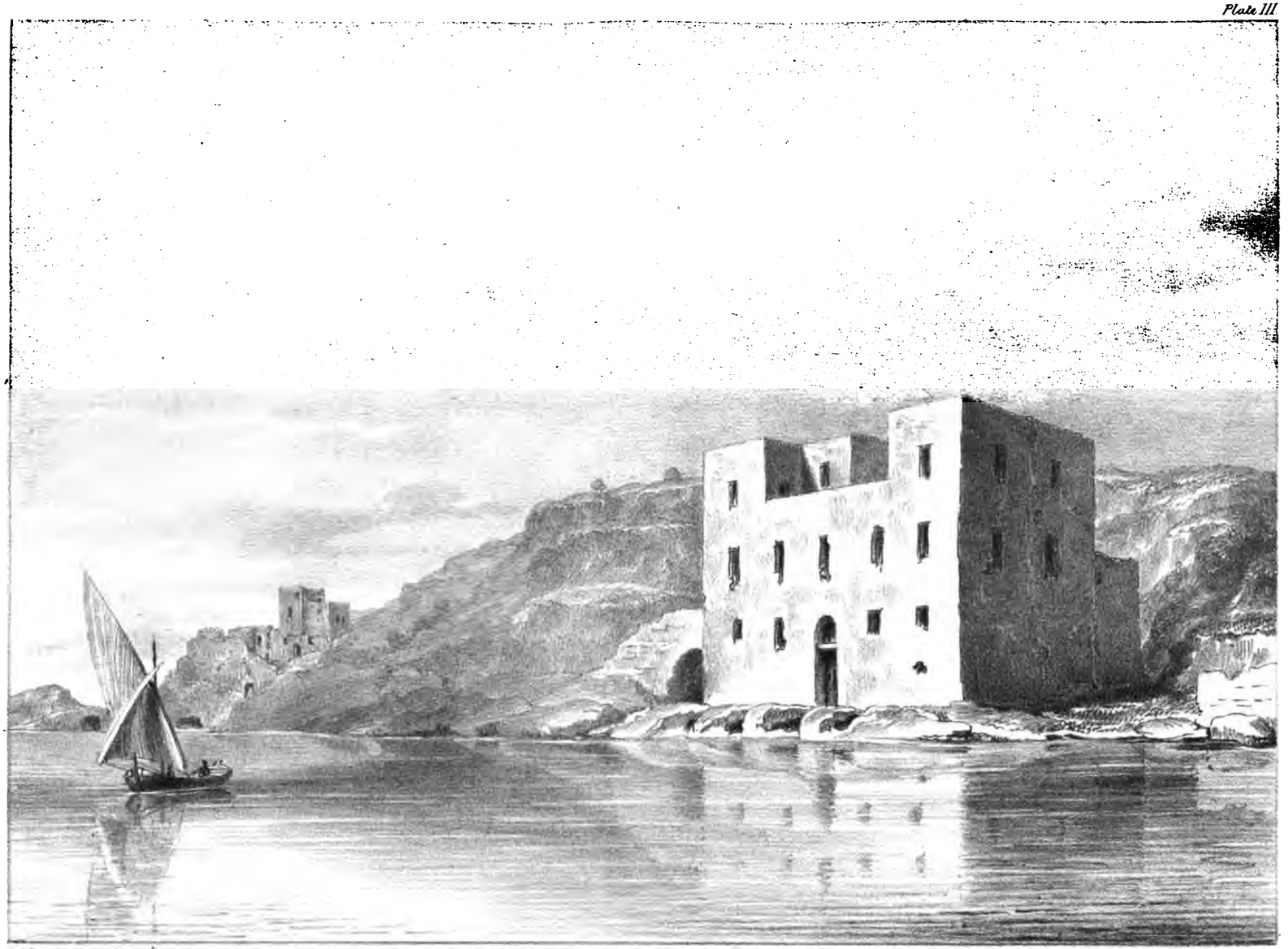
a trespass. And I would farther remark, that the present situation of the marble, in a wall in the court-yard behind the palace, entirely out of sight, and out of the way of travellers and virtuosi, does afford a very strong argument against the authenticity and value of any portion of it.

I therefore conclude by saying, that as there exists no evidence of any kind in favour of the antiquity of this inscription, we must account it altogether *spurious;* and I feel assured that it has been made up entirely from the former one, (No. II.) perhaps by the design of that antiquary employed by Cardinal Barberini, Leonardo Agostini, between the years 1641 and 1720, for the purpose of ornamenting the trench in the gardens adjoining to the palace; and that it has of late been removed to the wall, where I saw it, in consequence of the alterations which have been made in those extensive gardens.

JOHN HOGG.

Temple, London,
January 10, 1837.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY A. J. VALPY, A.M.
RED LION COURT, FLEET STREET.
1837.

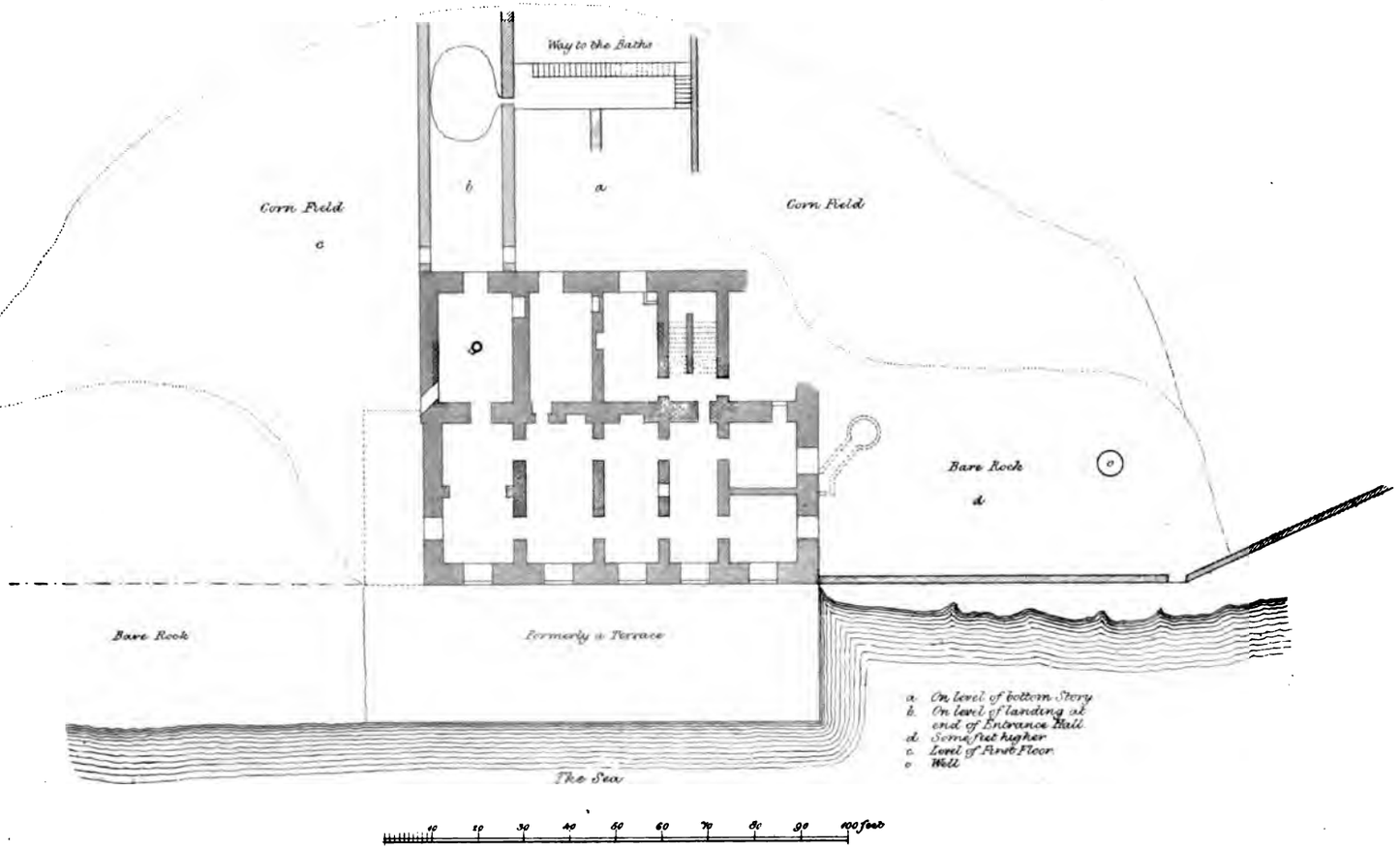


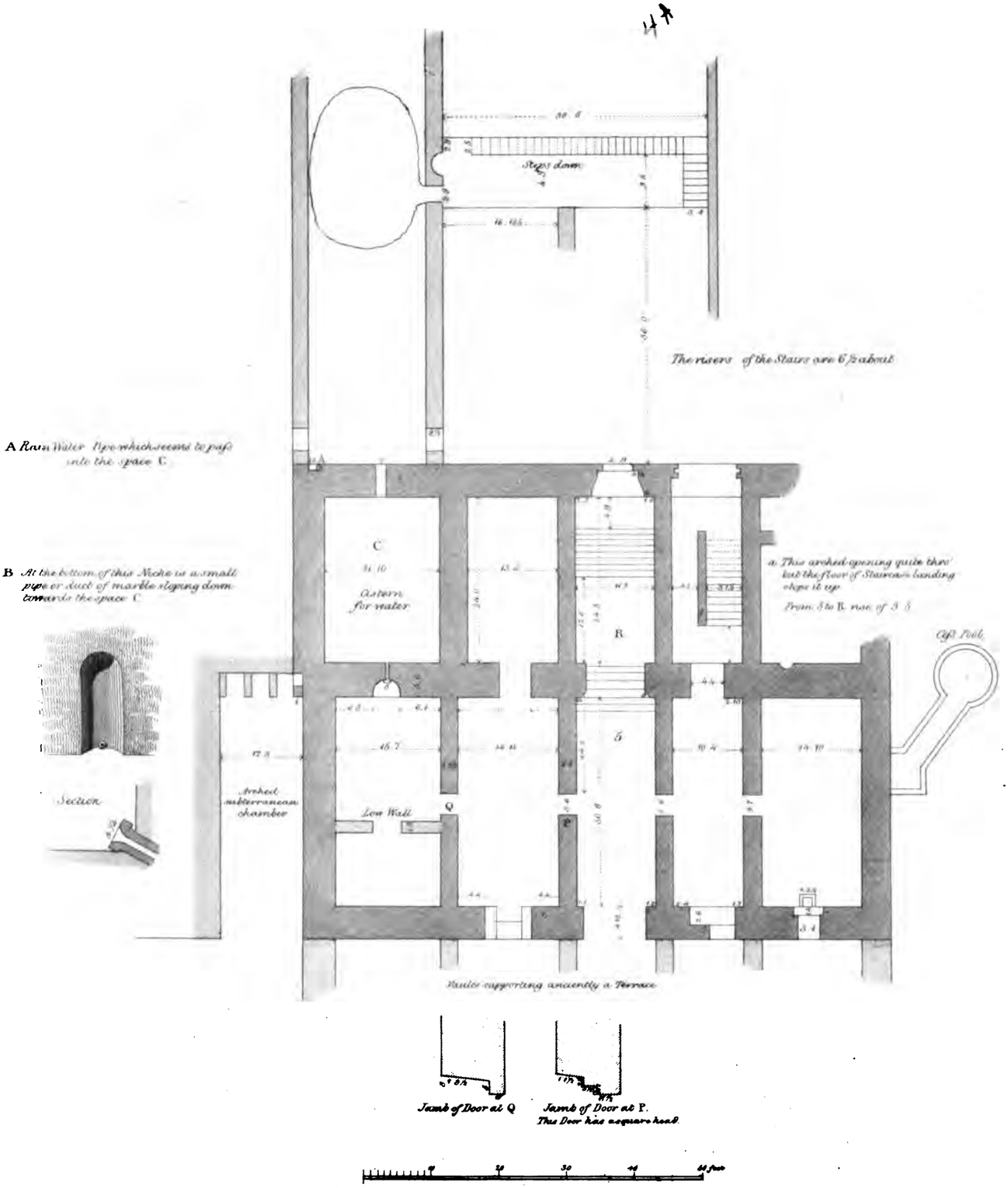
G. Scharf lithog.

VIEW OF ROMAN MARINE VILLA,
under the Hill of Pausilipo, near Naples.

Plate IV.

General Plan of Marine Villa

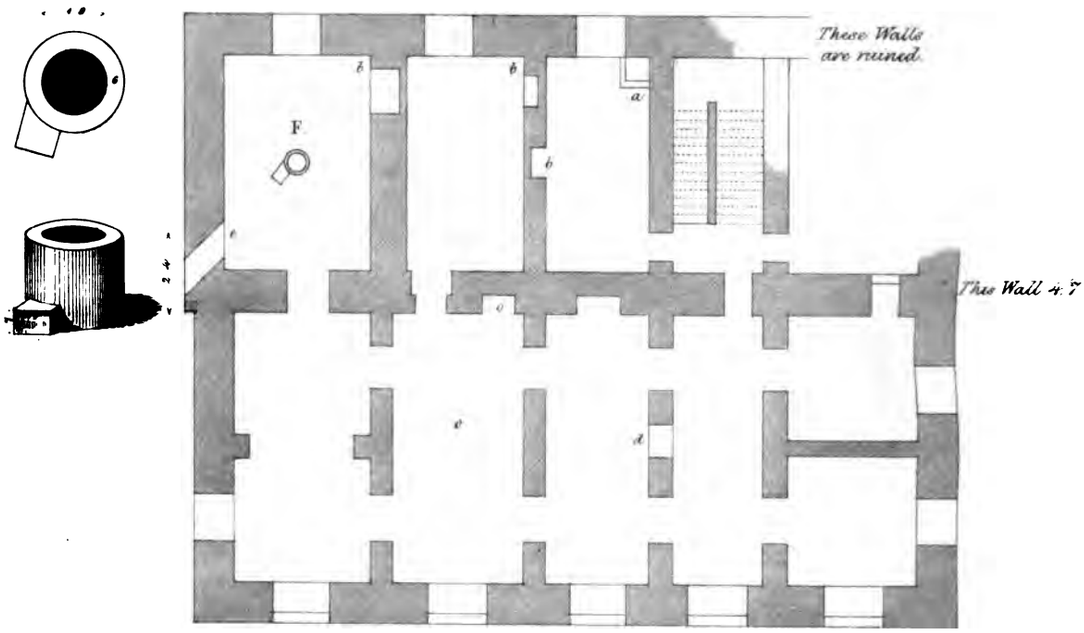




Ground Plan of Marine Villa

Well Hole at F for drawing water.

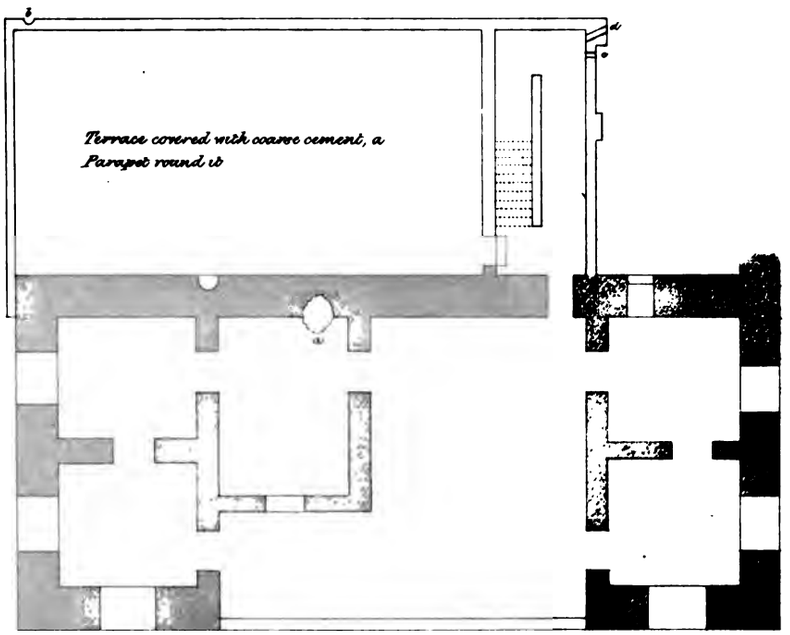
First Floor.



a Sink apparently modern.
b b b. Square recesses.
c Recess with flue cut in the Wall at o.
d Apparently modern
e Modern aperture.

Plate V.

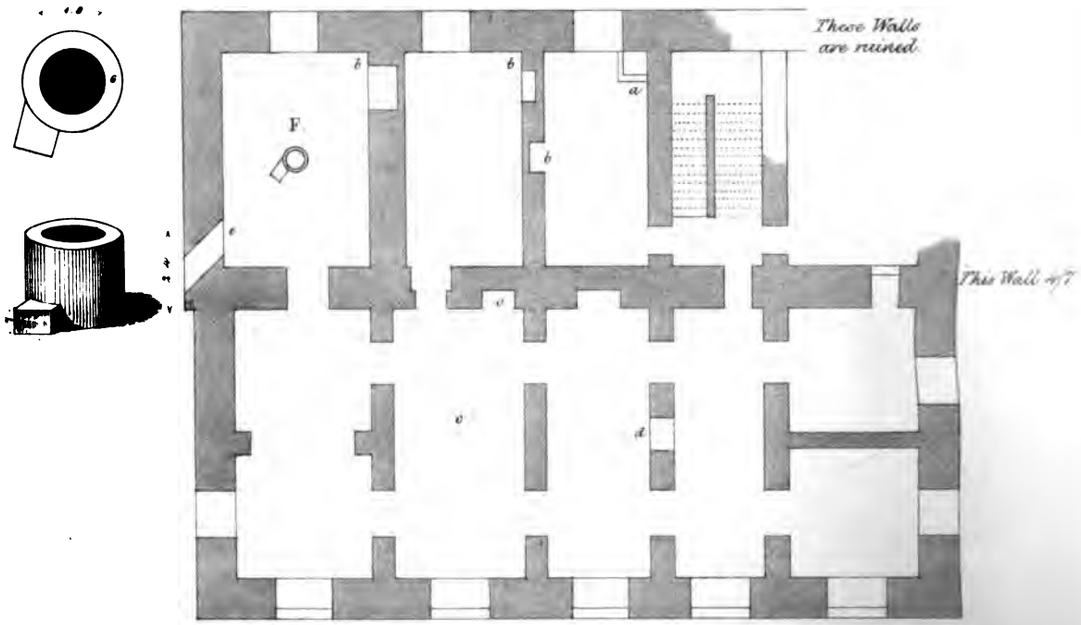
Upper Floor.



a. The flue from below roughly broken through the floor and wall reaching to the roofs
b Rain Water Pipe
c and d. carry off water from landing of staircase.

Well Hole at F for drawing water.

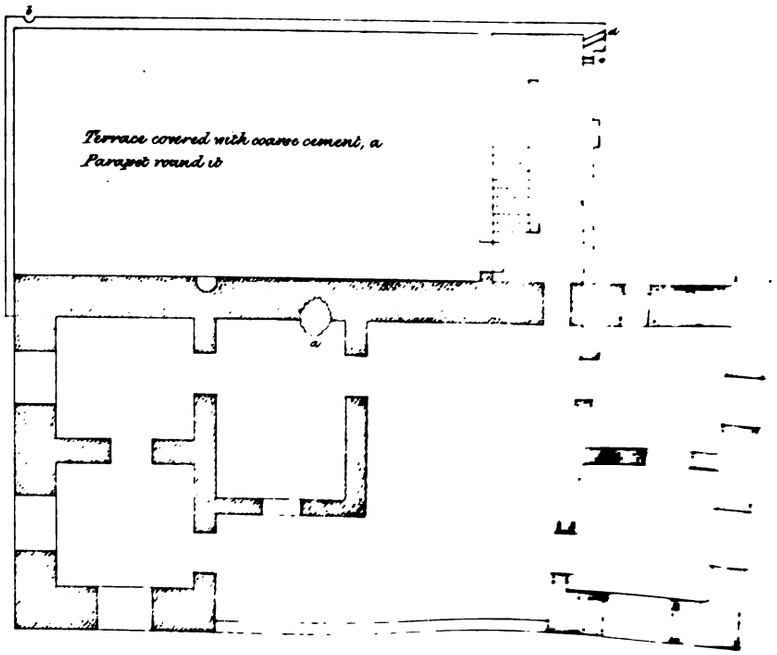
First Floor.



a Sink apparently modern
b b b Square recesses
c Recess with flue cut in the Wall at c.
d Apparently modern
e Modern aperture

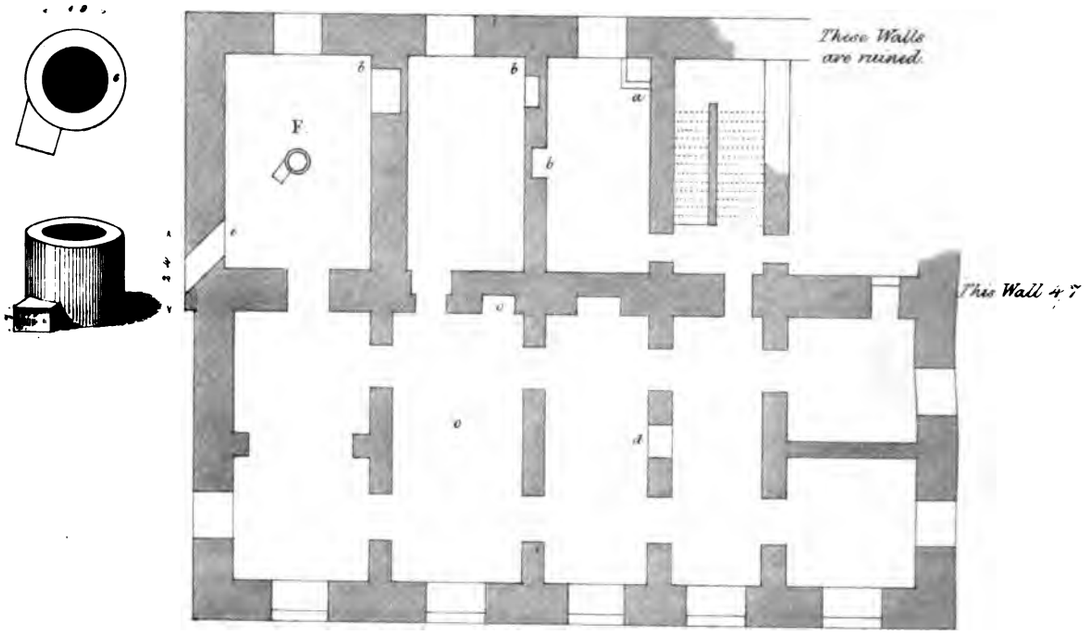
Plate V.

Upper Floor.



Well Hole at F for drawing water.

First Floor.



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b b b Square recesses.
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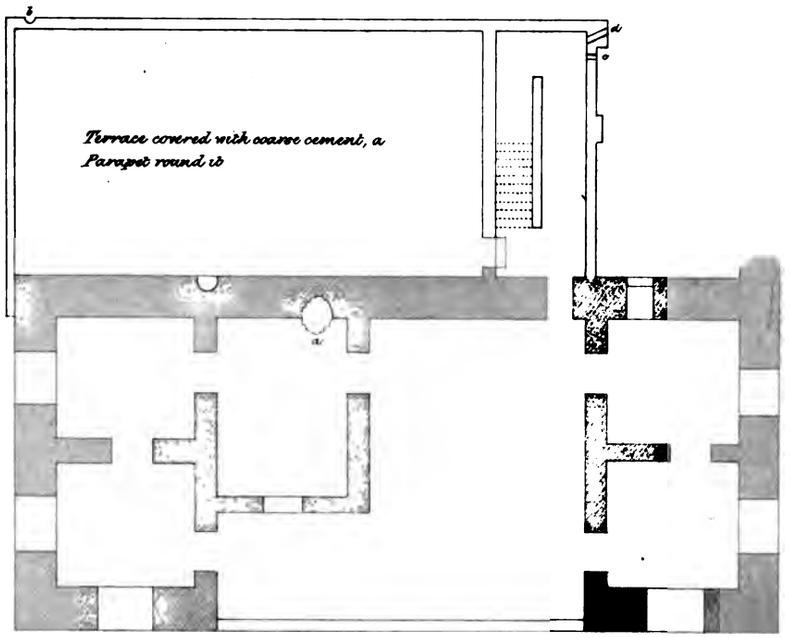
e Modern aperture.

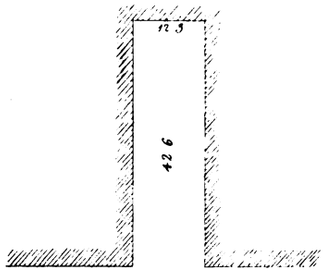
Plate V.

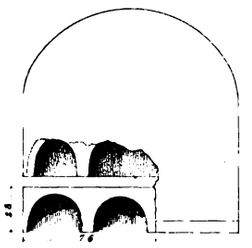
Upper Floor.



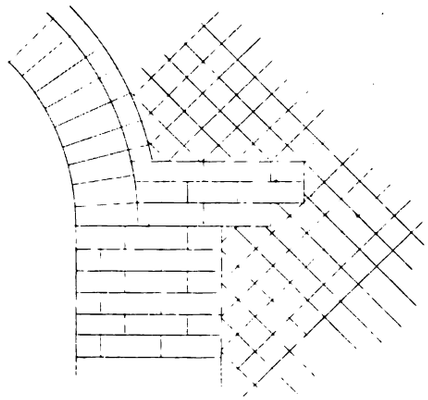
a. The flue from below roughly broken through the floor and wall reaching to the roofs
b Rain Water Pipe
c and d. carry off water from landing of staircase.

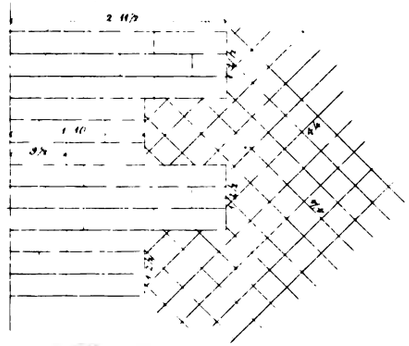
Plate VI.

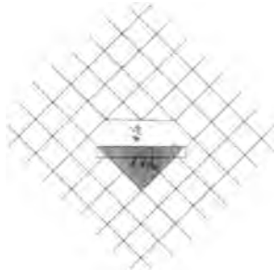




Plan and Section of subterranean Chamber by side of House

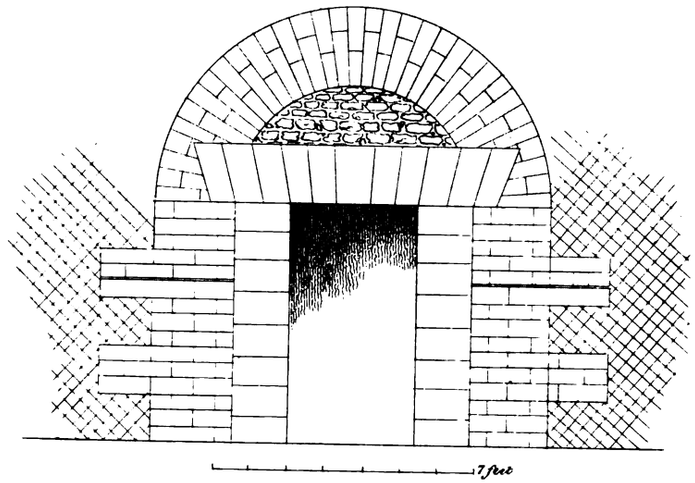






Observations.

All the Rooms vaulted with small pieces of stone. The Roofs flat with cement.



C. Hullmandel's Lithography

Alphabets
used by the Jews of Morocco.

Moorish	Hebrew	Moorish		Arabic	Syriac	Rabbinical
א	א		a	ا	ܐ	א
ב	ב		b v	ب	ܒ	ב
ג	ג		g	ڭ	ܓ	ג
ד	ד		d	د	ܕ	ד
ה	ה		h	ه	ܗ	ה
ו	ו		v	و	ܘ	ו
ז	ז		z	ج	ܙ	ז
ח	ח		ch	خ	ܚ	ח
ט	ט		t	ط	ܛ	ט
י	י		y i	ي	ܝ	י
כ	כ ק		c k	ح ڭ	ܟ	כ
ל	ל		l	ل	ܠ	ל ר
מ	מ		m	م	ܡ	מ
נ	נ		n	ن	ܢ	נ
ס	ס		s	س	ܣ	ס
ע	ע		(ng)	غ	ܥ ܥ ܥ	ע
פ	פ		p. ph	ف	ܦ	פ
צ	צ ק		ts	ص	ܨ	צ
ר	ר		r	ر	ܪ	ר ר
ש	ש		s sh	س	ܫ	ש
ת	ת		t th	ت	ܬ	ת

Second Alphabet,
containing the Hebrew finals & the Arabic Elements.

Moorish Judaic	Hebrew	Arabic	Syriac	Moorish	Hebrew	Arabic	Syriac
[illegible]	א	ا	ܐ ܐ	[illegible]	פ	ف	ܦ
[illegible]	ב	ب	ܒ	[illegible]	פ		ܦ
[illegible]	ג a	ج		[illegible]	ף final		
[illegible]	ג	ع	ܓ	[illegible]	ץ	ص	ܨ
[illegible]	ד	د	ܕ	[illegible]			
[illegible]	ה	ه	ܗ	[illegible]	ר r	ر	ܪ
[illegible]	ו	و	ܘ	[illegible]	ש	س	ܣ
[illegible]	ז	ج	ܙ	[illegible]	ש	ش	ܫ
[illegible]	ח	ح	ܚ	[illegible]	ת	ت	ܬ
[illegible]	ט	ط	ܛ		ת	ث	ܬ
[illegible]	י	ي	ܝ	[illegible]	ד	ذ	ܕ
[illegible]	כ	ك	ܟ				
[illegible]	כ	خ	ܟ				
[illegible]	כ	ك					
[illegible]	ך final	ك					
[illegible] or ܒ	ל	ل	ܠ				
[illegible]	מ	م	ܡ				
[illegible]	ם final	م					
[illegible]	נ ן final	ن ܢ	ܢ				
[illegible]	ס	س	ܣ				
[illegible]	ע	غ	ܥ				
	ז	ز	ܙ				
	ק	ق	ܩ				

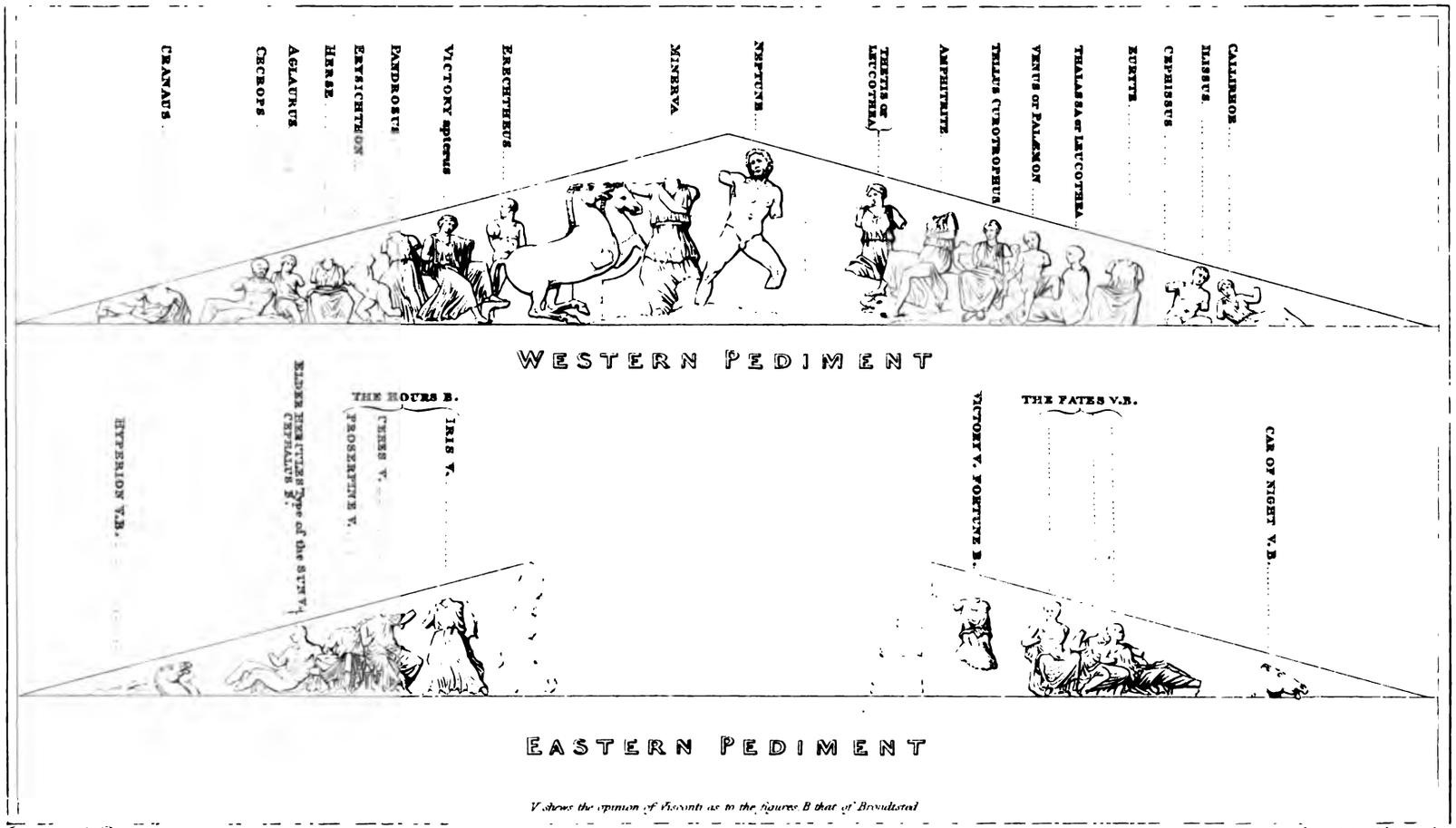
Vocabulary.

English	Moorish	Arabic	pronunciation
Cold	[illegible]	برد	berd
Heat	[illegible]	سخانه	sechana
Rain	[illegible]	شتّا	sittā
Light	[illegible]	الضيا	ziâ
Bread	[illegible]	خبز	chubz
Butter	[illegible]	سمن	semen
Vinegar	[illegible]	خلّ	chall
Oil	[illegible]	زيت	zitzeit
Honey	[illegible]	عسل	āsel
Meat	[illegible]	لحم	lahm clham
Herbs	[illegible]	عشبه	usba
Onions	[illegible]	بصل	basal
Garlic	[illegible]	ثوم	tsum
Tallow	[illegible]	شحم	sahm
Ashes	[illegible]	رماد	zumād
Steel	[illegible]	هند	hend
Iron	[illegible]	حديد	hadid
The prison	[illegible]	حبس	habs

Khaida
Sacred Way from Eleusis
part of
Mount Skaramanga
road from the Metokhi of Skaramanga
(Anchiale) passing by the ruins of a fortified
demus
road from port Phoron and
the ferry of Salamis
Wall
ancient sepulchres
Wall
Trapezona
Eëtioneia
column on
a pedestal
Alcimus
prom
double Sarcophag
hewn in the rocks
Muny

W. M. L. met.

10



V shows the opinion of Visconti as to the figures B that of Brondsted

Drawn by C. Blore. *Printed for the Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature. Vol III.* *Etched by W. Cooke Jun.*

ROYAL EGYPTIAN COFFIN.

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XX. *On the Use of the Ancient Cycles, in settling the Differences of Chronologists. By the* Rev. Frederick Nolan, LL.D., F.R.S., M.R.S.L.

Memoir II.—*On the Egyptian Chronology.*

Read December 1, 1830, &c. &c.

After the chronology of the Assyrians, that of the Egyptians presents itself in the order of investigation. In their pretensions to a priority in antiquity, both nations were not less rivals, than in the cultivation of those arts by which the science acquired advancement. Their annals are alike interwoven with the early Hebrew records; which a remote antiquity and internal credibility would render invaluable, did they lay no claim to a divine authority. In the present age, that branch of the literature of the Egyptians, which we proceed to investigate, acquires additional interest, from the researches which have been latterly prosecuted in the sacred character and language of the people: it demands especial inquiry, from the inconsistency and confusion in which it has been involved, by the contradictory systems of the ancient, not less than the modern chronologists.

Between those nations, who engaged in this early rivalry in scientific discovery, it has been frequently observed,[1] there was a striking coincidence of opinion; which, though it may be partly attributed to their direct imitation of each other, must be in a great measure imputed to their drawing from the same source, as inheriting the same traditions. In some of the most remarkable of the dates of their chronology, there was not only a perfect identity, but a striking similarity in the methods by which they preserved the remembrance of antecedent occurrences, or pretended to divine events that were contingent and future.

The Egyptians, not less than the Chaldeans, possessed some knowledge

---

[1] Vid. Herod. lib. i. clxxxii. Diod. Sic. lib. i. p. 17. a. al. 24. Macrob. Sat. lib. i. xxiii.

of the Great Planetary Year, by which they affected not merely to ascertain the final destiny of the world, but to discover its first original. Of the curiosity which they possessed on this interesting subject, and the method which they employed in determining it, sufficient evidence appears in the letter addressed to Ptolemy Philadelphus, by Manetho;[2] who, equally with Berosus, was invested with the sacerdotal character. While that Memphite scribe declares, that his reply was intended to answer the inquiries of the monarch, "respecting the things which were to happen to the world;"[3] in professing to deduce his information from the pillars which had been inscribed by the mystagogue Thoth, or the volumes of which he was the reputed author, he points to the same traditionary source from whence the Babylonian priest professedly derived his knowledge.[4] From the brief and imperfect notices, which are transmitted to us of the dogmas contained in the books termed Hermetic, it appears that the Egyptians, not less than the Chaldees, affected to determine the revolutions and to compute the duration of the world by cycles; the close of which would correspond with a grand conjunction of the planets.[5]

The period by which the Egyptians pretended to determine the great mundane restitution was naturally accommodated to the scientific principles, by which they computed the planetary revolutions, on which they supposed it dependent. As the accounts are full and explicit which we receive of the cycles, used by them in determining the solar and lunar conjunctions, to which the other planetary motions were reduced in their systems; from our higher attainments in science we easily acquire an accurate knowledge of their nature, and the principles on which they were constructed. The solar element which entered into their composition consisted of 1461 years, and the lunar of 25 years, each of which consisted of 365 days; from the product of these cycles, amounting to 36,525 years, they conceived the notion of the Great Year, by which the mundane restitution was measured.[6]

However widely this great cycle might have differed, in its length and nature, from that employed by the Chaldees for the same purpose; they

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[2] Maneth. Epist. ad Ptol. Philad. ap. Syncel. Chron. p. 40. c. [3] Id. ibid.
[4] Syncel. ibid. p. 40. a. conf. Mem. on Assyr. Chron. p. 14. n. 46. p. 44. n. 160.
[5] Syncel. ibid. p. 35. d. Jul. Firmic. Mathem. Præfat. [6] Syncel. ibid. p. 35. d.

were evidently constructed upon similar principles, and directed to the same object; as they were equally founded on the observance of a derangement or irregularity in the celestial motions, and the notion of a period when they would be completely adjusted. In the elements adopted by the Chaldees in their system, the derangement arising from the disagreement of the natural and civil year was rectified at the end of their lesser cycle of 12 years, by an intercalation of 3 days.[7] As a month consists of $30=10\times3$ days, it required of course $10\times12=120$ years to complete *one month* of intercalary days, and as 12 months are required to make *a year*, it required $12\times120=1440$ years, to complete the Great Year, which in rectifying the derangement of the celestial motions determined the period of the Great Restitution. But in the civil year, employed by the Egyptians, every species of intercalation was neglected.[8] As a day was thus lost every four years, which should be intercalated, to render the beginning of the civil and natural year coincident, the first day of the civil year being thus drawn back, it did not regain its original place in the natural year, until it circulated through the whole of the days of which it consisted. As the loss in the civil year was consequently equal to 1 day in 4 years, and the length of the natural year was $365\frac{1}{4}$ days, it required, of course, $365\frac{1}{4}\times4=1461$ years to complete the period which formed the solar cycle of the Egyptians.[9] When the lunar motions were computed by a civil year, thus destitute of an intercalation, it was discovered, that at the close of 25 years of that description, the conjunctions returned,[10] and thus necessarily

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[7] Memoir. ut supr. p. 33. n. 117. p. 46. n. 164.

[8] Censorin. de Die Natal. cap. xviii. "Nam eorum [Ægyptiorum] annus civilis solos habet dies 365 *sine ullo intercalari*. Itaque quadriennium apud eos uno circiter die minus est quam naturale quadriennium: eoque fit ut anno 1461 ad idem revolvatur principium. Hic annus etiam ἡλιακὸς a quibusdam dicitur, et ab aliis θεοῦ ἐνιαυτός."

[9] Vid. Censorin. ut supr. n. 8.

[10] In 25 Egyptian years, there are $365\times25=9125$ days; the mean conjunctions are, however, found to return in 9124d. 22h. 50m. 12s. of course within 2h. 9m. 48s. of the Egyptian lunar cycle consisting of so many years. This difference = 588s. in 1461 lunar cycles, or 36,525 solar years, amounts to 9d. 22h. 37m. 48s. At the close of that great period, the luminaries, instead of being conjoined, would have passed the time of conjunction, and have come within 4d. 9h. 7m. 54s. of the time of opposition. The Egyptians seem to have been therefore not more successful, than the Chaldees, in forming the theory of their Great Year.

determined the length of the lunar cycle, which constituted the correspondent element, of the great period formed of their product. Had the years of the greater cycle of 1461 years, which was thus determined, been divisible by those of the lesser, of 25 years, as was accidentally the case in the Chaldee Great Year, in which 12 is an aliquot of 1440; the Egyptians would not have extended their Great Year beyond that period. The epoch of its commencement being taken from a conjunction, on completing any number of revolutions, it would recommence with another: the contrary elements of which it was composed being thus adjusted, at the time of the natural year assumed as its epoch, the object would be effectually attained with which their systems were constructed. But as the two cycles are incommensurable, 1461 when divided by 25 leaving a remainder of 11; to find a period in which they should have a common beginning and close, it was necessary to take a time equal to their product: as $1461 \times 25 = 36525$, such necessarily became the length of their Great Year, to the revolution of which they looked forward, for the adjustment of those contrary elements, which they were accustomed to identify with the perfect restitution of nature.

It is, however, of most importance to the object of the present investigation to observe, that this great cycle has been employed by the Egyptians, as a graduated scale, in arranging the dates of their chronology. An 'Ancient Chronicle,' of which Syncellus gives an abstract, and of which the original was preserved in the works of Manetho,[11] has the several dynasties, whose accession distinguished the principal dates of their history, distributed according to that great period.[12] And in the distribution, those circumstantial particulars are supplied, whereby we are enabled, by a very simple deduction, to ascertain the principal epochs of Egyptian history; in

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The very small error in the elementary cycles of which they constructed them, and which their rude methods of observation were insufficient to detect, became, in the immense periods to which their great cycles extended, so great, as to subvert the principle on which their computations were founded.

[11] Conf. Syncel. uti supr. p. 18. c. 51. b. 103. c.

[12] Id. ibid. p. 51. c. 52. a. By a singular mistake, the Egyptian Cycle is confounded by Syncellus with the Platonic Great Year, or period of the equinoctial precession; from which it differs in an excess of more than 10,600 years. Vid. Marsh. Can. Chron. p. 9. Des-Vignolles, Chronol. tom. ii. p. 659.

the determination of which a foundation is laid, on which the system of their chronology may be established.

I. In the distribution[13] of the great period of 36,525 years, into the reigns of immortal and mortal rulers, who governed Egypt, 33,984 are ascribed, in the 'Ancient Chronicle,' to the gods, of which the Sun was supposed to have reigned 30,000; and 217 years are in like manner ascribed to the semigods: which sum, when added to the preceding, forms a total of 34,201 years, within which the fabulous period was consequently included. To these, the mortal rulers directly succeeded; the first fifteen generations of whom reigned 443 years; and were succeeded by fifteen other mortal dynasties, whose reigns, as necessary to complete the great cycle of 36,525 years,[14] must have together amounted to *the complement* of the preceding sums and this great period; and consequently have extended to 1881 years.[15] When contradistinguished from the fabulous era, the historical, as including both these periods, must have therefore comprised 443+1881=2324 Egyptian years. The year in which the great period terminated, in which the several members of the Egyptian chronology were thus distributed, and which constitutes its proper basis, was determined with no less precision. It closed with the reign of Nectanebo, the last native prince, by whom the sceptre was swayed in Egypt;[16] whose expulsion from his dominions, by Ochus king of Persia, is fixed, by the highest authority of chronologists, in the year of J. P. 4364.[17] From the subversion

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[13] Syncel. ut supr. p. 51. d. conf. infr. p. 298. n. 40. and n. 43. [14] Id. ibid.

[15] As 30,000 + 3984 + 217 = 34,201, hence on deducting this sum from the Great Lunisolar Cycle of the Egyptians, (as 36525 — 34201 = 2324,) the remainder = 2324 will express, in Egyptian years, the duration of the period deemed *historical*, as the sum 34201 expresses the duration of the period deemed *fabulous*.

[16] Syncel. ut supr. p. 52. d. 53. a.

[17] Ussher, Annal. ad A. J. P. 4364. p. 276. "Ochum Ægyptum hoc Olympiadis CVII^{a} anno 3° obtinuisse, Nectanebo in Æthiopiam pulso, atque in eo Ægyptiorum regnum destructum fuisse, et Manethonem rerum Ægyptiarum commentarios terminavisse, notat Eusebius in Chronico. Expugnatæ Ægypti historiam ad eundem annum fuse Diodorus Siculus enarrat." Conf. Diod. ut infr. The date thus accurately fixed from Diodorus, is confirmed by the chronology of Eusebius and Syncellus, p. 52. d. To render the latter writer consistent with himself and with the preceding authorities, we must understand him

of their sovereignty and their religion, the Egyptians naturally dated the term of their national existence; the Persian conqueror having not only expelled their monarch, but slain their god Apis; in offering the last indignity to whom, he caused him to be killed and served up at a banquet.[18]

The basis of the Egyptian chronology being thus fixed in the year of J. P. 4364, the very pivot on which the system turns may be at once ascertained, by taking from it, in ascent, the term of 2324 Egyptian years, or 2323 Julian, as ascribed to the duration of the historical period. In the remainder, expressing the year of J. P. 2041, we consequently ascertain the proper historical epoch of this ancient people.

In ascertaining this epoch, that we determine the limits within which the proper chronology of the Egyptians is circumscribed, admits of immediate proof, from the practical consequences which directly result from it. We possess two catalogues of Egyptian kings; one drawn up by the hand of Eratosthenes,[19] the first monarch of which must be referred to the earliest date in the term marked out as the historical period, J. P. 2041; the other extracted by Africanus from the dynasties computed by Manetho,[20] the last monarch of which closed his reign at the time fixed as its basis, J. P. 4364. When these different catalogues, which exhibit a connected succession of the Egyptian monarchs, (as a proper occasion will occur for proving in detail,) are applied to each extreme of the period defined as historical, the earliest in descent from its epoch, and the later in ascent from its basis; they prove themselves integral parts of a common succession, by meeting in the same year, J. P. 3090. But in thus coinciding in length, they present but an inconsiderable part of that evidence which they internally give of their consistency with truth, and which it is one object of this investigation to exhibit in detail. From one or two sources, however, the

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as referring to the twentieth year of the Nectanebo's reign, p. 77. d. Ὄχος, εἰκοστῷ ἔτει τῆς αὐτοῦ [Νεκτανέβου] βασιλείας, κρατεῖ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἔτη β'. Thus only can this extract be reconciled to historical fact; as it appears, that Nectanebo, on retiring before Ochus into Ethiopia, retained in that country the shadow of power for 2 years; which, when added to the 18 assigned to his *reign*, extend it to 20: conf. Diodor. lib. xvi. p. 448. al. 537. d.

[18] Plut. de Isid. et Osirid. cap. xi. xxxi.

[19] Eratosthen. Laterc. ap. Syncel. p. 91. c. seq.

[20] Syncel. ut supr. p. 62. c. seq. conf. p. 53. c. d. p. 72. a. p. 77. c.

present distribution of the Egyptian chronology receives such decisive confirmation, that it seems expedient to state it in this early stage of our inquiries; as stamping it with that authority, which will justify the deductions that may be drawn from it hereafter.

In the abstract of the 'Ancient Chronicle,' which Syncellus preserves from Manetho, and to which we are assured that writer conformed in his chronological system, 443 years are separated by the author from the period distinguished by him as the historical; during which, he asserts, the first mortals by whom Egypt was governed, had reigned for 15 generations.[21] This statement, it is first deserving of remark, accords with the catalogue of the earliest kings of the Egyptians, which was drawn up by Eratosthenes; and with whose reigns we conceive the royal succession of that people commenced. From Menes to Saophis, inclusive, he numbers precisely 15 generations, and ascribes to their joint reigns a period of 443 years.[22] In this division, by which the term of so many years is cut off from the historical period, a second epoch is marked in the Egyptian chronology; which, in establishing its conformity to the Chaldean, affords it that confirmation, which places it beyond controversion. It appears from the joint testimony of Berosus and Manetho, to whose sentence the decision of every other writer must yield, that the annals of the Egyptians and Chaldeans were deduced from the same year which they antedated to the deluge.[23] The historical epoch of the Chaldee chronology, as confirmed by astronomical observation, was formerly fixed at the year of J. P. 2481.[24] Of the two periods into which the Egyptian historical period is distributed,[25] if the latter, which amounts to 1881 Egyptian, or 1880 Julian years,[26] be sub-

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[21] Vet. Chron. ap. eund. ib. p. 51. d.

[22] Eratosthen. ut supr. p. 91. c. 96. b. 101. d. Comp. Des-Vignolles, Chron. tom. ii. p. 733. who, in identifying the accession of the sixteenth king with the year of the Theban era 444, assigns 443 years to the 15 generations preceding.

[23] Syncel. ut supr. p. 17. a. conf. Ant. Univ. Hist. vol. i. p. 272. Dodw. de Cycl. diss. ix. § 46. p. 441. [24] Mem. on Assyr. Chron. p. 40. 60. [25] Vid. supr. p. 291.

[26] On dividing any number of Egyptian years by four, the quotient will of course express the number of days lost by the neglect of the intercalation. Hence as $1881 \div 4 = 470\frac{1}{4}$, by so many days, amounting to 1 year $3\frac{1}{2}$ months, 1881 of those years fell short of the same number of intercalated years, according to the Julian computation. In computing by years, as the months were necessarily neglected until they amounted to twelve; so many *years* of their time are expressed by 1880 years of the Julian Period.

ducted from the basis of their chronology in the year of J. P. 4364, we shall ascertain, in the year of J. P. 2484, the epoch of the Egyptians, corresponding to that in which the historical era of the Chaldeans properly commences. Between this epoch and the fabulous era, the Egyptians, according to what has been just observed, interpolated a succession of monarchs, whose reigns extended to 443 years; and the Chaldeans equally interposed two dynasties, to whose government they assigned a period of 440 years.[27] Now if those sums be respectively deducted from the correspondent epochs,—2481 ascribed to the Chaldees, and 2484 ascribed to the Egyptians,—we shall thus acquire in the year of J. P. 2041 a common epoch, from which the chronological system of both nations may be regularly deduced, in consistency with the testimony of the most learned of their historians.

In the epoch J. P. 2041 thus ascertained, by following the distribution of the Great Cycle of the Egyptians, in their 'Ancient Chronicle,' and at which we at once arrive, by subducting a number of Julian years correspondent to 2324 Egyptian years,[28] within which that people confined the historical period; the date is definitively fixed, which may be termed cardinal, in their chronology. From this point, assumed as a place of appulse, the chronologist finds little difficulty in arranging the whole system, in ascent or descent, according to the intervals into which it is apportioned by the annalist. As in the ancient fragment extracted by Syncellus from Manetho, on which our deductions are built, the course of time is measured by a Great Period, of which *the Canicular Cycle* is an element;[29] as we are also informed, that the first 443 years into which it is distributed are computed

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[27] To the Chaldee dynasty, from which Syncellus dates the origin of the Assyrian monarchy, and which he makes contemporary with the earlier Egyptian kings, he assigns 225 years; Chronogr. ibid. p. 90. d. To the Arab dynasty, which immediately succeeded them, he assigns 215 years; ibid. p. 92. a.: forming together a sum of 440 years.

[28] The period deemed historical by the Egyptians, and amounting to 2324, (vid. supr. p. 291. n. 15.) when divided by 4, according to the foregoing observations, leaves a quotient of 581, which expresses the number of days lost by the neglect of the intercalation. This term, amounting to 1 year, 7 months, 6 days, (when the months and days are neglected, which were not computed,) if subducted from the historial period, leaves 2323 as the expression of its equivalent in years of the Julian Period.

[29] Vid. supr. p. 292.

in years of that cycle;[30] and as the last of the monarchs' reigns, of which it consists, are expressly computed by it, to which likewise they are adapted in the Astronomical Canon;[31] the epoch may be determined, to the very day, on which it commenced. By carrying back the Canicular Cycle to the year of J. P. 2041, with which that epoch is identified, according to the plan adopted by Ptolemy, and intimated by Syncellus,[32] the day with which the Egyptian year commenced may be accurately ascertained. Thus computing in ascent from that celebrated era, the first day of the month Thoth, with which the new year of the Egyptians uniformly commenced, is found to coincide with June 22nd, J. P. 2041.[33] From this day, of course, the epoch of the period deemed historical by the Egyptians must be necessarily dated. But if the epoch of that period must be taken, as the Hebrew and Chaldee chronology will alone justify us in concluding, from the close rather than the commencement of the term of 443 years, which forms its earliest division; as at that time the first day of the Egyptian year coincided with March 4th, in J. P. 2484;[34] from that day the historic epoch of this people must be properly dated. Of this year it may be cursorily observed, that as occurring subsequently to the correspondent epoch of the Assyrians, which is fixed to Oct. 11th, J. P. 2481; it was probably deduced from it, and at a much later period than the date of either epoch. This supposition derives no inconsiderable confirmation from the circumstance, that the Egyptian epoch falls in the fourth year from the *earlier date* of the Assyrian; the chronological systems of those ancient nations being observed to possess

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[30] Vet. Chron. ap. Syncel. ib. p. 51. d. conf. p. 103. c.

[31] Calvis. Chron. Isag. cap. xi. Des-Vignolles, ut supr. tom. ii. p. 357.

[32] Syncel. ut supr. p. 52. b.

[33] In reducing the day of the Egyptian year to its correspondent date in the Julian, I have uniformly followed the Tables of Scaliger. Can. Isagog. lib. i. p. 107. It may be likewise determined by the canons given by Petavius, Ration. Temp. P. II. lib. I. cap. xii. can. 1. which are founded on the coincidence of Thoth 1st, with January 1st, in the years of J. P. 1273, 2733, 4193, &c.; as is demonstrable from the concurrence of the neomenia of the Egyptian year with February 26th, J. P. 3967. the epoch of the era of Nabonasar. Respecting the latter coincidence, all chronologists are agreed, as it is established by a series of astronomical observations; vid. Usser. Annal. p. 88. Dodw. de Cycl. Diss. II. vi. p. 70. d. Des-Vignolles, Chron. tom. ii. p. 329.

[34] Vid. supr. n. 33.

a striking affinity. From the latter date it becomes therefore probable, that the earlier epoch to which those nations respectively carried back the historical period was equally deduced. And in this date, it seems expedient to fix the pivot on which the system of their chronology turns; as ranging even above the remote period with which it has been identified.

As the Great Canicular year of the Egyptians, which formed an element in the Lunisolar Cycle of 36525 years, which was employed by that people in digesting their chronology, was termed from the star Sirius, and was computed from the time of its rising on the new-year's day; it may not be incurious to inquire, how far that phenomenon coincided with June 22nd, J. P. 2041; the day of the year which has been ascertained, as the reputed epoch of the historical period in their chronology. As far, however, as my means of computation extend, the heliacal rising of that star did not occur until Thursday, July 9th, in that year; the sun being nearly in the 22nd degree of the sign Gemini, and depressed about 10° below the horizon of Memphis.[35] As Thoth 1st in this year fell upon June 22nd; Thursday, July 9th, must have coincided with Thoth 18th; from whence it appears, that the distance of 17 days must have intervened between the beginning of the Egyptian year, and the heliacal rising of the star by which it may be conceived to be computed. From this consideration, and the palpable error in the theory of the Great Canicular year,[36] which observation must have enabled the Egyptians to detect, had it been deduced from so early an epoch as that which they ascribed to the historical period, we must necessarily conclude, that the cycle by which they computed time was originally devised without any view to the heliacal rising of Sirius.[37]

From the circumstances, however, already intimated, which give the

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[35] At this time, the sun's greatest declination, or obliquity of the ecliptic, being 24° 3′ 35″; the declination of Sirius was 11° 19′ 53″ S., its oblique ascension 52° 12′ 28″, in the latitude of Memphis.

[36] Vid. Scalig. ut supr. lib. iii. p. 189. c. 196. c. Lalande Astronom. § 1605. tom. i. p. 264.

[37] It was accordingly called the Heliacal year, as well as the Cynic and Canicular; vid. supr. p. 289. n. 8. The first of these names seems to have been the most ancient, as deduced from the more striking of the heavenly bodies, from the motions of which it was computed.

erratic year of the Egyptians a positive connexion with their chronology, and an express reference to the period reputed historical; the only consistent course lies, in dating the historical epoch of the chronology of this ancient people, from the first day of their civil year; identified, as already intimated, with June 22nd. As this day preceded not merely the rising of Sirius, but the time also of the sun's entrance into the solstice, by which the beginning of the Egyptian year would be more naturally determined,[38] and which occurred in J. P. 2041, on July 15th; it is obvious, that it must have been deduced from some earlier epoch, when the beginning of the Egyptian year coincided with the entrance of the sun into one of the cardinal points, which divide the year into seasons.

In proceeding to the investigation of an earlier epoch, in which the beginning of the natural and civil year of the Egyptians possessed this coincidence; every facility is offered us in the distribution of the fabulous period by the chronologists of that people. But the dates which the compilers of the 'Ancient Chronicle' have employed, in digesting this portion of the science, have unfortunately suffered from the indiscreet zeal of the theorist, not less than the inadvertence and fallibility of the transcriber. It will be therefore expedient to consider their different statements comparatively; that by the discovery of one consistent view of them, in which their differences are reconciled, we may recover a just idea of the scheme of their chronology, as disposed by its authors.

The 'Ancient Chronicle,' which, as it is our earliest, seems to be our safest, guide in this investigation, derives considerable illustration, in its distribution of the mythic period, from the statement of Manetho, by whom we are assured it was in some measure followed, in its arrangement.[39] Of

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[38] Des-Vign. ibid. ii. p. 653. I cannot, however, agree with this chronologist, that the observance of the solstice, to the proximity of a day or two of the true time, was attended with so much difficulty to the ancients. So much might be effected, by measuring the shadow of their obelisks in or about the time of the year, when the sun's ortive amplitude was observed to be greatest. Certain it is, that Augustus, under the direction of the astronomer Manilius, had one of the Egyptian obelisks, which he placed in the Campus Martius, adapted to such a purpose. Vid. Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxv. x. The experiments made by Eratosthenes with gnomons, in Egypt, evince the attention bestowed on these subjects, and the consequent skill attained in them, by the ancients.

[39] Syncel. ut supr. p. 51. b.

the reigns into which that period was distributed by its author, 984 years are ascribed to the gods, and 217 to the semi-gods.[40] Between these sums, and those ascribed to the reigns of those divinities respectively by Manetho; who assigns 971½ years 14 days to the former, and 214 years to the latter;[41] the analogy may be established by an observation. If the different forms of year which were used by the ancients be adopted, in estimating them; the equable consisting of 365 days, and the astronomical of 360; they may be reduced to an identity. Between 217 years of 360 days, and 214 years of 365, there are but 10 days' difference;[42] and between 985 years of the former kind of year, and 971½ years 14 days of the latter, there are but 9 days' difference.[43] And as those dates may be even more

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[40] Vet. Chron. ap. eund. ib. c. *Ἥλιος Ἡφαίστου ἐβασίλευσεν ἐτων γ̄· ἔπειτα Κρόνος φησι καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ πάντες θεοὶ ιβ̄ ἐβασίλευσαν ἔτη γ,ϡπδ'. ἔπειτα ἡμίθεοι βασιλεῖς η' ἔτη σιε̄.* As only six gods, including Vulcan, Helios, and Cronus, are enumerated by Manetho, (ap. Syncel. p. 19. b.) to whose joint reigns 971 years are assigned; it appears, the first numeral, in the sum γ,ϡπδ', designates a pre-existent period, in which those gods enjoyed a state of being, previous to the epoch distinguished as the mythic. As the *twelve* gods of the Egyptians bore some relation to the 12 signs of the zodiac, by the great restitution of which (*ἡ ἀποκατάστασις τοῦ ζωδιακοῦ*) the great period of their chronology was determined; (Syncel. ib. p. 52. a.) the mythic period was properly confined to one half of the number of deities, corresponding with one half of the signs into which the zodiac was divided. The supposition is farther confirmed by the analogy observable between the numbers in the old Chronicle and Manetho; 984 years in the former, bearing a like proportion to 971 in the latter; with 217 in the one to 214 in the other. This method of reconciling the 'Ancient Chronicle' to Manetho seems preferable to that suggested by Des-Vignolles, who conceives, (ibid. p. 660.) the γ, in γ,ϡπδ' was transferred from the preceding articles.

[41] Vid. Syncel. ubi supr. p. 19. The sum of the different reigns is collected by Marsham, Chron. p. 11. by whom the three half years and 14 days, amounting to 561 days, are improperly neglected.

[42] In 217 years, of 360 days each, there are 78,120 days; and in 214 years, of 365 days each, there are 78,110 days: on the difference of 10 days, between these sums, vid. infr. n. 43.

[43] In 985 years, of 360 days each, there are 354,600 days, and in 971½ years 14 days, of 365 days each, there are 354,611 days. It is remarkable, that the whole of the supernumerary days computed in the fabulous period amount to 14; 4 of which are annexed to the reign of Vulcan, and 10 to that of the god Agathodæmon; vid. Syncel. ib. p. 19. a. If the latter sum be transferred to the reign of the semi-god Horus, who is often identified with Agathodæmon, the length of the two dynasties, into which the entire period is distributed, will be equal, though computed by different kinds of year; the gods having reigned 78,120

closely reconciled, we are enabled to trace that dissimilarity in the method of computing them, by which they are alone distinguished, to a sufficient cause; the Great Cycle of 36525 years, of which the preceding periods were respectively portions, having been properly considered by the author of the 'Chronicle,' as a product of the Egyptian solar and lunar cycle, which were equally measured by the civil or equable year;[44] but erroneously regarded by Manetho, as the great period of the zodiacal restitution,[45] and accordingly measured by the astronomical year, suitably to the number of 360 degrees, into which every great circle was divided. It would indeed appear, that the Egyptian priest was induced to adopt this hypothesis, with a view to appropriate to his countrymen the merit of discovering the equinoctial precession, on which the computation of the Great Platonic year depended, and of which there can be no ground of doubt the honour is due to the Greeks. From this palpable error in his theory, and the notorious fact, that the Great Cycle by which the Egyptian chronology was distributed, was constituted of elementary cycles consisting of 365 days; there is not ground for a moment's doubt, that the dates of the 'Ancient Chronicle' are the more authentic, particularly, as we have just seen, they are undesignedly confirmed by the correspondent numbers in the scheme of Manetho.

If we now take the sum of 984 + 217 amounting to 1201 Egyptian years, within which the fabulous period was circumscribed, and add it to the 2324 years, within which the historical period was included; on substracting the amount, consisting of 3525 Egyptian years, or 3523 Julian,[45] from the chronological basis in J. P. 4364; the remainder, expressing the year of J. P. 841, will designate the epoch of that people, according to the system

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days, and the semi-gods 354,600. Although it would hence appear, that in Syncellus's extract of the 'Ancient Chronicle,' ut supr. n. 40. we should read, ϡπε', 985, for ϡπδ' 984; yet as Manetho, by whom that work was extracted, might have had some reasons, at which it would be idle to guess, for substituting these sums for each other, it seems not safe to depart from the present reading.

[44] Vid. supr. p. 289. n. 10.

[45] On dividing 3525 by 4, the quotient 881, amounting to 2 years, 151 days, expresses the difference to be deducted from that term, in order to reduce it to the Julian computation: vid. supr. p. 293. n. 26.

of their chronology, comprised in that ancient document, which preceded the times of Manetho.

As the computations of this native Egyptian, who departed in some respects from that early document, tend to establish an earlier epoch; it merits consideration not less from the high authority of the writer by whom it is proposed, than the extraordinary precision with which it has been determined. While the 'Ancient Chronicle,' in including the entire period of the Egyptian chronology between *the epoch* in the year 841, and *the basis* in 4364, assigned it a duration of 3523 Julian years; Manetho, computing from the same basis, ascribed it a duration of 3555 Egyptian years;[46] which as equivalent to 3553 Julian years,[47] on being subducted from it, leave the year of J. P. 813, as the proper epoch of the fabulous period, according to his scheme of chronology.

To this epoch, it should be observed, no inconsiderable support is derived from the authority of Syncellus, by whom the whole of the evidence is detailed on which our deductions are founded. Following the same documents, and computing from the same basis, he places the historic epoch of the Egyptians in A. M. 2776,[48] which corresponds with J. P. 2000, when reduced to the years of that era.[49] As he ascribes to the fabulous period $971 + 214 = 1185$ years;[50] on deducting this sum from that date, assumed as the basis of the fabulous period, it leaves the remainder, J. P. 815 expressing its epoch. Between this date, and that already deduced by another and shorter process, from the historical basis, according to the computation of Manetho, a difference but of two years exists; which must be considered wholly insignificant in a date of such remote antiquity, where a slight variation in the measure used in computation was calculated to

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[46] Vid. Syncel. ubi supr. p. 77. c. 52. d. 104.

[47] Vid. supr. n. 45.

[48] Syncel. ut supr. p. 90. c. 91. a.

[49] Syncellus, in fixing the basis of the Egyptian Chronology, after Manetho, supposes the last dynasty ceased to reign A. M. 5140, which he identifies with the fifteenth year previous to Alexander's accession. Comp. Syncel. ib. p. 52. d. and Goar. Tab. ib. p. 485. As this year is known to be coincident with J. P. 4364, the difference between the two dates, amounting to 776 years, marks the constant quantity to be subtracted from the dates of Syncellus's Egyptian Chronology, to reduce them to years of the Julian period: vid. Usser. ut supr. ad A. J. P. 4364. p. 276. and A. J. P. 4379. p. 283.

[50] Syncel. ut supr. p. 19. conf. Marsham. Can. Chron. p. 11.

occasion a considerable error. As in making an election between the two dates, thus ascertained, J. P. 813 and J. P. 815, the pretensions of Syncellus cannot stand in competition with the claims of Manetho; on the authority of this early Egyptian writer, the former of those dates may be assumed as the genuine epoch of the period, distinguished as the fabulous, by the Egyptian chronologists.

II. On the separate authority of the 'Ancient Chronicle,' and of Manetho, we thus ascertain two dates, in the years of J. P. 841 and 813; to which it now remains that we should apply the test, which is proposed in this investigation, as the criterion for determining, amid a number of dates, the genuine from the spurious. As some evidence of the elementary character of both dates, it may be in the first instance observed, that they equally coincide not merely with the commencement of the sabbatical and bissextile cycles, but of the small solar cycle of 28 years,[51] which we have adequate authority for believing of immemorial use among the Egyptians.[52] Nor is it less deserving of note, that they are not merely separated from each other by the interval of this cycle; but that between the earlier date J. P. 813, and the epoch J. P. 891, which was formerly noticed as radical in the Chaldee chronology, an interval of two great solar cycles of 84 years precisely intervenes.[53] If, in the next place, we conceive the Canicular Cycle (by which it is indisputable the chronology of the 'Ancient Chronicle' and of Manetho were arranged) carried back to the fabulous

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[51] On observing the common principle by which the years of the J. P. are reduced to their component cycles, 813 and 841, when divided by 28, leave a remainder of 1, which consequently expresses the current year of the solar cycle, with which they respectively coincided.

[52] This period, it is supposed, the Egyptians shadowed under the reign of Osiris, who was not unfrequently identified in their mythology with the sun; and accordingly estimated it at 28 years: vid. Braun. Select. Sacr. p. 309. 385. Of its employment in their mythological computations, internal evidence will be soon adduced, from the disposition of the term included between the two epochs before us, J. P. 813 and 841; in the course of which they supposed their earliest monarchs were born. Vid. infr. n. 107. conf. Scal. Em. Temp. lib. iii. p. 196.

[53] As $981 - 813 = 168$; and $2 \times 84 = 168$. conf. infr. n. 85. Mem. on Assyr. Chron. p. 46. n. 165.

epoch; it will be discovered, that the neomenia, or 1st day of the month Thoth, fell in the later epoch, J. P. 841, on April 18th, and in the earlier, J. P. 813, upon April 25th.[54] In the former coincidence, there is at first sight nothing remarkable; but in the latter, we discover that concurrence of the first day of the civil and natural year, which is essential to a date, chosen to mark the commencing year of an era. The civil year was expressly computed by the Egyptians, as it was naturally computed by the antediluvians, from the day on which the sun and moon first shone upon the world.[55] Admitting that the creation took place in the year of J. P. 710, according to the computation of Ussher; as those luminaries first shed their influence on the earth, on the evening of the third day of the week in which the autumnal equinox occurred, they, of consequence, appeared for the first time, in our system, on October 25th.[56] If, therefore, we suppose the beginning of the year, in those early ages, transferred from *autumn* to the opposite season of *spring*, it would properly fall upon April 25th; which was directly opposed to the neomenia of the old and new year, as separated from them respectively, precisely 182 days. In the system of Manetho, however, this transfer was positively made; as he determined the epoch of the great zodiacal period, according to which he digested his chronology,

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[54] Vid. supr. p. 295. n. 83.

[55] The day of *the nativity of the world* was computed by the Egyptians, after they began to reckon by the great Sothiacal period, from the commencement of the dog-days: Porphyr. de Antr. Nymph. p. 123. at *which time* they celebrated also the festival of the *nativity of the sun and moon:* Plut. de Isid. cap. lii. Conf. Scalig. Em. Temp. lib. v. p. 368. d. The Jews likewise retain a tradition, that the beginning of time was not to be computed from the *first day* of the creation, but from the day on which the luminaries had appeared, by whose motions its course was reckoned, which their Scriptures informed them was the *fourth day* of the week: vid. Selden. de Jur. Nat. et Gent. iii. p. 423.

[56] Vid. Usser. Annal. p. 1. Whist. N. Theor. B. ii. p. 142. 123. In the year of J. P. 710, as the autumnal equinox fell upon Monday, October 24th, the hexaëmeron extended from Sunday the 23rd, to Saturday the 29th. The creation having commenced with the first day of the week, which began with the Jews from Saturday evening, the first appearance of the sun and moon in the system, which took place on the fourth day, (Gen. i. 16. 19.) was necessarily reckoned from Tuesday evening: this day of the week, as the characters of the year were ☉ 10. B,—fell upon October 25th, D being the invariable character of that day of the month in the calendar.

from the entrance of the sun into the *vernal* equinox.[57] As the Egyptian year, supposing it carried back, must have begun on May 21st,[58] at the time of the creation; it is obvious, that of the four *cardines* that gave a natural beginning to the year, and with which the neomenia might coincide, in its retrocession from that day of May, it would first fall upon April 25th.[59] With this day, however, it is certain, it became coincident, for the first time, in the year of J. P. 813, in which Manetho fixed the epoch of his chronology; when the civil year acquired a beginning coincident with that of the natural year. On the improbability, that so singular a coincidence as met in this extraordinary year, can be the effect of chance, it remains to be observed, that from the peculiar constitution of the Egyptian, the Julian, and the tropical year, no similar coincidence could have occurred for 1500 years previously, and subsequently to that epoch. For a period of 1460 years was requisite to bring the neomenia of the civil Egyptian year to the same day of the secret or Julian; but, at the expiration of that time, the difference of the tropical and Julian year occasioned the equinoxes to anticipate 11¼ days upon the seasons.[60] Now as 4+11=44 years were necessary to enable the neomenia of the civil year to retrograde so many days, in order to coincide with the day of the equinoxes; the entire period of 1460 + 44 years was consequently necessary to restore the coincidences, which occurred at the fabulous epoch according to Manetho's computation. They could have therefore fallen on no other such day in the immense period of 3000 years; though this term is nearly equal to that within which this writer circumscribed the whole chronology of his native annals.

In marking a difference, thus decided, between J. P. 813, the epoch of the fabulous period, as determined from the chronological scheme of Manetho, and J. P. 841, as fixed from the 'Ancient Chronicle;' it is however deserving of note, that these two dates, as distant from each other precisely 28 years, are not merely separated by a proper solar cycle, but by one

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[57] Vid. Syncel. ut supr. p. 52. b. The Egyptians computed the beginning of the spring from the neomenia of Phamenoth, which was the seventh month. Plut. de Isid. cap. xliii. p. 508.

[58] Vid. ut supr. p. 295. n. 33. [59] Vid. ibid.

[60] The Julian year being computed at 365d. 6h., and the tropical at 365d. 5h. 48m. 48s., the excess of the former, amounting annually to 11m. 12s., increases in 1460 years to 11¼ days.

which was of the remotest antiquity, and apparently devised by the Egyptians.[61] In that period, the neomenia of the sabbatical or septennial cycle, and of the bissextile or small canicular cycle, returned not merely to the same day of the year, but of the week; the former having circulated four times, and the latter seven, in regaining the day on which they had respectively commenced a new revolution. In that time, it is also observable, that the neomenia of the civil year, in retrograding one day every fourth year, successively fell upon a different day of the week, until it circulated through the whole hebdomadal period. And if the extreme days on which the neomenia at the close of the cycle of 28 years fell, when it regained the place in the year which it first occupied, be separately considered; it will be manifest, that the first five days, through which the civil neomenia retrograded in that cycle, were those remarkable days of the year to which the Egyptians gave the name of *epagomenæ*, or adscititious. From these coincidences, we may adduce an illustration of a remarkable fragment of the mythology of that people, to which it will be otherwise difficult to ascribe any sense; but which, when understood with reference to the chronological characters of their earliest epochs, acquires that natural and obvious meaning, which will at once account for the difference between them, and afford the present hypothesis the most decisive confirmation.

According to Diodorus's abstract of this mythological fragment, "Saturn espoused his sister Rhea; and the produce of the union were the five gods, namely, Osiris, Isis, Typhon, Apollo, and Venus; each of whom was born in the five days which the Egyptians call the *epagomenæ*."[62] But Plutarch, giving a fuller version of the fable, observes, "that, Rhea, having clandestinely intrigued with Saturn, the sun, who perceived it, prayed that she might be delivered in no month or year. But Hermes, who loved the goddess, having played at counters with the moon, and having taken the seventy-[second] part of each of the days, made of them five days, and added, to the three hundred and sixty of the year, those which the Egyptians term the *epagomenæ*, and in which they celebrate the nativity of the gods."[63] He proceeds to state, that "on the first day Osiris was born"...

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[61] Vid. supr. p. 301. n. 52. [62] Diodor. Sic. Hist. i. 13. p. 9.

[63] Plut. de Isid. et Osirid. cap. xi. Scaliger supplies δεύτερον, in the text of Plutarch, Em. Temp. p. 195. which is approved by Wyttenbach, Animadv. in Plut. tom. VII. p. ii. p. 186.

on " the second, Arueris, whom some call Apollo, and the elder Horus " . . . on " the third, Typhon" . . . on " the fourth, Isis," whom he identifies with the moon . . . and " on the fifth, Nephthys, whom some call the end, and Venus." Following the same authority, he represents the first year of the reign of the gods, from whence the 'Ancient Chronicle' computes the fabulous epoch, as commencing with the accession of Osiris.[64]

In this fiction, the substitution of the equable solar year of 365 days, for the astronomical year of 360, which originated in the supposition that the month or lunar revolution consisted of 30 days, and which was long used as a convenient mean between the solar and lunar year,[65] is so plainly shadowed, as to require no enforcement or illustration. The mystagogue Thoth, to whom the Egyptians referred the construction of their calendar, and from whom they termed the first month of their year, having discovered, by the method of calculation with counters which has been immemorially used in the East, how much the computed annual motion of the moon was in excess; he consequently substituted a measure of time deduced from the motion of the sun. The error in excess, arising from the adoption of an equable month of 30 days,[66] had been corrected in the Egyptian lunar year, by dropping a day in seventy-two, as in the Grecian by omitting one in sixty-three;[67] but was corrected by Hermes in the solar, in which a month of the same length was retained, by collecting the time necessary to its equation, and which amounted to five days, into a separate sum, and annexing them, as adscititious, to the end of the mean astronomical year.[68]

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[64] Plut. de Isid. et Osirid. cap. xiii. [65] Des-Vignolles supr. tom. ii. p. 773. d. 774. a.

[66] Vid. Allin on Anc. Year, p. 145. Whist. Theor. b. ii. p. 166. 167.

[67] Vid. Allin ibid.

[68] The discovery imputed to Hermes may be thus illustrated. The mean year of 360 days having been divided into 5 parts of 72 days each, was thus equated to *lunar time*, by *dropping* every 72d day; $72-1+72-1+72-1+72-1+72-1=360-5$. He thence formed his notion of an equation of the year to *solar time*; by conceiving a day *interpolated* after every 72d day; as, $72+1+72+1+72+1+72+1+72+1=360+5$. The latter equation expresses the length of the erratic year, of which the last 5 days were termed epagomenæ. The lunar year, as thus computed at 355 days, and the solar as computed at 365, were sufficiently accurate for the purposes of civil reckoning; the former being something more than 354¼ days, the latter something less than 365¼.

In application of this fiction to the subject which is before us, it is further to be observed, that *the names of the gods*, whose birth-days were fixed in those adscititious days of the solar year, have an obvious relation to *the names of the days* of the week; *the day of Apollo, of Isis, and of Venus*, (to confine ourselves to the most palpable instances,[69]) bearing a positive analogy to the *dies Solis, Lunæ, et Veneris*, as Sunday, Monday, and Friday were termed by the Latins. It is however obvious, inasmuch as the fiction declares, that Apollo was born on the *second* of the five days, Isis on the *fourth*, and Venus on the *fifth*; that the days of their nativity could not have fallen within the limits of *a week*. Had this been the case, as Sunday and Monday directly succeed each other, the birth-days of Apollo and Isis could not have been separated from each other by a day; but the fable represents the day of Typhon's nativity, which occurred on the third of the *epagomenæ*, as having intervened. We must consequently conclude, as these gods were born on the *epagomenæ*, that they could not have been born in the compass of *a year*; for as the *epagomenæ* were five days directly succeeding each other at the close of the year, they necessarily followed the order of the days of the week; and to this order, we have just seen, the days of the gods' nativity cannot be reduced. The gods, as born on the *epagomenæ*, must have been consequently born upon these days *in different years*. If it can be now shown, that the erratic year, of which the fiction ascribes the invention to Hermes, in its retrocession, for twenty-eight years,

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[69] The affinity between the days of Apollo, Isis, and Nephthys, and the dies Solis, Lunæ, and Veneris, is sufficiently marked by Plutarch, who intimates the analogy between the names of the days and planets, as derived from the Chaldees. De Isid. et Osirid. cap. xliii. p. 516. Conf. Diodor. lib. ii. p. 116. al. 82. c. Paul. Alexandr. Excerp. in Dissert. de Cycl. Paschal. p. 396. ed. Amst. 1736. Of the affinity of Typhon and Jupiter, and of Mercury and Osiris, that writer affords some striking intimations. Plut. ibid. cap. lxii. p. 539. et cap. xli. p. 505. On the affinity of the two last, comp. Herod. II. xlii. xlviii. li. The fabulous history of Jupiter and Typhon agreed in the remarkable circumstances, that both were accounted usurpers; in whose reigns a state of fraud and violence superseded the happiness and peace which obtained under their predecessors. Plut. ibid. cap. xl. p. 503. Diodor. p. 12. c. al. p. 18. The Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans equally regarded Cronus and Saturn, as the monarchs who presided in the golden age preceding those times. Of the connexion of the *dies Saturni* with the *Sabbath* of the Jews, evidence has been adduced from the time of the Exod: vid. Spencer. de Leg. Heb. lib. II. iv. § 9. 11. De Dieu Animadv. in Act. vii. 43. p. 66.

not only passed upon those days in succession, but in such a manner as to identify the order ascribed to the days of the gods' nativity, with that observed in the days of the week, which accorded with them in name; little doubt can be entertained, that in the different days, on which the neomenia fell in the course of that cycle, we probably ascertain the natal days of the gods, who were born on the *epagomenæ*, and discover in what sense it was particularly declared that " they were not born on any day of the year."

The fabulous epoch of the Egyptians having been identified with the year of J. P. 813, the invariable characters of which are ⊙ 1. GF; the common scheme of the solar cycle, which is subjoined, expresses the correspondent characters of the successive years of the cycle, in which the neomenia, or 1st day of Thoth, fell back a day. The week-day with which it accorded at the time is annexed to each neomenia; and is determined by the fixed characters of the days of the month, computed from the Dominical letter of the year of the Julian Period.

J. P.	Cyc. ⊙	Dom. let.	Neomenia Thoth.	Week-day.
813	1	GF	April 25.C	Thursday
817	5	BA	—— 24.B	Monday
821	9	DC	—— 23.A	Friday
825	13	FE	—— 22.G	Tuesday
829	17	AG	—— 21.F	Saturday
833	21	CB	—— 20.E	Wednesday
837	25	ED	—— 19.D	Sunday
841	1	GF	—— 18.C	Thursday.

As the *epagomenæ* were the days of the old year immediately preceding the first day of the new; on taking a day previous to the neomenia, we thus ascertain *the last* of these days in each of the above-mentioned years. Of the five adscititious days, *the last* had obviously acquired an importance, from its being not only the day on which the retrocession of the neomenia was made, but the day which was repeated, in the intercalation of the secret year, to which the erratic year was equated, in the great canicular period.[70] The subjoined scheme, as specifying this remarkable day in each

[70] On the evidence in support of such a year, vid. Mem. on Assyr. Chron. p. 7. n. 16. p. 9. n. 30. Its existence is implied in the reduction of the Great Canicular period to 1461 years: vid.

of those years, at once determines the days to which the Egyptians referred the nativity of the gods.

J.P.	Epagom.	Feria	Genethlia
813	5 April '24	Dies Mercurii	Osiris
817	4 —— 23	Dies Solis	Horus, or Sol
821	3 —— 22	Dies Jovis	Typhon
825	2 —— 21	Dies Lunæ	Isis, or Luna
829	1 —— 20	Dies Veneris	Nephthys, or Venus
833	—— 19	Dies Martis	Papremis, or Mars
837	—— 18	Dies Saturni	Cronus, or Saturn
841	—— 17	Dies Mercurii	Osiris.

As these festivals were apparently celebrated at the close of each year; from the Saturnalia of the Romans, which were observed at that time of the year, for seven days, we may derive a further illustration and proof of the preceding deductions. These days calculated to the number of seven, in a retrogressive order,[71] from the end of the year, were dedicated to *Saturn*, and annually observed at its close. If collected into one Egyptian year, and numbered in the same inverted order, according to the succession of the days on which the neomenia fell back; it will be manifest that they commenced every year with the festival of Saturn, after whom, we may thence conclude, they were termed *Saturnalia*. Thus, at the fabulous epoch of the Egyptians, J.P. 813, they occurred between April 18th and April 24th; and accordingly corresponded with those days which the neomenia anticipated on the fixed year, in the succeeding cycle. The epagomenæ, amounting to five, not being computed as days of the civil year; the gods, as supposed to be born on them, were conceived, not improperly, to have been born on no day included in it. In the secret year they indeed amounted every fourth year to six, as including the

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supr. p. 289. n. 8. At the expiration of that term, the neomenia of the erratic year returned precisely to *the same day* of the Julian or bissextile year, which it occupied at the beginning of the cycle: in thus regaining its original place, it necessarily marked the close of one period, and the commencement of another, to which there was set no other limit than the Julian year afforded. Vid. Scal. Can. Isagog. lib. i. p. 106. Em. Temp. lib. v. p. 369. c.

[71] Macrob. Saturn. lib. i. cap. xi. p. 162.

intercalary day; but in no instance did they reach to the number seven: hence probably originated the exception in favour of Saturn's day, and the import of the fable, in stating, that the gods who were born upon the adscititious days were his offspring. As the nativity of each of the gods was thus referred to the *last* day of a *bissextile* year, and in that year *the intercalary day* was supernumerary, being regarded as a *repetition* merely of the day which preceded;[72] had the Egyptians contrived, in their mode of equating, that the days of the gods' nativity should coincide with that *extrinsic day*, the fiction would have been rendered more literally conformable to fact, in which it was asserted "that they were born on *no day* of the year."

In adopting this illustration of the Egyptian calendar from the Roman, our justification may be found not merely in the consideration, that the one was professedly modelled after the other. In the very instances in which an analogy has been traced between the superstitions that have been compared together, the one people were confessedly the imitators of the other; in restoring the Saturnalia to the primitive number seven, and in adopting the artifice of an intercalation, the Romans, when reforming their calendar, applied for instruction to the Egyptians;[73] from whom each of these observances had been derived in the earliest period of their history.[74] And by reference to the usage of the nation who took the lead in this observance, it is easily seen, how the festival termed from Saturn became, at a subsequent period, limited to the *first* of the seven days which terminated the year;[75] that day, among seven consecrated to the nativity of the gods, being peculiarly dedicated to that divinity in the ritual of the Egyptians.

As the characters of every cycle return with each revolution which it performs, the preceding observations equally apply to the epochs of the fabulous period, J. P. 813 and 841, respectively deduced from the 'Ancient Chronicle,' and the system of Manetho: and they offer an obvious solution of the difficulty arising from the difference of twenty-eight years,

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[72] Macrob. Saturn. lib. i. cap. xiv. p. 179. [73] Id. ibid. cap. xiv. p. 178.

[74] Id. ibid. cap. viii. p. 155. ix. p. 157. xiii. p. 177. conf. cap. x. p. 161. 162.

[75] Id. ibid. cap. x. p. 160. 161.

subsisting between the dates from which the same era is apparently computed. The year of J. P. 841 being assumed, on the authority of the 'Ancient Chronicle,' as the epoch of the accession of the gods to sovereign power; the antecedent period, deduced, after Manetho, from the year of J. P. 813, will express the time in which they were respectively born, and consequently comprise the term of their nonage. The principles on which the present investigation is conducted being admitted, and consequently supposed to have been observed by the Egyptians; it is difficult to conceive, how they could have erred in determining a date of such importance, or could have assumed, in their errors respecting it, the semblance and consistency of truth. From the coincidences which have been pointed out, and which are common to other epochs of the Egyptian chronology, we may very confidently infer, that the solar cycle, with which those epochs so wonderfully coincide, and from which the obscurities in the early mythology receive such extraordinary illustration, claimed a high degree of antiquity among this people. In this conclusion we shall acquiesce with the greater readiness, when it is remembered, that the sabbatical and canicular cycles which entered into it, as elements, had been known and observed from the earliest ages. Thus far, it is however clear, we are borne out in concluding, that the discovery of the equable year of 365 days was deemed by them coeval with the earliest epoch of their annals; for whatever be the latent sense of the mythological fiction on which I have enlarged, so much is, beyond all doubt, implied in its subject.

But perhaps the strongest confirmation of the preceding observations may be adduced from the account which Manetho has given of the source from whence he derived his knowledge on this subject; as professedly deduced by him from the writings of the second Thoth, who had drawn his information from the pillars inscribed by the first Thoth, in the sacred dialect and hieroglyphic characters.[76] The second personage of this name, who was avowedly the author of the science, and the reformer of the calendar of the Egyptians, is identified with the thirty-fifth prince of the line of Theban monarchs,[77] which has been transmitted to us from

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[76] Maneth. ap. Syncel. ut supr. p. 288. n. 3.

[77] Vid. Marsham, Can. Chron. Sec. x. p. 231.

Eratosthenes. If the accession of Menes, who occurs at the head of the succession, and who, by the common consent of chronologists, was the first mortal who reigned in Egypt,[78] be placed in the year J. P. 2041, already identified as the historical epoch; the first year of the second Thoth, computed from that epoch, will coincide with the year of J. P. 3003. At this date, it is an extraordinary circumstance, that the Great Year of the Egyptians (which, as reckoned from the fabulous epoch, J. P. 813, completed precisely one revolution and a half,) had its neomenia restored to October 25th;[79] from which day the year took its beginning, at the Creation. In this year, of course, that perfect restoration, which was implied in the nature of the Great Year, was accomplished; the erratic year, after retrograding through the seasons, having recovered the place which it occupied at the commencement of time, and beginning of the world. If following the suggestion of Manetho, with the lights which may be deduced from a collation of the sacred with the ethnic chronology, we pursue this subject to its necessary consequences; not only this coincidence may be satisfactorily explained, but every paradox may be solved, and difficulty removed, which embarrasses the chronology of this ancient people.

It would therefore appear, as the declarations of Manetho indeed imply, that at this remarkable time the knowledge of the equable year of 365 days, and its proper epoch in a fixed intercalated year, was imparted to the Egyptians. But we are assured, on the highest historical authority, that a person who was a Chaldee by descent, and by whom this information might be conveyed, had risen precisely at this conjuncture, to unlimited authority with the sovereign and priesthood, and was for some time resident at Heliopolis.[80] The patriarchs, from whom this person was descended,

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[78] Vid. Marsham, Can. Chron. Sæc. I. p. 22.

[79] Vid. ut supr. p. 295. n. 33. Between J. P. 813 and 3003 there intervenes a period of 2190 years; to which the sum of the Great Cycle of 1460 years, and 730 its half, are precisely equal. In the former period, the neomenia, after retrograding through the year, returned to the same day from whence it set out; in the latter, retrograding through the half year, it passed to the opposite equinox, or solstice. Having fallen on April 25th in J. P. 813, in receding a day every fourth year, it passed on October 25th after 730 years; and, in 1460 years from that time, again returned to that day, having completed a perfect cycle. Comp. on this subject Scal. Em. Temp. lib. v. p. 368. d. seq.

[80] Vid. Usser. Annal. ad J. P. 3999. 3006. Comp. Des-Vignol. tom. ii. p. 771. sq.

were compelled by the sabbatical character of their year (as a proper opportunity will I trust be allowed me to prove) to intercalate a week at a time; and, in taking the beginning of the year from the time of the equinox in the autumnal quarter, computed from the day when it fell on the 25th of October; and after the equinox had anticipated one week on the seasons, they took it from the 18th of that month. But the Egyptians, having deduced their reckoning from the equinox in spring, computed from the days when the neomenia fell in the opposite seasons of the year, and consequently referred it to the 25th and 18th of April.[81] In carrying up the erratic year to the earliest period of their history, a coincidence between its neomenia and these remarkable days in the secret or intercalated year naturally constituted epochs in their chronological system. As the new-year's day, in its retrocession, fell back for the first time upon April 25th in J. P. 813, and upon April 18th in J. P. 841;[82] these years were necessarily chosen as elementary dates in their era. It is therefore not merely probable in itself, but most consonant to the suggestion of Manetho, to suppose, that if the erratic year had been already introduced into Egypt, its epoch was not fixed previously to J. P. 3003;[83] and that, of course, every preceding

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[81] Conf. supr. p. 302.

[82] Vid. ut supr. p. 295. n. 33.

[83] There is indeed additional evidence of this position preserved by Syncellus, who declares that in the reign of Aseth the epagomenæ were added to the end of the year. Chron. ibid. p. 123. d. As the erratic or equable year was known to the patriarchs, having been used at the Deluge, Gen. vii. 11. &c. and as it is represented by the Egyptians as immemoriably observed in their country; it would seem, that this declaration must be understood of the affixing the epagomenæ to a particular day of the natural year, by adopting the artifice of an intercalation. According to the present scheme of Egyptian chronology, the reign of Aseth occurred between the years of J. P. 3101 and 3150. But as the time of this prince is sometimes confounded, as I shall have occasion to show hereafter, with that of Aphophis, of the same dynasty, who reigned between the years of J. P. 2990 and 3051; (vid. infr. n. 118.) it is probable, that Syncellus may have transferred to the one reign what properly belonged to the other. Of this latter monarch this writer declares, "it is agreed amongst all, that Joseph exercised authority under him in Egypt." Chron. ibid. p. 62. b. 69. d. In establishing this coincidence, the conformity between the sacred and ethnic chronology is truly astonishing; Joseph's exaltation in Egypt having commenced J. P. 2999, in the tenth year of that prince, and continued through the whole of his reign: vid. Usser. Annal. p. 16. seq. If it be doubted, that the knowledge of the day, on which the year commenced in the primitive ages, was imparted to the Egyptians by the patriarch Joseph; it will be difficult to

date of the Egyptian chronology was thence derived by a proleptical calculation. It is indeed obvious, that those dates might be deduced from that epoch by the simplest mode of computation; as the slightest knowledge of the theory of the equable or erratic year must have enabled the computer to discover, that after a lapse of 1460 years, the neomenia would retrograde to the 366th day, and in half a revolution, or 730 years, would fall back on the 183rd day. According to the dates thus easily acquired, it is not less plain, the fabulous portion of that chronology was distributed: from the basis thus assumed for their early chronology in J. P. 3003, at the distance of the former period, they placed in J. P. 1543 the accession of the sun, whom they accounted the first of their immortal rulers; and at the latter interval from this date, they equally fixed, in J. P. 813, the accession of Vulcan, and the earliest epoch of their chronology.[84] From knowing the day on which the neomenia fell in the

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conceive through what other channel they could have obtained it. The manifest coincidence of the first day of the Egyptian year, with the fixed neomenia of the patriarchal year,—October 25th,—in a particular reign, conveys no slight presumption, that the adoption of the epagomenæ should be referred to that reign in preference to any other: vid. infr. n. 114. Conf. Scal. Emend. Temp. lib. v. p. 369. b. c.

[84] Syncel. ubi supr. p. 18. d. To the reign of Vulcan, who stands at the head of the fabulous period, (Herod. lib. II. cxlii. Diodor. lib. i. p. 13. al. 8. d. Plat. Timæus, p. 1044. b.) 9000 *years* are ascribed in this passage by Manetho, which have been generally understood as signifying *months*, according to an usual mode of expression among the Egyptians: vid. Diod. Sic. lib. i. p. 15. Plut. Vit. Num. p. 72. Procl. in Tim. xxxi. 50. Syncel. ibid. Conf. Ficin. in Tim. Plat. p. 1017. It is indeed palpable, that the words of the Egyptian historian must be thus understood, as we are told that these 9000 periods are to be *deducted from* 1985 years; for which F. Goar has ridiculously proposed to substitute 11988, against the palpable meaning of his author, and the testimony of the ancients on those ancient Egyptian periods. Syncel. ib. annot. p. 8. From the immense term ascribed to this reign, some writers in Syncellus, following the clue thus suggested, have endeavoured to extract 724½ years 4 days; but neither this sum, nor that of 727 years, which the good father, with his wonted *ingenuity*, proposed to substitute for it, can be brought out by any system of arithmetic. In 9000 months of 30 days each, there are 270,000 days, which, as Scaliger and Whiston have observed, make 750 mean years, and amount to 739 equable years 8m. 25d. In so many months, consisting of 29 and 30 days alternately, there are 265,500 days, which exceed 727 equable years by 145 days, or 4 months 25 days. In the 724½ years 4 days, proposed by the computers noticed in Syncellus, there are 264,446 days, which fall short of 9000 pleni et cavi menses by 1054 days, or 35 months 4 days. It would hence appear,

year thus assumed as the basis of their computation, it was at once ascertained, that it would fall upon the same day at the former date, and just 183 days earlier at the latter: a slight incongruity, however, in the calculation, at once betrays it to have been arbitrary and factitious; as the new-year's day at neither epoch precisely coincided with one of the quarters into which the year was divided. At the time of both epochs, the vernal equinox, with which the neomenia was conceived to concur, fell upon April 23rd: and from the anticipation of the bissextile year, a period of 912 years was necessary to make it pass from the 25th to the 18th; where notwithstanding it was erroneously placed, by their computations, as early as the year of J. P. 841.

The latitude which was allowed the Egyptians in making choice of the particular year from which their great period was to be deduced, naturally leads us to inquire into the probable grounds of that preference, which induced them to fix it in J. P. 3003; as it might have obviously derived its beginning from any other year, while it was deduced from the 25th of October. In specifying the particular information, which the second Thoth, by whom their calendar was allowedly improved, derived from his predecessor of the same name, they have, however, furnished a clue to direct us in the inquiry. In acknowledging the transmission of this information from a high source, they have implicitly admitted the dependence of their principal epochs upon the remarkable date when that information was originally promulgated; and which, as fixed in the year of the J. P. 981, was formerly noticed as elementary in the Chaldee chronology.[84] Independent of the testimony thus indirectly borne, there is internal evidence that the

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that Manetho expressed in round numbers the months in 730½ Egyptian, or 730 Julian years. In this period there are 266,632 days; which, when divided by 9000, give a quotient of 29d. 15h. which is the length ascribed to the synodic month by Hevelius, when both luminaries are in apogee; and which differs from the synodic month of 29d. 12h. by a sum that might have been unknown to Manetho, or was neglected by him, when speaking with a studied purpose to conceal or exaggerate. To this interpretation of the 9000 periods ascribed to Vulcan's reign, the preference will be given without hesitation, when it is considered, that exclusively in this sense they constitute precisely one half of the Egyptian cycle of 1461 years; and offer a reason for the extension of this god's reign beyond the length ascribed to the other divine monarchs. Conf. Plat. Tim. p. 1044. b. Ficin. Compend. in Tim. cap. v. p. 1017.

[84] See p. 315. n. 85.

Chaldee date has had no inconsiderable influence on the Egyptian epochs. This supposition receives not a little confirmation from the coincidences which have been traced at the commencement of these observations, between the hypotheses devised by both people for investigating and explaining the difficulties, a solution of which had been sought, through the later Thoth, by Manetho. But from the remarkable distance at which the Egyptian epochs are placed from the Chaldee, adequate proof may be adduced of the relation subsisting between them. From the radical date of the Chaldees in J. P. 981, to the fabulous epoch of the Egyptians in J. P. 813, there are precisely 168 years; in which term the sabbatical period of 7 years performed exactly twenty-four revolutions; the genethliacal period of 12 years, fourteen; the small solar cycle of 28 years, six; and the great solar cycle of 84 years, two; each of which was deduced from its proper epoch.[85] However improbable the supposition that coincidences thus extraordinary can be accidental; on the assumption, that the one nation borrowed from the other, they admit of the easiest explanation. In ascending from the Chaldee epoch, by the great Chaldee period of 84 years; and it should be remembered the Egyptian epochs were obtained by a proleptical calculation; it was merely necessary to subduct that period twice; and as the peculiarities of every cycle return with each revolution, an epoch was thus obtained in which all the characters of that date were necessarily united.

III. When the fabulous and historical epochs of the Egyptians are respectively established, the great body of their chronology may be digested with little comparative difficulty. As the duration of each reign or dynasty is ascertainable on historical authority; on adding or subtracting them *seriatim* from the fixed epoch, each succession may be disposed in order. In proceeding to exhibit in a comparative view those cardinal dates, as determined in the principal systems of chronology, with a view to the determination of their relative merit; it should be, however, premised,

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[85] As $7 \times 24 = 12 \times 14 = 28 \times 6 = 84 \times 2 = 168$. The year of the J. P. 981 was formerly proved to be coincident with the first year of the sabbatical, the genethliacal, and the two solar cycles; each of these cycles, as derived from that date, were necessarily deduced from its proper epoch. Vid. Mem. on Assyr. Chron. uti supr. p. 17. 45.

that a particular hypothesis has been devised by Des-Vignolles to explain the early Egyptian chronology, by which the annexed dates have been elicited.[86] As the fabulous period is not included in the scheme of Scaliger, it has been necessary to extend his system to embrace it; which has been accordingly effected by subducting sums, equal to the length of the dynasties into which it is distributed, from the epoch which he assigns to the historical period, and which is fixed by him in J. P. 2114.[87] From various notices, which have been scattered by Ussher through his great work, it appears that he had digested the Egyptian chronology in a separate treatise;[88] but as he limits his views to the times subsequent to the deluge, and the whole of the fabulous period was antecedent to that event, it could have contained little which is available to our present purposes.

	Scaliger. J.P.	Des-Vignolles. J.P.	The Author. J.C.
Dynasty of Gods commences	912	1263	841
Dynasty of Semigods	1897	2218	1825
Dynasty of Mortals	2114	2429	2041

1. As the fundamental date of Scaliger is not deduced from principle, nor established by proof, it requires no specific examination. Viewing it, however, as resting solely on the felicitous conjecture of the extraordinary author, we cannot but regard its singular approximation to the truth with surprise; as a difference amounting merely to seventy years exists between it and the true epoch; while that existing between those dates in the scheme of Des-Vignolles is nearly four hundred.

As the system of Des-Vignolles is not merely sustained by an hypothesis which is ingenious and operose, but is founded upon an ancient cycle, which

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[86] Des-Vignol. ubi supr. tom. ii. p. 790, 791, 792. conf. p. 733. 767.

[87] Scalig. Canon. Isag. lib. iii. p. 130. Besides Menes the Theban, with whose accession, as fixed J. P. 2114, the historical period commences; Scaliger acknowledges an earlier monarch of the same name, whom he makes a Thinite; and dates his accession from J. P. 7010 anticipated. The one, of course, preceded the other, according to this computation, 3084 years. This difference in the times of these monarchs is founded on the supposition, that the Egyptian dynasties were successive, not simultaneous.

[88] Vid. Usser. ut supr. ad A. M. 1816. 3026. &c.

the Egyptians converted to chronological purposes, it comes more immediately within our province to inquire into its pretensions. The basis on which his system rests is determined by a notice in Syncellus; which in connecting, with the 6th year of the reign of Concharis, the year 700 of the Canicular cycle, identifies the accession of Menes, or Mestraim, the first monarch of Egypt, with the beginning of the cycle;[89] a period of that extent having intervened between both the specified years of those monarchs. On the date thus ascertained, as coincident with the historical epoch, the superstructure of the chronology of the fabulous period is consequently raised.[90] The different terms of 969 and 214 years, which Manetho is represented as assigning to the gods and semigods, are assumed to be expressed in astronomical years of 360 days; and respectively reduced, the former to 955 years 26 days, and the latter to 211 years 27 days.[91] The epoch of the Great Canicular Cycle being fixed by the author in the year of J. P. 3389;[92] he supposes the existence of an Ancient Cycle, of 480 Julian, or 487 astronomical years,[93] two revolutions of which, amounting to 960 years, as he professes to collect from Syncellus, had intervened between the Canicular and the historical epoch.[94] Thus placing the former in J. P. 3389; and, at the distance of 960 years from it, the latter in J. P. 2429; he thence determines, by a deduction of 211 years 27 days, as previously noticed, the epoch of the semigods in J. P. 2218;[95] and finally, by a deduction, from this date, of 955 years 26 days, for the reigns of the gods, he fixes the fabulous epoch in J. P. 1263.[96]

The instability of the foundation on which this deduction rests, would entitle it to a very brief consideration, had not the author sought to obtain it support in his theory of an Ancient Canicular Cycle, with which he has most ingeniously contrived to interweave it. With this view, he has succeeded, by the assistance of some management of his subject, and not a little correction of his authorities, in showing that the epochs into which it is divided, are distributed by revolutions of that early cycle, and computed

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[89] Des-Vignolles, ut supr. p. 665. 666. conf. Syncel. ut supr. p. 103. c.
[90] Des-Vignol. ibid. p. 655. 666. 790. seq.
[91] Id. ibid. p. 656. 791.
[92] Id. ibid. p. 675. 800.
[93] Id. ibid. p. 652.
[94] Id. ibid. p. 668.
[95] Id. ibid. p. 656. 792.
[96] Id. ibid. p. 665. 790.

from the very beginning of the Egyptian year. He has thus undertaken to prove, that the fabulous period, within which the reigns of the gods and semigods were included, not only consisted of perfect revolutions of his ancient and elementary cycle,[97] but that it deduced its epoch in J. P. 1263, from the entrance of the sun into the solstice, July 21 or 22, when the year of the Egyptians properly commenced.[98] And he affects likewise to prove, that the interval of 960 years, between the epoch of the historical period and of the Great Canicular year equally resolved itself into perfect cycles,[99] which conformed in a manner not less remarkable to the beginning of the year; as the former was dated from J.P. 2429, July 20th,[100] and the latter from J. P. 3389, July 20th; on which day the heliacal rising of Sirius occurred at Heliopolis,[101] from whence the name of Canicular was derived to the Egyptian erratic year.

But an unlucky weakness, in the foundation of this splendid hypothesis, has spread unsoundness through the whole superstructure. Neither the history nor the science employed by the author, in its construction, will stand the test of examination. Its entire security hangs upon the accuracy of Syncellus, in antedating the historical epoch 960 years to the canicular; but the views of that chronologist are wholly misconceived, in the assumption, that he intended to mark by this interval a prior canicular era. Had such been his object, it is wholly inconceivable, that he should have deferred disclosing it, until he had reached the seven hundredth year of his succession of Egyptian kings; and absolutely impossible, that he should have measured the interposed period by "years of the cycle called by Manetho[102] canicular:" to which his readers could annex but one sense, and such a sense as is absolutely incompatible with the meaning forced upon them by the theorist; who understands them as meant of a species of Canicular cycle essentially different from that which Syncellus exclusively describes,[103] and which had been employed by Manetho. In fact, that chronologist's design in the observation, on which the theorist builds, is so plain, and so fully illustrated by his description of the peculiar species of year which Manetho

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[97] Des-Vignolles, ut supra, p. 656. [98] Id. ibid. p. 790. 681, 682.
[99] Id. ibid. p. 668. [100] Id. ibid. p. 792. [101] Id. ibid. p. 682, 683.
[102] Syncel. ut supr. p. 103. conf. Des-Vignol. ibid. p. 665. d.
[103] Des-Vignol. ibid. p. 668. conf. p. 651, 652.

employed,[104] that no doubt can be for a moment entertained respecting its identity with the vulgar or Great Canicular year. This writer while computing a like succession of Egyptian kings from the same epoch,[105] having set him the example, in noticing a peculiar coincidence where the first fifteen generations terminated with the year 443, and a transfer of the sovereignty to a new dynasty;[106] Syncellus proceeds, merely in imitation of his remark, to notice a like coincidence, in the close of the twenty-fifth generation, and the sixth and last year of Concharis, with the year 700: the computation being accommodated to a change in the dynasty, at the remarkable epoch coincident with the close of the common solar and lunar cycles, it puts the matter out of dispute.[107] And so stubborn are dates, in their nature, that from those annexed by Syncellus to the reigns of the Egyptian monarchs, from whence the theorist derives his epochs, a demonstration arises, that the greatest violence is offered to his words, in forcing upon them a sense which they were never intended to bear. The historical epoch, as was formerly observed, is not only identified by Syncellus with A. M. 2776; but determined by its coincdence with the

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[104] Syncel. ut supr. p. 51. b. 52. b. c.

[105] It has been already shown, that the allusion, in the 'Ancient Chronicle,' ap. Syncel. p. 51. c. is to the Theban succession preserved by Eratosthenes; which it appears Syncellus had before him, in observing the coincidence, and upon which Des-Vignolles builds: vid. supr. p. 293. conf. Syncel. ibid. p. 103. c. 104. b.

[106] Syncel. ibid. p. 51. d.

[107] Id. ibid. p. 103. c. On dividing 700 by 25, the number of years in the Egyptian *lunar cycle*, the quotient 28 expresses the number of years in the *solar cycle*. The period in Syncellus (as $25 \times 28 = 700$) thus proves to be the great cycle, necessary to equate these lesser cycles; and at the same time determines the proper length of its *solar* element to be 28 years, wanting about seven months. We thus acquire a sufficient reason for the chronologist's choice of it, and a demonstration that the years of which it consisted, as those of the common Canicular cycle, were not equable, but equated to the secret or tropical year. Of the attachment of the Egyptians to a great lunisolar period of such a length, some evidence exists in Herodotus, lib. II. cap. cxl. The large circle, which was constructed in the reign of Osymanduas,—who is universally admitted to be the same person as Rameses, who built the Rameseion, in which it was placed,—contains a proof that the equated year of 365¼ days was known to that people, from the time of the institution of the Canicular year by the same monarch: vid. Diod. lib. i. p. 46. al. 32. b. c.

time of the dispersion, and the fifth year of the patriarch Phaleg.[108] On subducting the constant difference[109] between the era of the world by which he computes, and the Julian era, the remainder, expressing J. P. 2000, will mark the Egyptian historical epoch, according to Syncellus's views. While between this year, and that deduced by Des-Vignolles, from his theory of the Canicular cycle, J. P. 1263, the inordinate difference exists of 737 years; between it, and that proposed in the present scheme of Egyptian chronology, J. P. 2041, a difference exists which amounts to no more than 41 years. We may conclude, therefore, that whatever be the value of Syncellus's testimony, it as clearly decides in favour of the latter system, as against the pretensions of that which it is cited to uphold. Nor can the allusion of that chronologist to "the Canicular cycle" have any relevancy, different from that of proving, that the historical period of the Egyptians was computed by Manetho, according to it, from the year of J. P. 2000; after the example and precedent of the 'Ancient Chronicle' of that people, in which no other species of solar year was employed, but the equable, consisting of 365 days.[110]

In this consideration, likewise, no inconsiderable part of the support, which the hypothesis of Des-Vignolles derives from its science, is withdrawn from it; as his theory of an ancient Canicular cycle is founded on the astronomical year, which the erratic or proper Egyptian year exceeded by five days. It has been, however, already shown, that the fabulous period had been reduced in the computation of Manetho, on which he builds, to Egyptian years; through a misconception, that the astronomical year was employed in computing the length of that period by the author of the 'Ancient Chronicle.'[111] It is unnecessary to engage in an examination of the theory devised by the author, for proving the existence of an ancient Canicular cycle of 480 years; by which he would induce us to believe, the Egyptians measured the earlier period of their chronology. Such an assumption is not merely void of support from ancient authority, but is destitute of internal probability; as founded on an erroneous supposition,

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[108] Syncel. ibid. p. 91. a. 103. c. conf. Goar. Tab. Chron. ib. p. 424.

[109] Vid. supr. p. 300. n. 49.

[110] Vid. supr. p. 290. and n. 12. Comp. Marsham. Can. Chron. p. 9.

[111] Vid. supr. p. 298. and n. 42. 43.

that the Julian year is equal to the sidereal.[112] The artifice by which he contrives to deduce both the fabulous and the historical epoch from the remarkable day, on which the Egyptian year opened with the heliacal rising of Sirius, consists simply in the management, by which he reduces the period intervening between them to revolutions of the lesser Canicular cycle; as each return of these periods brings the beginning of the year to the day on which it fell, at their commencement. To accommodate the term thus interposed between those epochs, to his Canicular theory, he positively reduces the fabulous period, from 1185 to 1183 years, against Syncellus's testimony,[113] and limits the historical to 960 years, without his support or authority;[114] deserting his author not merely in his estimation of the length of the year by which he computes, but in his determination of the basis on which he grounds his calculation; in the latter case, departing from him to the extravagant extent of 736 years, as we formerly had occasion to observe. While he assumed to himself this latitude, changing every thing that made against his system, and accommodating it to his purposes, we cannot feel surprise, that any results which his hypothesis required, should have come forth at his desire.

As a final and fundamental objection to this theory, it remains to be stated, that the chronology of the Egyptian kings, as drawn up by

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[112] The fabulous period which the theorist limits to 1183 astronomical years, as reduced to Julian time, amounts to 1166 years; the former term consisting of 425,880 days, the latter of 425,881 days 18 hours: Des-Vignol. ut supr. p. 656. But 1163 sidereal years, to which the term should be properly reduced, as measured by cycles which were computed by the heliacal rising of the star Sirius, consist of 425,888d. 23h. 45′. 47″. exceeding the fabulous period, as computed by the astronomical year, nearly 9 days. Comp. Des-Vign. ibid. p. 654.

[113] In assigning 1183 years as the length of the fabulous period, the half years respectively added to the reigns of Vulcan, Agathodæmon, and Saturn, by Syncellus, ibid. p. 19. are rejected from the calculations of Des-Vignolles: ibid. p. 655, 656. conf. Syncel. ibid. p. 41. c.

[114] It is merely stated by Syncellus, that the epagomenæ were adopted in the reign of Aseth: vid. supr. p. 312. n. 83. This authority affords no countenance to Des-Vignolles, in referring this change of the calendar to a particular year of that reign, which extended properly to 49 years according to Manetho; and is indeed opposed to him, in placing it at its close: vid. Des-Vignolles, ib. p. 667, 668. The period marked out by Syncellus, instead of being extended to 960 years, may be limited to any year between 940 and 960, or indeed 989; within which the reign of Aseth was included, according to his chronology.

Syncellus, upon which it is built, is not merely unsupported by authority, as the theorist was thoroughly aware;[115] but in the particular part of it on which his deductions are founded, it is directly opposed to the concurrent testimony of the ancients. In the distribution of the fifteenth dynasty, on which his theory properly depends, Syncellus is not merely opposed to the authority of Africanus and Eusebius, but of Manetho and Josephus; as may be immediately seen on viewing the comparative statements of these chronologists, as disposed in parallel columns by Marsham.[116] In the reign of Aseth, from the twentieth year of which Des-Vignolles deduces the notion, and computes the period of his smaller Canicular cycle,[117] Syncellus interjects a supernumerary king named Certus, respecting whose reign all the preceding chronologists are unfortunately silent. Nor can any supposition be more foreign from the truth, than that which the chronologist hazards, on the discovery of the epagomenæ, in the reign of that prince with which this liberty is taken, most probably with the view of justifying his conjecture respecting them;[118] although the entire hypothesis of Des-Vignolles, if this supposition is disproved, becomes deprived of every semblance of probability. The Egyptians, as we have already observed, in supposing that the nativity of their very gods occurred upon the epagomenæ, necessarily referred the knowledge of those days to a period not merely antecedent to the accession of Aseth, but to the birth of their earliest monarch.

2. As the whole of the annals of the Egyptians were necessarily included

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[115] Vid. Des-Vignol. ut supr. tom. ii. p. 664.

[116] Vid. Marsham. Can. Chron. Sæc. VIII. p. 100. conf. Syncel. ut supr. p. 42. b.

[117] Des-Vignol. ubi supr. p. 667, 668.

[118] I have already advanced some reasons to prove, that Syncellus was mistaken in referring the introduction of the epagomenæ to the reign of Aseth, which should be properly referred to the times of Aphophis: vid. supr. p. 312. n. 83. The endeavour to render Joseph contemporary with the latter monarch in an erroneous system of chronology, has occasioned an unwarrantable dislocation of the fifteenth dynasty, to which those kings belonged, as fully appears from the full and circumstantial extract which Josephus has given of it from Manetho. Of Syncellus's liability to err, in his views of it, we have this evidence; that, while he charges Eusebius with inaccuracy in his details of it, he overlooks the unjustifiable corruption of it, with which Africanus was chargeable: vid. Syncellus, ubi supr. p. 62. b. 69. d.

between the two dates, which have been ascertained as the historical epoch and basis of their chronology; within these limits, it is obvious, the entire system of it should be arranged and digested. Now, if it could be shown that the different successions of kings, which must be included within these bounds, formed one uninterrupted line; the task might be accomplished with little additional trouble. But while the entire interval comprised between the historical epoch and basis of the chronology amounts to 2323 years; the sum of the monarch's reigns, which must be comprised within that space, unfortunately exceeds that term, by some centuries.

To dispose of the difficulty arising from the immoderate duration of the dynasties, recourse has been had to various suppositions. With the long line of monarchs of whom Syncellus preserves the catalogue,[119] as extracted by Africanus from the works of Manetho, one writer makes brief work; as he strikes off the whole of the first dynasties, as the mere figments of the Egyptian chronologist.[120] If such an object be imputable to this writer, of which I must confess I have yet discovered no evidence; and he is supposed to offer the whole of the thirty dynasties which were inserted in his 'Tomes,' as a regular succession of Egyptian monarchs, the weakness of the undertaking admits of an easy exposure. That fifteen of these dynasties must be rejected from the line of *monarchs*, who in an uninterrupted series were supposed to have swayed the sceptre of Egypt, appears not less plainly on the internal evidence of the catalogues in which they are enrolled, than the external testimony of the 'Ancient Chronicle,' which is the only instrument of authority, as professing to be of native origin. To these supernumerary dynasties, which so much exceed the bounds within which the Egyptian chronology must be circumscribed, that ancient document assigns no place; superseding them by fifteen generations, in ascribing to which, as I formerly observed, 443 years, it includes them within moderate and practicable limits. As several of these dynasties consist in a mere numeration of the reigns of princes, of whom not so much is preserved

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[119] Syncel. ut supr. p. 54. seq.

[120] Perizon. Orig. Ægypt. Dr. Hales has likewise followed this writer; and before him, Helvicus had rejected the first fifteen dynasties, in his Chronological Tables: New Analys. of Chronol.

as the name, they bear impressed upon them every mark of a fictitious character. If they are taken for a series of successive reigns, as amounting with the earliest monarchs to more than *forty-five*, they will greatly exceed the number to which we are assured they were confined; for it will not be easy to justify the exclusion of the gods and semigods from the Egyptian dynasties, as they were conceived to govern the country, and amounted precisely to *fifteen;* and, with the *fifteen* orders of mortal sovereigns, made up the sum of *thirty;* the sum precisely which is exclusively acknowledged as complete in the 'Ancient Chronicle.'[121] In the misconceptions which might arise on this subject, it is indeed probable, the notion that those dynasties were consecutive, which were properly contemporary, has originated; an error in which the computer would be naturally confirmed by a distinction inculcated in the mythology of this people, between the immortal and mortal rulers.[122] By those who found it difficult, in compliance with this distinction, to allow the former any chronological existence, it might be not unreasonably conceived, that to the latter order the *thirty* dynasties belonged, by whom they supposed their country had been governed: to verify this supposition, and complete the requisite number of so many dynasties, those rulers who flourished together were consequently supposed to succeed each other.

We have therefore adequate ground for concluding, that out of the thirty dynasties, of which Africanus has given an extract from Manetho, fifteen must be excepted, as considered exclusive of the line of sovereign rulers by whom Egypt was governed in succession. It was indeed conjectured by Scaliger, that the reigns of many of them were simultaneous; and Sir John Marsham, improving upon the suggestion,[123] has accordingly disposed them in different and contemporary successions. Nor is there less ground for determining, among the thirty dynasties, some of which must be thus deemed supernumerary, which should be excluded from the monarchical line; as the *first fifteen*, with an inconsiderable exception, are *disavowed* by

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[121] Syncel. ubi supr. p. 15. c. 51. d. 18. c. conf. p. 40. d. The last authority is indeed express: Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα [Μανεθῶ] καὶ περὶ ἐθνῶν Αἰγυπτιακῶν πέντε, ἐν τριάκοντα δυναστείας ἱστορεῖ τῶν λεγομένων παρ' αὐτοῖς θεῶν καὶ νεκύων καὶ θνητῶν: where "the gods and demigods" are included in the "thirty dynasties."

[122] Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. i. p. 27. b. conf. Herod. lib. II. cxlii. p. 144. 44. Diodor. lib. i. p. 7. c. al. 10.

[123] Marsh. Can. Chron. Sæc. I. p. 25.

the author of the 'Ancient Chronicle,' and the *last fifteen* are not only *acknowledged* by that chronologist, but are generally adopted in the lists of Manetho, Africanus, and Eusebius.[124]

As the 'Ancient Chronicle,' which has been hitherto principally followed in digesting the chronology of the Egyptians, is of the greatest weight, the authority of Manetho merging in a great measure in it, as that of Africanus and Eusebius merges in the authority of Manetho; it is to be wished, that, according to the sketch which it gives of the science, the draught might be filled up, and the main succession of the Egyptian kings be reduced to their proper order. According to the outline which it marks out, a series of monarchs may be indeed formed, and disposed in a connected chain; as an opportunity will soon offer itself for proving. But the author, through caprice or local prejudice, has unfortunately manifested a disposition to conduct the succession of Egyptian kings through the Memphite line; and the extract of his work which has reached us, has unhappily suffered from the waywardness or inadvertency of its transcribers. As he however declares, that the royal line commenced in the fifteen generations who reigned 443 years,[125] and whom he abstains from naming Thebans, through the predilection which he betrays to the Memphites; he admits the legitimacy of the catalogue of those kings that was drawn up by Erastosthenes, and which, after the fragment of his own work, is the most valuable relic that has descended to us, of the chronological remains of this ancient people. If therefore, adhering to the line which this early chronologist prescribes, we join with this succession the last fifteen dynasties, by whom, according to the common consent of chronologists, Egypt was governed; we shall thus ascertain, in the joint succession, the line of monarchs by whom it was conceived the sceptre was swayed in that country: and of the integrity of the series which arises from the combination, a convincing proof may be deduced from the 'Ancient Chronicle,' which has been chiefly followed in this investigation. In the distribution of the great cycle, according to which that Chronicle is arranged, the complement of 2323 years is assigned to the reigns of the mortal rulers;[126] if therefore the sum

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[124] Syncel. ut supr. p. 51. d. 61. seq.

[125] Id. ibid. p. 51. d.

[126] Vid. supr. p. 291.

of the entire series agree precisely with that number, and it appears that the different parts of which it is composed, when applied in detail to each extremity of the period which it measures, meet in the same year; no question can be raised, that the fragments, which, on being joined, thus correspond with each other, formed integral parts of the same whole.

As the epoch and basis of the Egyptian chronology have been already determined, the two extremes are fixed, within which the proof may be effected and the distribution of the different series comprised, which constitute the proper line of Egyptian sovereigns. In disposing them in the annexed table, the computation has been progressively made, by an addition to the epoch, J. P. 2041, and a subtraction from the basis, J. P. 4364; according to the length assigned to each monarch's reign in the respective catalogues of Erastosthenes and Manetho, as preserved by Syncellus. In conformity, however, to the division of the 'Ancient Chronicle,' and the distribution of the tomes of Manetho; the sixteenth dynasty is supposed to commence from the termination of the first fifteen generations,[127] and the seventeenth is computed from the close of the reign of Nitocris:[128] for Eratosthenes, who is in other respects scrupulously followed, has not acknowledged such a division of the early succession of Theban monarchs.

	Dynasties.		Intervals.	Founders.	Accession.	
					J. P.	B.C.
—	15	Thebans	443 [129]	Menes (epoch)	2041	2673
XVI.	7	———	233 [130]	Sensaophis	2484	2230
XVII.	15	———	373 [131]	Myrtæus	2717	1997
Sum	37		1049			
XVIII.	17	Diospolites	333 [132]	Tethmosis	3090	1624
XIX.	5	———	185 [133]	Sethos	3423	1291

[127] Syncel. ubi supr. p. 51. d. [128] Id. ibid. p. 58. b.

[129] Eratos. ap. Syncel. ubi supr. p. 91. d. 96. c. 101. d.

[130] Id. ap. eund. ibid. p. 104. b. [131] Id. ibid. p. 105. b. 123. d. 147. c.

[132] Maneth. ap. Joseph. contr. Apion. lib. i. p. 1041. b. conf. Syncel. ut supr. p. 104. a. 69. d. 70. a. 71. d. 72. a.

[133] African. ap. Syncel. ib. p. 72. b. Euseb. ap. eund. p. 73. b. In stating the length of the six kings' reigns which compose this dynasty, Africanus is followed merely in the two

Dynasties.		Intervals.	Founders.	Accession. J. P.	B. C.
XXI.	7 Tanites	130 [134]	Smedes	3608	1106
XXII.	9 Bubastites	116 [135]	Sesonchis	3738	976
XXIII.	4 Tanites	89 [136]	Petubastes	3854	860
XXIV.	1 Saite	44 [137]	Bocchoris	3943	771
XXV.	3 Ethiopians	40 [138]	Sabbachon	3987	727
XXVI.	7 Saites	162 [139]	Stephinates	4027	687
XXVII.	5 Persians	111 [140]	Cambyses	4189	525
XXVIII.	1 Saite	6 [141]	Amyrtæus	4300	414
XXIX.	3 Mendesians	20 [142]	Nepherites	4306	408
XXX.	4 Sebennites	38 [143]	Nectanebes	4326	388
——	Persians [144]		Ochus (basis)	4364	350
Sum	66	1274			

In this table we consequently obtain demonstrative evidence of the adequacy of the criterion proposed at the commencement of these observations, for establishing the present chronological system. The pillars on which it rises being firmly fixed, in the determination of the epoch and basis, from whence the computation is made at either extreme of the succession; in the intermediate year, at which we arrive, by addition on

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first, as he has corrupted the latter part of the succession by the introduction of Rameses, at the close of it, from the preceding dynasty; to make room for whom, he has abridged the three adjoining reigns. The length of these reigns is accordingly adopted from Eusebius, ibid. p. 73. b. Between these chronologists we frequently discover that conformity, whereby we are enabled to correct the one by the other: thus in dynasty XXI., the sum of the reigns is stated in both at 130 years; but the seventh reign is given with an error in Africanus, which admits of an immediate correction from the number in Eusebius; conf. ibid. p. 73. c. 74. c.

[134] African. ap. Syncel. ib. p. 73. c.

[135] Id. ap. eund. ibid. p. 73. d.

[136] Id. ap. eund. ibid. p. 74. a.

[137] The dates of this dynasty and of those which follow are adopted from Ussher, who in digesting this part of the Egyptian chronology follows Africanus, but with modifications and corrections from Herodotus and Diodorus: vid. Annal. ad ann. 3943. p. 82.

[138] Usser. ad ann. p. 94. conf. African. ib. p. 74. b.

[139] Usser. ibid. p. 107. 109. conf. African. ib. p. 75. c.

[140] Usser. ibid. p. 150. conf. African. ib. p. 75. c.

[141] Usser. ibid. p. 207. conf. African. ib. p. 77.

[142] Usser. ibid. p. 219. 221. conf. African. ib. p. 76. a.

[143] Usser. ibid. p. 162. c. conf. African. ib. p. 77. b.

[144] Usser. ibid. p. 276. conf. African. ib. p. 77. c.

the one hand, and by subtraction on the other, a test is obtained by which the soundness of the superstructure appears to be demonstrated. The sum of the reigns in the succession of Eratosthenes amounting, as appears on inspection, to 1049 years, and that of the reigns indirectly derived from Manetho, to 1274; by adding the former to the epoch in J. P. 2041, or subducting the latter from the basis in J. P. 4364, we equally arrive at the year 3090 of that era. Although such an effect might be the product of chance, in admitting the probability of which, we must consider the casualty next to miraculous; the result, it must be allowed, is that precisely which would arrive, had the two series which meet in the same year been integral parts of one continued succession.

Nor is it easy to conceive above one, or two points, at the most, in this distribution of the royal Egyptian line, which lie open to an objection. For it may be possibly supposed, that the connexion between the eighteenth and the preceding dynasty is unsustained by proof; and that the breach which is made in the line of succession, by the suppression of the twentieth dynasty, is arbitrary and unsupported by evidence. The link which connects both extremes of the chain has been, however, so satisfactorily supplied from Diodorus Siculus by Marsham,[145] as to preclude the necessity

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[145] Vid. Marsham. Can. Chron. Sæc. XI. p. 298, 299. I must however beg leave to protest against the supposition of this learned chronologist, that the 53 Theban kings enumerated in the catalogue of Apollodorus, *included* the 37 which Syncellus has given from Eratosthenes, as it is founded on a palpable mistranslation of the words of this chronologist, of which Goar has given the proper meaning: conf. Marsh. ibid. p. 298. a. Syncel. ibid. 147. d. The subsequent observation, however, bears more immediately on the subject. Marsh. ibid. p. 298. d. "Nos quidem in canone regibus istis [Eratosthenæis] hos [ex XVIII. Manethonis dynastia] subnectere tentavimus; et Amuthantæi successorem supposuimus Amosim, 38 Thebanorum regem; satis congruum habentes, ut antea Tanitis Tanitas, ita hic Thebanis Thebanos addere. Neque infeliciter res cessit: ex ista enim dispositione emersit magna historiæ Ægyptiacæ harmonia, et duas fabricavimus chronologiæ nostræ validissimas compagines." On the first of these connexions I have little to observe; the subsequent receives my fullest concurrence: id. ibid. "In altero connexionis hujus argumento, magnus est tam in regum, quam in annorum numero consensus. Numerabant sacerdotes a Mene ad Sesostrim regum 52 annos 1400. Ex Eratosthene numeravimus (post Menem) reges 36; decima octava dynastia habet reges 16: sunt omnes reges 52. Rursus Eratosthenes suis regibus attribuit annos 1050, Manetho suis 333: sunt omnes anni 1383. Desunt de rotundo illo numero, a sacerdotibus putato, anni 17." From the succession of Eratosthenes one year has been however withdrawn, in reducing

of entering at any extent into that subject. And that the rejection of the twentieth dynasty under twelve Diospolite sovereigns, on whom Manetho bestows the government of Egypt for 135 years,[146] is not merely justifiable, but indispensable, an observation will fully establish. As that chronologist has thought proper to communicate nothing more respecting these kings, of whose very names he avows himself ignorant, we must be allowed to suppose, that an imaginary existence has been conferred on them, to serve the purposes merely of a hypothesis. The very place in which he introduces these supernumeraries, in ranging them at the head of his third tome, casts discredit upon them; as care was thus taken, that the line of succession, which it might not be safe to disturb, should receive no interruption by their admission. Of the spuriousness of their pretensions we have, however, a positive proof; as they occasion the extension of the dynasties to thirty-one,[147] of which we are assured on the highest authority, that thirty was the legitimate number.[148] As the whole of the presumptive evidence, of which the question admits, is thus subversive of their authenticity, we have a plea abundantly strong, for discarding them, in the confusion which must arise in the system into which they are obtruded.

There is, however, external and conclusive evidence, as well of this point, as of the accuracy of the preceding catalogue of the Egyptian monarchs; to which it is expedient to refer, as it fully establishes the continuity of the succession, however various the sources from which it is derived, or the materials of which it is compounded. The list which Eratosthenes has given of the first Theban rulers extends to 37 kings; but we learn from Syncellus,[149] that it contained 53 additional sovereigns, as originally drawn up by its author. On reviewing the monarchs, by whom the subsequent dynasties bore sway, the first natural interruption of the succession of native princes occurs at the accession of the Persians to the sovereign authority.

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this space of time from the Egyptian to the Julian mode of computation: vid. sup. p. 294. n. 28. The particular terms, at which the beginning of two Egyptian years fell within the compass of the same Julian, are noticed supr. p. 295. n. 33. At such times, two Egyptian years answered to one Julian.

[146] Syncel. ibid. p. 73. c.

[147] Id. ibid. p. 256. a.

[148] Id. ibid. p. 51. b. 52. a.

[149] Syncel. ut supr. p. 147.

The subjection of Egypt to an alien dynasty under Cambyses, at this time,[150] formed an epoch in its history not less remarkable than at its subsequent subjugation by Ochus. The civil authority was, at that time, equally overthrown, and the national religion subverted; the god Apis having been slain, and the priests driven into banishment.[151] At this epoch, of course, that interruption occurred in the royal line, which prescribed bounds to the succession of the chronologist; at this place Eratosthenes consequently found reason to bring his catalogue to a close. Now if the monarchs be numbered, who governed to the time of the Persian invasion, in the eight dynasties which succeeded the first Theban monarchs contained in his list, it will be found, that they precisely amount to 53, in conformity to Syncellus's statement. Nor is the testimony more explicit or decisive, which is thus borne to the number of the monarchs who governed, than that which may be adduced respecting the dynasties in which they bore sway. Syncellus, to whom we are indebted for as much of the catalogue as has been preserved to our times, and by whom the remainder of that valuable chronological relic was seen,—in mentioning the kings of the twenty-eighth dynasty, computes the whole of those which intervened from the time of Menes, as amounting merely to ten.[152] If the first Theban monarchs, which constitute the list of Eratosthenes, and consist of 37 kings, be understood to form a single dynasty, as they were in fact disposed by Eratosthenes, and regarded by Syncellus; having been distributed in the preceding table into three compartments, in compliance merely with an artificial division of the 'Ancient Chronicle;' it will equally appear, as in the preceding case, that on the twentieth dynasty being rejected, the sum of the dynasties from Menes to the twenty-eighth exclusive, as amounting to ten, precisely accords with the number which Syncellus has stated.

Nor is the testimony of the last-named chronologist less deserving of remark, as tending to establish the same conclusion; since it is inconceivable, that the evidence of which he has given the details, and on which our deductions are founded, could have failed in its operation only on his own conviction. In the catalogue of Egyptian kings which he has drawn up, he

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[150] Syncel. ibid. p. 210. d.

[151] Plut. de Isid. et Osirid. cap. xliv.

[152] Syncel. ubi supr. p. 210. d.

numbers 93 monarchs, to whose successive reigns, from Menes to Teos, he ascribes a period of 2372 years;[153] placing the accession of the first monarch in A. M. 2776, and the demise of the last in A. M. 5148.[154] If from these numbers respectively we deduct the constant sum of 776 years, by the subtraction of which the dates of his chronology are reduced to years of the Julian period; we shall obtain the year 2000 of that era, correspondent to the epoch, and 4372, correspondent to the basis of his computation. When these numbers are compared with those which have been elicited from the same principles, by a more rigid mode of deduction, it will be seen, that in fixing the former date, he has erred but 41 years, and in determining the latter, but 8 years; having been mistaken not more than 49 years, in his estimation of the time for which this ancient empire existed. When these venial lapses, in a subject of so much intricacy, are compared with the immoderate errors which appear in the best digested schemes of Egyptian chronology, and when the insuperable obstacles with which he had to contend, in reconciling any system of dates with the incurable blunders of the Septuagint computation, to which he has exclusively adhered, we shall have juster ground for surprise at his success, than for regret at his failure. It seems probable, that so fortunate a result is to be attributed to the assistance which he derived from the catalogue of Eratosthenes: to which supposition not a little support is derived from the consideration, that in compiling his own catalogue, he has followed the method observed by that writer. After his example, he neglects the distribution of the reigns into dynasties, until he reaches the period at which Eratosthenes brought his digest to a close;[155] but from that time he follows the method which he is particular in stating had been observed by Manetho.[156]

3. But among the proofs which may be advanced in support of the present scheme of Egyptian chronology, as those arising from historical coincidence are the most forcible, those deducible from the sacred records are among the most interesting and important. I have already noticed incidentally the

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[153] Syncel. ibid. p. 91. a. 257. a. conf. p. 210. d. [154] Id. ibid.

[155] Id. ibid. p. 210. d. Here Diodorus, also, after the same example, makes a division in the history of the Egyptian kings: vid. Bibl. Hist. p. 62. al. 44. a. conf. p. 5. al. 4. b. Syncel. p. 91. c. Constant. Manass. al. [156] Id. ibid. p. 256. a.

extraordinary bearing which the pagan scheme has upon the patriarchal history, at the remarkable epoch J. P. 3003, from whence the great period of the Egyptians must be deduced, and have intimated the probable source from whence their knowledge of the primitive neomenia was derived, which was the foundation of their computations. As the main points of contact between the Egyptians and Hebrews lie within the times of Joseph and Moses; of the extraordinary incidents in which the latter bore the chief part, the accounts which have been transmitted to us are most full and circumstantial. As our present concern, however, is exclusively with dates, I shall therefore proceed to show, as in the case of Joseph, that, in determining the time of the great event which was achieved under Moses, there is the most perfect coincidence in the calculations of the Egyptians and Hebrews.

By the uniform consent of the ancient chronologists, it appears, that the time of the exod from Egypt occurred while that country was governed by the eighteenth dynasty.[157] Manetho has expressly referred the expulsion of the captive shepherds, whose history, there can be no rational doubt, included that of the Israelites, to the time of Tethmosis II.:[158] for although Josephus, with a view to advance the antiquity of his nation, has laboured to transfer that event from the reign of the seventh to that of the first monarch of the series, his error is fully refuted by Marsham.[159] The point is indeed decided by the identification of the prince who engaged in the enterprise (of which, by the way, his successor Amenophis acquired the glory,) as the son Miphramuthosis.[160] On an inspection of the successions which are subjoined to this investigation, it will be directly seen, that the demise of the one prince, and the accession of the other, according to the disposition of the eighteenth dynasty, occurred in J. P. 3222, B. C. 1492, precisely one year previous to the date of the exod, as determined by Ussher.[161] It is, however, a curious and remarkable circumstance, that the computation of this learned chronologist must be corrected, to agree with

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[157] African. et Euseb. ap. Syncel. ut supr. p. 69. a. 72. b.

[158] Maneth. ap. Joseph. contr. Apion. p. 1040. d.

[159] Marsham. ubi supr. Sæc. IX. p. 133. d. X. p. 241. c. XII. p. 319. a. Conf. Joseph. ib. p. 1041. g. 1052. c. Chærem. ap. eund. p. 1057. a.

[160] Maneth. ap. Joseph. ut supr. p. 1040. e. conf. Marsh. ibid. p. 309. Syncel. p. 62. c. 69. b. 71. a.

[161] Usser. ubi supr. p. 21.

the Egyptian computation. To the epoch of the departure of the Israelites under Moses, as fixed by him, the objection has been justly raised, that it is destitute of all the chronological characters by which that event was distinguished.[162] Nor is it less extraordinary, that on throwing back the date one year with the Egyptians, these characters are not only restored, but the radix is determined from which the succession of sabbatical and jubilee cycles may be regularly computed, and a difficulty consequently removed which is among the most perplexing which have embarrassed chronologists.[163] The epoch being thus referred to J. P. 3222, the coincidence between the Egyptian and Hebrew date of the exod is perfectly established. On a transient review of Manetho's statement of that event, it must be apparent, that the fall of Tethmosis who engaged in the expulsion of the Israelites, however suppressed by the historian, to avert the national disgrace, must be necessarily inferred, from the manner in which the sovereign authority passed to Amenophis his successor.[164]

In the course of the same dynasty, additional evidence arises, from the reign of Rameses Meiamûn, in corroboration of the same principle. In that monarch's reign, the great Sothiacal period of the Egyptians properly commenced, the epoch of which has been determined with great precision. The neomenia of the erratic year, in its retrocession upon the seasons,[165] from the time of its establishment in J. P. 3003, was observed to fall, at the time of the new era, on the day in which the morning rising of Sirius visibly

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[162] Des-Vignolles, tom. i. p. 579.

[163] Id. ibid. p. 722. seq.

[164] Conf. Maneth. ap. Joseph. ut supr. p. 1040. 1052. Marsham, who distinguished the captive shepherds, as Arabians, from the Israelites, has noticed the apparent inconsistency into which the desire to suppress the truth has led not only Josephus but Manetho: of the latter he observes, (Can. Chron. Sæc. XII. p. 308.) "Josephus in hujus regis [Tuthmosis] nomine mire inconstans est. Hic ex Manethone vocatur Θούμμωσις: mox, ex eodem, in recensione horum regum, Θμῶσις. Alibi, etiam ex Manethone, dicit τοὺς ὑπὸ Τεθμώσεως, ἀπελθόντας ποιμένας· pastores a [sub] Tethmose depulsos [egressos] ..... Præterea, Manetho tradidit Judæos ex Ægypto pulsos esse ab Amenophe rege; non utique a Tethmose aliquo, aut Amose, aut Thmose, aut Thummose." By reference to the sacred history, every difficulty in the subject is easily removed: it appears from Manetho's statement, that Amenophis, instigated by one of the priestly order, seized upon the sovereign authority, on the fall of Tethmosis, the Pharaoh of Scripture.

[165] Des-Vignol. sur l'Ann. Anc. § vii. tom. ii. p. 680.

preceded the appearance of the sun. This singular phenomenon, as coinciding with the rising of the Nile, which the Egyptians regarded with no common interest, from its influence on the fertility of their soil, consequently gave rise to a new era.[166] As this remarkable coincidence occurred on July 20th in J. P. 3389, occasion was therefore taken to deduce from it the epoch of the great Canicular period.[167] For to this year a preference is due, before that suggested by Bainbridge, who, in placing that epoch as low as J. P. 3391, is likewise followed by Fréret;[168] inasmuch as the former possesses that coincidence with the first year of the solar and bissextile cycle,[169] which characterises every epoch of the Egyptians. But what we are chiefly concerned in observing, is the evidence which has been latterly brought to light, that the establishment of this remarkable era was effected in the times of Rameses Meiamûn, within the limits of whose reign, which extended from J. P. 3339 to 3405, it necessarily took place, if any credit be due to the present scheme of Egyptian chronology. In the researches prosecuted by M. Champollion in the ruins of this monarch's palace at Medinet-Habou, it was his good fortune to discover a sacred calendar on the south wall, amongst the historical pictures with which that magnificent structure was decorated, and which he assures us were "the entire produce of the reign of Rhamses Meiamûn."[170] In the specimen which he gives of this curious relic, wherein were recounted the festivals celebrated every month, the following important extract appears: "Month of Thoth—Neomenia—Manifestation of the star Sothis." In this identification of the first day of Thoth with the heliacal rising of the star Sirius, one of those chronological characters is fixed, by which the time of the reign may be accurately determined. The manifestation of Sothis, after its occultation from the approach of the sun, as appears from astronomical calculation, occurred for a long period in Egypt about July 20th; but upon this day the neomenia of Thoth fell only within the short period intervening between J. P. 3389—3392.[171] After that time, it gradually fell back in the year;

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[166] Bainbridge, Canicular. cap. iv. p. 29. Vid. Eustath. in Dionys. Perieg. v. 227. p. 33.

[167] Des-Vignol. ubi supr. p. 681. 683.

[168] Bainbridge, ibid. p. 35. conf. l'Art de Vérif. les Dates, tom. i. init.

[169] Des-Vignol. ubi supr. p. 693.

[170] Champol. Lett. Écrit. d'Egypte, XVIII. p. 361. comp. p. 359.

[171] As the neomenia of the erratic year fell back one day every four years, and occurred

in which it did not recover its original place until after the lapse of the great Sothiacal period. In the criterion which M. Champollion has thus supplied for determining the time of Rhamses Meiamûn's reign, he has furnished a crucial instance for estimating the comparative worth of the chronological scheme which he has given of the eighteenth dynasty,[172] and that which is proposed in the present disquisition; between which a difference exists amounting nearly to two hundred years. The reign of that monarch, according to the French antiquary's views, was comprised between the years B. C. 1559 and 1493,[173] corresponding with the years of J. P. 3155 and 3221. In the course of that time, the neomenia of Thoth retrograded from the 17th to the 1st of September.[174] But during its lapse, no coincidence such as the calendar, composed in the same reign, so plainly attests, could have possibly occurred; the appearance of Sirius, which determined the commencement of the great year, happening, at that time, about the 20th of *July*, while the civil neomenia only occurred in *September;* and what is of no less importance to observe, no such coincidence could have occurred in any antecedent year of the Canicular period. At the preceding epoch of this cycle, in J. P. 1929, the neomenia of Thoth coincided with July 20th,[175] to which it adhered for the four subsequent years: but the coincidence was not, at this time, attended by the "manifestation of Sothis;" the difference of the length of the Julian and sidereal year occasioning an interval of nearly 36 years[176] between the two events, which are represented as happening on the same day in the calendar ofRameses. And this discrepancy was further increased, at every antecedent epoch of the great year, when the neomenia returned to July 20th, and completed the Sothiacal cycle. But according to the present scheme of Egyptian chronology, the reign of Rameses was comprised between the years of J. P. 3339 and 3405; and in that time the neomenia of Thoth

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on July 20th, J. P. 3389; it adhered to this day only during the three following years; having retrograded to July 19th in J. P. 3393. Comp. Des-Vignol. ut supr. n. 167. et 169. Scalig. Can. Isagog. lib. i. p. 107.

[172] Champol. Lett. au Duc de Blacas, p. 107. Transactions of R. S. L. ut supr. p. 208.

[173] Champol. ibid. comp. Trans. of R. S. L. vol. i. pt. i. p. 222.

[174] Vid. supr. p. 295. n. 33. [175] Vid. supr. p. 289. n. 8. p. 311. n. 80. Scalig. Can. Isagog. p. 107. [176] Voy. Lalande, Astronom. § 1605. tom. i. p. 264.

retrograded from August 2nd to July 16th,[177] falling in J. P. 3389 upon July 20th, when Sirius rose heliacally at Thebes, and the great Canicular era commenced, according to Censorinus.[178] As we find this combination of circumstances, so singularly attested by the calendar discovered in the palace of Rameses, concur precisely with the close of the fiftieth year of that prince, which formed the most remarkable year of his reign; as not merely completing the term of half a century, but the period of two lunar cycles as computed by the Egyptians; the scepticism must be invincible, which resists the conclusion, that a coincidence so extraordinary in this remarkable reign must have given rise to the formation of a new era in the Canicular. Yet in forming this inference, should I fail in carrying this learned auditory along with me, to the full extent of my own convictions, the criterion which is proposed in it for determining between the different schemes of chronology, submitted to their approbation, seems to have little room for hesitation in making an election.

It may be, however, expedient to deduce some evidence of the accuracy of this system, from the chronological characters of the reigns subsequent to the twentieth dynasty, in order to evince the necessity under which the chronologist is placed, to reject that succession of anonymous kings from his computations. And from the necessary consistency of truth, it directly presents itself in the reign of Sesonchis, who stands at the head of the twenty-second dynasty, and is generally identified with the Shishac of Scripture.[179] By a successive addition of the number of years assigned to each of the reigns in the intervening dynasties, with the exception of the twentieth, we arrive at J. P. 3738, as the time when he came to the throne, which differs but two years from the date ascribed to his accession by Ussher, who places it in J. P. 3736.[180] On the coincidences in the different accounts of this prince's achievements, as sketched by the sacred and pagan historians, it is unnecessary to enlarge, as they have attracted the notice, and exercised the inquiries, of the ablest modern chronologists.

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[177] Vid. supr. p. 295. n. 33.

[178] Censorin. ut supr. cap. xxi. comp. Des-Vignolles, ubi supr. p. 676.

[179] Scalig. Canon. Isagog. p. 311. Usser. ubi supr. p. 58. ad A. J. P. 3736. Peyron. Antiq. des Tems. Des-Vignol. ubi supr. p. 123. 157.

[180] Usser. ibid.

In the views of those who conform to the Hebrew scheme, that concurrence in the reigns of Sesonchis, as estimated by the pagan computation, and of Shishac, as reckoned by the sacred, is justly insisted on, as demonstrating the accuracy of the different modes of calculation, by which their times are reduced to an identity.[181] At the commencement of the monarch's reign who was thus variously termed, the great schism occurred that separated the throne of Judah and Israel, and which is dated by Ussher from the year of J. P. 3739.[182] But the secession of the ten tribes was attended with a defection to the Egyptian superstitions, in which some of those chronological characters have been marked, that bring demonstrative evidence of the date at which the incident occurred. In erecting the golden calves in Dan and Bethel, in imitation of the Egyptian Apis and Mnevis, and instituting a festival to "the gods that brought them out of Egypt," "like unto the feast that was in Judah,"[183] Jeroboam, whose object was to introduce a syncretism into Israel, postponed the time of its observance precisely a month. According to the ordinance of the Levitical law, the feast of tabernacles, to which it was his desire to conform, as the anniversary in commemoration of the exod,[184] was to be held on the fifteenth of the *seventh* month;[185] but by the command of the apostate king, it was deferred in his dominions to the fifteenth of the *eighth*.[186] It is besides deserving of remark, that the charge of contumacious impiety, objected to him, is particularly grounded on his innovation respecting "*the month* which he had devised of his own heart."[187] From this difference between the time of the Jewish and Egyptian ceremony, it was naturally conjectured by Selden, that some evidence might be obtained of the year in which it occurred;[188] and Des-Vignolles, advancing on the hint, accordingly en-

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[181] Scalig. al. supr. n. 179. [182] Usser. ubi supr. p. 58.

[183] 1 Kings, xii. 28. 32. [184] Lev. xxiii. 39—43. [185] Ibid. 34.

[186] 1 Kings, ibid. 32, 33. [187] Ibid. 33.

[188] The object at which the learned author aimed, with its final disappointment, is stated by him in the following words: (De Dis Syr. Synt. i. iv. p. 144.) "Fateor me hic tam frustra curiosum fuisse, ut diligentius inquirerem, utrum 17 *dies mensis Athyr*, in anno vago Ægyptiorum et æquabili . . . festum nempe illud, quo, juxta vetustissimos ritus, de aurato bove ostenso, Osiridem plangebant, et cum gaudio item inveniebant, et 15 *dies Marchesvan*, scilicet a Jeroboamo rege institutum, potuerint concurrere." This point he decides in the negative. In fact, Thoth 1st having fallen in J. P. 3739, on April 24th; and Athyr being the third

deavoured to elicit it from his scheme of Hebrew chronology, until the fundamental imperfections of his system convinced him that his efforts were fruitless.[189] But on fixing the time of the Israelite defection in the year determined by Ussher, the object which evaded his inquiries presents itself without much labour of research. In the year of J. P. 3739, to which that chronologist refers the schism under Jeroboam,[190] the neomenia of Thoth fell upon April 24th; and in that year, the paschal new moon, which determined the Jewish neomenia, occurred at Jerusalem on Thursday, March 25th. For the luminaries having been conjoined on the 23rd, about 11 A. M., the crescent, from whose appearance the neomenia was reckoned, was not visible until the second evening had elapsed from the time of the true conjunction.[191] It is thus not only apparent, that between the beginning of the Egyptian and of the Jewish year the distance of *one month* precisely intervened, but that the commencement of the former *preceded* that of the latter by exactly that interval of time. As the months of both nations kept pace, day for day, with each other,[192] it is thus obvious, that the 15th of the *seventh* month, according to the Egyptians, must have precisely *coincided* with the 15th of the *eighth* according to the Jews. In the

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Egyptian month, its 17th day fell upon July 9th. The 15th of the seventh Jewish month, calculated from March 25th as falling upon October 5th, must have occurred nearly *three* months *later* in the year. But in truth, as Des-Vignolles has justly objected to Selden, on the authority of Scripture, and the judgment of Josephus,—"Jeroboam ordained a feast, *like unto the feast that was in Judah.*" 1 Kings, xii. 32. conf. Joseph. Antiq. VIII. ii. p. 276. The analogy, therefore, which Selden sought to establish between this festival and that of the recovery of Osiris, though not so unfounded as was conceived by Des-Vignolles, was in the present instance wholly out of place: comp. Des-Vignol. ubi supr. tom. i. p. 758.

[189] Des-Vignolles, ibid. p. 759. On the solution which he finds for the difficulty, it is needless to pass sentence: "Il établit dans ses etats un culte idolâtre, auquel les Israëlites n'avoient que trop de penchant: et le tems de la fête des tabernacles s'approchant, comme dit Joseph, il ordonna qu'on la célébreroit en Israël le 15 jour d'un mois, qu'il fit nommer à sa fantaisie, le 7 mois, quoique ce fut le 8 mois des Juifs." In this notion, which is the pure fantasy of the chronologist, few persons will be likely to concur. Had such been the object with which the innovation was undertaken, as it would have been effectually secured by changing the place, rather than the time of the festival, it is plain, that in such an exposition it is wholly misconceived.

[190] Usser. ubi supr. p. 58.

[191] Seld. de An. Civ. Jud. cap. xiii. Scalig. Can. Isagog. lib. iii. p. 264. 267. c.

[192] Scalig. Emend. Temp. lib. iii. p. 220. seq. Usser. Annal. Præf. p. [vi.]

preference shown by Jeroboam for the latter date, to the exclusion of the former, he thus strictly conformed to the calendar of the people whose idolatry he introduced, to the subversion of the national worship. As the shifting of the lunar epact, and erratic nature of the Egyptian year, rendered the recurrence of such a coincidence as happened at this remarkable conjuncture impossible, unless after a lapse of immeasurable ages; the probability may be easily computed, how far its occurrence at so remarkable a time may be imputed to accident.

In proportion as we descend from those times, to ages of which the historical memorials are more numerous and circumstantial, the importance of evidence, similar to that which has been hitherto advanced, progressively declines. In determining the dates of the period which falls within the era, commonly distinguished as the historical, chronologists, having fewer difficulties to encounter, very generally agree. I shall not therefore trespass upon the attention of this learned assembly, with the accumulation of further evidence, but confine myself to the production of a single proof, which acquires additional interest from the circumstance of its falling within the times of Manetho.

As the Egyptians designated the period of their great year under the symbol of the phœnix,[193] the time of its conversion, which they imaged under the death and resurrection of that fabulous bird, is placed by the joint testimony of Pliny and Tacitus in the reign of Ptolemy Euergetes.[194] At the accession of this monarch, which according to the astronomical canon occurred in J. P. 4467,[195] the neomenia of Thoth, in falling upon October 24th, commenced a new era, by passing upon the day which it occupied, when it was originally constituted, and its epoch taken from the fixed equinox of the creation.[196] The true time of the conversion, as deducible from the age of Hermes and the year of J. P. 3003, properly occurred in J. P. 4463,[197] and thus unhappily fell within the preceding

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[193] Hor. Apoll. ii. cap. lvii. Plin. Hist. Nat. x. cap. 2. Solin. cap. xxxiii.

[194] Plin. ibid. Tacit. Annal. vi. cap. 28.

[195] Vid. Can. Astron. ap. Des-Vignolles, ii. p. 350.

[196] Comp. supr. p. 302. n. 55 and 56. p. 319. n. 107.

[197] Vid. supr. p. 311. n. 79. The interval between J. P. 3003 and 4463, as amounting to 1460 Julian years, is precisely equal to the Sothiacal period or great year of the Egyptians.

reign; but by the adulatory spirit of the times this incongruity was easily overlooked; and the felicity which was ever connected with the time of the great restitution was accordingly imputed to the influence of the reigning prince, on whom they conferred the title of 'the beneficent.' To the Egyptians that monarch had particularly endeared himself, by restoring the national superstition, which had been suppressed by Artaxerxes Ochus.[198] In the restitution of their religious immunities, they easily found that state of peaceful security, which it was supposed their great year would restore at the crisis of its conversion. But what is of paramount importance to our present inquiries, in the different lengths ascribed by them to the life of the phœnix, by which they imaged the period intervening between the commencement of the cycle and its close, they have recognised the different epochs from which it has been deduced in this investigation. The term by which they supposed the life of that bird bounded, they variously estimated at 540 and 1460 years;[199] conceiving, that previously to its appearance under Ptolemy III., it had been twice seen at Heliopolis in Egypt, where it expired on the altar of the sun.[200] If consequently from the time of this monarch's accession in J. P. 4467, each of these cycles be twice subducted, in ascending to the years of J. P. 3007 and 1547, by subducting the longer period of its life, and to the years of J. P. 3927 and 3387, by subducting the shorter, we nearly acquire in the former numbers the epoch of the great heliacal period, which was fixed in the year of J. P. 3003 and 1543; and in the latter, that of the great Sothiacal, which was fixed in J. P. 3389.[201] And the dates thus obtained,

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[198] Usser. ut supr. ad A. J. P. 4469. p. 493. "Ægyptii, quia [Ptolemæus] post multos annos deos ipsorum retulerat, EUERGETIS cognomentum illi tribuerunt. (Hieron. in Dan. cap. xi.) De quo et in Adulitano monumento ita legimus: 'Sacris quæ ab Ægypto Persæ abstulerant, receptis, ac cum reliqua congesta gaza in Ægyptum relatis.'" Conf. Cuper. Explic. Gem. August. p. 286. Plut. ut supr. p. 292. n. 18.

[199] Solin. ubi supr. p. 63. b. "Probatum est quadraginta et quingentis eum [phœnicem] durare annis:" in which statement he is also preceded by Pliny, ut supr. On the other hand, Tacit. uti supr. "De numero annorum varia traduntur: maxime vulgatum, quingentorum spatium: sunt qui adseverent, 1461 in terris." The former sum expresses 540 in a round number; the latter expresses, in Egyptian years, the great Sothiacal period: conf. Herod. lib. ii. cap. 72.

[200] Vid. infr. p. 341. n. 202.

[201] Vid. supr. p. 334. n. 167.

derive even further illustration and support, from the fables propagated respecting the phœnix, and the ancient monuments which preserve allusions to that imaginary bird. The *earliest* date, acquired by each computation of the length of the phœnix' life, it must be admitted, was the most important, as constituting the proper epoch of the cycle which it figured. It was, however, believed of the phœnix, that it was particularly consecrated to the sun, on whose altar, in the city termed Heliopolis from that luminary, it expired and revived;[202] it is therefore extraordinary to observe the epoch of its first appearance in J. P. 1547 so nearly coincide with the accession of that god, who ranks as the earliest monarch of Egypt.[203] Nor is it less curious, that an obelisk, which was raised in the same city by Rameses, as appears from an interpretation, given by a native Egyptian, of the hieroglyphics with which it is sculptured,[204] particularly records the decorations with which that prince enriched "the temple of the Phœnix:"[205] the coincidence, therefore, between the date of its first appearance, according to the second computation of its age, in J. P. 3387, and the epoch of the great Sothiacal period in J. P. 3389, of which that fabulous bird was the symbol, in that great monarch's reign, must surely convey a conclusive proof of the accuracy of our views on this subject. The fiction recorded of the repeated appearance of the phœnix, which professedly shadowed the conversion of the great heliacal year, or the time when one cycle closed as another

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[202] Tacit. ubi supr. "Sacrum Soli id animal, et ore ac distinctu pinnarum a cæteris avibus diversum.... Sunt qui adseverent... dominante Ptolemæo, qui ex Macedonibus tertius regnavit, in civitatem cui Heliopolis nomen, advolavisse.... Sublato myrrhæ pondere, tentatoque per longum iter, ubi par oneri, par meatui sit, subire patrium corpus, inque Solis aram perferre, atque adolere."

[203] Vid. supr. p. 316. comp. n. 84.

[204] Vid. Ammian. Marcel. xvii. cap. 4. This obelisk was brought from Heliopolis to Alexandria by Constantine, and thence transported to Rome by Constantius; where it was placed in the Circus Maximus. Long subsequently to the time of its transportation, it was erected by Pope Sixtus V. before the Lateran, where it now stands. The translation in Greek of the hieroglyphics with which it is sculptured, and which is preserved by Marcellinus, was made by the Egyptian Hermapion, at the command of Augustus. Vid. Marsh. Chron. Sæc. xvi. p. 431. sq.

[205] Inscrip. Obel. Rames. ap. Ammian. ibid. Πλήρωσας τὸν νεὼν τοῦ Φοίνικος ἀγαθῶν. Conf. Herod. lib. ii. cap. 72.

commenced, was by its constitution obviously contrived for the mere purpose of marking the principal epochs of that period.[206] In the computation accordingly founded on the year of Ptolemy's accession, there was, indeed, an error of a few years; but these were easily neglected, as in the great year, which was properly reckoned as consisting of 365 lustra, or years of 1461 days,[207] the lesser division of tropical time was necessarily disregarded: and within the short term of the bissextile cycle of four years, it is observable, the entire difference between the true and the estimated epochs was comprised. Had the invention of the fiction and institution of the great period which it figured, rested with the persons who applied the fable in adulation of Ptolemy Euergetes, the computation would have been doubtless more accurately contrived, and the dates fixed by proleptical calculation, to the very year. But the epochs, as transmitted from the earliest ages, admitted of no alteration; it was therefore necessary to use some accommodation in squaring them to the circumstances of the times. In their insignificant deviation from the true dates, we should consequently possess a sufficient refutation of the supposition of Larcher, who conceived the theory of the great year devised in the reign of the monarch, from whose accession the time of its conversion was reckoned;[208] had we not invincible evidence of its great antiquity, in the inscription on the obelisk, and in the calendar on the palace-walls of Rameses, in whose reign the great Sothiacal period commenced. And it is observable,

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[206] The length of 540 years ascribed to the life of the phœnix was obviously an accommodation of the proper term which it shadowed, to the era of Ptolemy Euergetes; in order to bring the accomplishment of the fable respecting its return near the accession of that monarch. Of a like attempt to flatter Tiberius, by spreading a report that it had returned in his reign, Tacitus observes, ibid. "Inter Ptolemæum ac Tiberium minus 250 anni fuerunt; unde nonnulli falsum hunc phœnicem, neque Arabum e terris credidere." But as the supposed term of its life was accommodated not merely to the reign of Tiberius, but to the period of the great year, it does not less certainly determine what was supposed the true epoch of the latter.

[207] Vid. Scalig. Can. Isagog. lib. iii. p. 243. It appears that only the intercalary days were reckoned; and on their amounting to 365, which took place in $4 \times 365\frac{1}{4} = 1461$ years, the Sothiacal period or Egyptian great year was completed. Vid. Scal. Emend. Temp. lib. iii. p. 195. d. v. p. 369. c.

[208] Mém. de l'Instit. Roy. tom. i. p. 222.

that, in the record on the former of those monuments, it is implicitly admitted, that as the age of the phœnix, so the era which it imaged, was to be referred to an earlier date.[209]

From the preceding principles and deductions, we may now, I trust, venture to conclude on the demonstrative character of the evidence, which has been adduced, from the cycles of the Egyptians, in support of their chronology. With such certainty of proof it has been my endeavour to establish the authenticity of the line of their monarchs, the commencement of which has been taken from the catalogue of Eratosthenes, and the continuation derived from the lists of Manetho. Independent of the stability imparted to the system by the establishment of the earliest epoch on demonstrative grounds, and the corroboration afforded some of the principal dates, from coincidences deduced from other schemes of chronology; from the double method by which the successions have been determined, as deduced *à priori* and *à posteriori*, this advantage has been derived, that the one affords the other the most decisive confirmation. When estimated upon this narrow ground, it seems entitled to a preference above other schemes, which have been constructed by an adherence to an exclusive and precarious method of deduction.

IV. The chronology of the authentic line of Egyptian monarchs having been established, the determination of the times when the supernumerary rulers bore sway is a subject rather of curiosity than importance. It must be however allowed, that the dynasties, as extracted by Africanus from the tomes of Manetho, assume the appearance of a regular succession of princes; and that the claims which were preferred to an extravagant antiquity by the Egyptians, afford some pretence for their being regarded as having governed rather successively than simultaneously. As a difficulty may thus arise, by which the preceding deductions may be affected, it seems expedient to their security to meet this objection by an explicit answer.

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[209] Vid. supr. n. 205. The merit of having raised a temple to the phœnix was not claimed by Rameses, but merely the praise of having decorated and enriched one which was already erected.

If the views of Marsham be admitted on this subject, the difficulties in which it is involved will easily disappear. For the present disposition of the Egyptian kings in a connected series, if the opinion of this learned chronologist be entitled to respect, Africanus is solely responsible.[210] The reason on which he accordingly justifies this sentence ranges the authority of Manetho on the side of that hypothesis, on which the Egyptian chronology has been explained in the present inquiry. The whole of the dynasties, according to this native Egyptian, amounted to thirty; one half of which consisted of the gods and semigods, and the other, of the mortal rulers. It is needless to observe, that such precisely is the view inculcated in the whole of the preceding system, and traced in the disposition of the 'Ancient Chronicle.' And to the reason on which Marsham founds his opinion of Manetho's chronological scheme, other arguments might be added, establishing the justness of his conclusions. Such a view is alone consistent with the supposition, that Manetho followed that ancient chronological work, is solely reconcileable with the duration ascribed by him to the Egyptian sovereignty, and the enumeration which he has made of the monarchs of the particular dynasties. It is besides obvious, that Africanus was likely to be biassed in favour of a particular scheme, which ascribed to the Egyptian sovereignty the longer duration, as such a view of it was most conformable to the Septuagint chronology, which he followed to the exclusion of the Hebrew.

But while it is allowed, that by such considerations Africanus was likely to be *swayed* in his choice, it cannot be conceded to Marsham that they have disposed him to tamper with the text of his author, or led him to derange the order, or misrepresent the duration of the dynasties. No conceivable motive can be imputed to him for engaging in such a task, as the succession of kings appears in a shape as little conformable to his own chronological views, as those which we agree with Marsham in ascribing to Manetho. Nor is it to be reconciled with his express declarations, where he had no apparent object to falsify or misrepresent; as he offers his list of the dynasties, as expressly copied from the tomes of the Egyptian, adding the number of kings, and the total length of the reigns, of the dynasties taken

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[210] Marsham. ubi supr. Introd. p. 5. Sæc. VII. p. 92.

collectively.[211] As of course, every inconsistency, which the details of Africanus introduce into the subject, must be ultimately referred to Manetho, the difficulty consequently lies in reconciling this writer with himself; in showing the compatibility of the number of dynasties inserted in his tomes, with the chronological system which he has adopted in common with the author of the 'Ancient Chronicle.'

The solution of this difficulty which has been given by Marsham, (as we have already had occasion to observe,) improving upon a suggestion of Scaliger, has appeared inadequate to a late writer,[212] who conceives that it may be more satisfactorily resolved on a different hypothesis. While he considers himself fortified by the authority of Herodotus and Diodorus, in denying the existence of the different kingdoms in Egypt,[213] in which the dynasties ruled, upon which Marsham presumes; he supposes, on the contrary, that different registers of the one line of monarchs, which composed the royal succession, were kept at Thebes, Memphis, and other remarkable cities;[214] and that "the petty rulers inscribed their own names on the records of the monarchy, in place of their superiors."[215] And in support of this hypothesis, he chiefly urges the internal evidence, arising from coincidences, not only in the names of the monarchs, but the length of their reigns;[216] which cannot, in his estimation, be regarded as casual.

Admitting that the evidence, advanced by the author of this hypothesis in its support, were adequate to its establishment, it is obvious that it might perfectly consist with the system which is maintained in the present investigation. It would be, however, an unworthy compromise of the truth, were we to allow that the case of this writer was so satisfactorily made out, as to have prevailed over our incredulity. In the negative testimony of Herodotus and Diodorus, (who not merely as writing when

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[211] African. ap. Syncel. p. 59. c. Μέχρι τοῦδε τὸν πρῶτον Τόμον καταγήοχεν ὁ Μανεθῶ· Ὁμοῦ βασιλεῖς ρ,ϟβ'. ἔτη β,τη'· ἡμέραι ο'. Id. ibid. p. 72. Ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ δευτέρου Τόμου Μανεθῶ· βασιλεῖς ϟς'· ἔτη β,ρκα'. It is obvious, that this collection of the different reigns into one sum, by which they are considered a connected series, is not the work of Manetho, but his transcriber.

[212] Pritchard, Crit. Exam. of Egypt. Chronol. p. 50*. 96*.

[213] Id. ibid. p. 97*.

[214] Id. ibid. p. 97*.

[215] Id. ibid. p. 98*.

[216] Id. ibid. p. 99.

Egypt was exclusively and properly known as a monarchy, but as confining their observations to those rulers who were more eminently considered kings, took no account of the petty sovereigns;) even if it be conceded,[217] there is little weight, when balanced against the mass of authority which Marsham has accumulated from pagan and sacred writers,[218] to prove that that country was at some period divided into different states, which in a great measure enjoyed a separate independence. And it would be only by a courtesy uncalled for by the occasion, that we could admit the coincidences assumed by the author were established,[219] beyond a few partial instances, which admit of a more satisfactory explanation, from the supposition, that the same kings extended their dominion over different states, rather than that different registers of the same succession could be considered lists of different dynasties.

We must therefore acquiesce in the hypothesis of Marsham, as the more probable and adequately established; and, in its main positions, it is indeed confirmed by the concessions of the fore-mentioned writer.[220] In some respects, however, his solution admits of improvement, not merely in its adaptation to an epoch determined upon more certain principles, but in its accommodation to the system of Manetho. In proceeding to supply this defect in the hypothesis of Marsham, it may be premised, on the authority of this able chronologist,[221] that at some period of the history of Egypt, two

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[217] Vid. Marsh. Sæc. III. p. 49. Sæc. XVI. p. 445. From whence it appears, that the learned author discovered some traces of a Theban and Memphite succession in those Greek historians.

[218] Marsh. ibid. Sæc. I. p. 26—29. Sæc. II. p. 44. Sæc. X. p. 240. Sæc. XII. p. 306. Sæc. XV. p. 372. seq.

[219] Vid. Pritch. ibid. p. 102. 103. comp. p. 24. 44. One or two specimens of the least unhappy examples of this "identity" will enable the reader to determine on the merit of the remainder: Pempos or Sempos and Soiphis, Tœgar-Ammachus and Tosertasis, Stæchus and Achis, Sirius and Soris, Saophis and Souphis, Moscheris and Mencheris. When it is considered, that many of these terms are mere titles, which with a slight variation were necessarily possessed by different monarchs, and that the catalogues in Syncellus afforded, from their length, a chance of many coincidences, the only wonder is, that the attempt to discover them should have proved so unsuccessful.

[220] Vid. Pritchard. ibid. p. 92*. 95*. conf. Marsh. p. 241. 306.

[221] Vid. Marsh. ut supr. n. 218.

sovereigns divided the government of the country, whose territories were nearly commensurate with Upper and Lower Egypt. As the learned writer has justly observed, so much is implied in the plural force of the name Misraim, in which such a division is implied, and is indeed established by the express testimony of sacred[222] and profane writers; among the latter of whom the high authority of Manetho is included.[223] In all that has transpired from this writer, or has been collected by Marsham, nothing appears, which can induce a suspicion, that the original line of monarchs, whose capital was situated in Thebes, and whose territory extended at least to the Thebais, was interrupted[224] until the times of Smedes, under whom the last Theban dynasty, which formed the nineteenth in the tomes of Manetho, was superseded by a succession of Tanites.[225] In the period of 1567 years, during which they maintained their supremacy in the upper region of Egypt; the lower passed, for above 500 years, under the authority of a different dynasty, who, as distinguished from the royal and Theban line, were denominated Memphites, from the seat of their dominion.[226] But from the dominion of these obtruders, whom Manetho considered a race of usurpers, the country was freed by princes of that royal succession, which held their authority at Thebes, and were considered the legitimate sovereigns of Egypt.[227] By the founder of the nineteenth dynasty, or last

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[222] Is. xix. 2. conf. Marsham. ut supr. Sæc. xvii. p. 504. 503.

[223] Of the kingdom established in Lower Egypt, Manetho declares, lib. ii. Ægypt. ap. Joseph. contr. Apion. p. 1039. Πέρας δὲ καὶ βασιλέα ἕνα ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐποίησαν [οἱ Ποιμένες] ᾧ ὄνομα ἦν Σαλάτις· καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ Μέμφιδι κατεγίνετο, τήν τε ἄνω καὶ κάτω χώραν δασμολογῶν, καὶ ἐ. This dynasty, as appears from the beginning of the extract, expelled one of native extraction, whose king was named Timæus. Of "the kings of the Thebais, and the rest of Egypt," by whom this race of obtruders were expelled, his language is more remarkable: ibid. p. 1040. d. Μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ τῶν τῆς Θηβαΐδος καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Αἰγύπτου βασιλέων γίνεσθαι φησὶν ἐπανάστασιν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ποιμένας καὶ ἐ. conf. Marsh. Sæc. xii. p. 306. There can be no ground to doubt, that the successions in the tomes of Manetho were compiled, and distributed under the same designation in which they were allowed to be *regal*. Vid. supr. p. 345. n. 211.

[224] Marsham, ubi supr. Sæc. viii. p. 103. "Thebaïs, pastoribus nunquam subdita.... Memphis autem inferioris [Ægypti] quondam metropolis, Thebis non ita pridem adjecta, jam a pastoribus capta est." Comp. Sæc. ix. p. 133. Pritchard. ubi supr. p. 95.

[225] African. ap. Syncel. ubi supr. p. 73. c.

[226] Maneth. ut supr. n. 223.

[227] Id. ibid.

succession of Thebans, the country was, however, partitioned into several petty dependencies;[228] some rulers of which rose to supreme authority, and became founders of new dynasties; as unquestionably appears from the catalogues of the last monarchs, in whom, according to the common consent of chronologists, the sovereign authority was vested. As there has been rarely any instance of newness of authority, unattended with an ambition of antiquity of descent, to gratify this vanity in the dominant ruler, genealogical tables would be easily devised, to trace his descent from the common founder of the monarchy;[229] and in those the names of the viceroys and deputies, ambitious of such a distinction, would obtain insertion;[230] and where the links of the hereditary chain were broken, the breach would be easily supplied by conjectural lists of anonymous monarchs.

This hypothesis, which has nothing of violence or force, while it embraces all that is probable in the scheme of Marsham, adequately solves every difficulty in the case of Manetho. The hereditary prejudices of this writer naturally disposed him to exalt the royal succession, which obtained for a short period the dominion of Lower Egypt,[231] to the depression of the legitimate sovereigns by whom Upper Egypt was governed. With this object, every thing that tended to exalt the glory of the particular dynasty, which he was interested in advancing, appears to have been extracted by him out of the lists of provincial viceroys, which were composed to his hand. Among the nomes into which Egypt had been distributed, one termed from its capital Tanis was distinguished in Lower Egypt,[232] and one named from its capital This, in the Upper;[233] a family of the Tanite

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[228] African. ibid. p. 72. b. Herod. lib. ii. cap. 109. Diodor. Sic. lib. i. p. 37. a. Marsham, sæc. XIV. p. 353. after Scaliger, in Euseb. n. 534, asserts the identity of Sethosis and Sesostris.

[229] Menes, who is uniformly allowed to have been the first Egyptian king, is accordingly placed at the head of various successions: vid. Syncel. ubi supr. p. 54. b. 55. b. p. 91. b. d.

[230] Vid. Herod. lib. ii. cap. 147. Diodor. Sic. lib. i. p. 35. a. 41. d.

[231] Marsham observes to the same effect, Sæc. XI. p. 298. "Sane Manetho, genere Sebennyta, Heliopolitanus sacerdos, regum Thebanorum catalogum ab illo, qui Heliopolim primo in Thebanorum potestatem redegerat, ordiri videtur." Conf. Syncel. ubi supr. p. 40. c.

[232] Ptol. Geogr. lib. IX. cap. V. p. 105.

[233] Id. ibid. lib. iv. cap. 5.

extraction had risen to the sovereign authority, after the sceptre had passed from the nineteenth dynasty; and the first family of Thebans, by whom Egypt was governed, were considered Thinites by origin.[234] Of the governors of both these nomes, use was accordingly made by Manetho himself, or by the authorities whom he followed. To magnify the pretensions of the temporary kingdom established in Lower Egypt, the governors of Memphis were ranked among the native sovereigns, and the succession of these petty rulers deduced, through the Thinite line, to the earliest Theban monarch.[235] Next in order to them, the royal line, who had the seat of their authority in Thebes, were assigned a place; and the succession was interrupted by the insertion of three dynasties, consisting of the Phœnician invaders and their descendants, with the last of whom the Thebans were assigned a divided dominion.[236]

With this clue, the intricacies in which the dynasties of Manetho are perplexed, may be in a great measure unravelled. In the distribution of the sovereigns, of which they were composed, into three tomes, by that writer, the object which he proposed to himself may be almost discovered on inspection of the successions of which they are constituted. In the two first tomes alone, a difficulty arises; the third exhibiting no important deviation from the common scheme of the Egyptian chronology, as generally corroborated by the Greek historians. Of the thirty dynasties of which the entire catalogue of native kings is composed,[237] about ten were comprised in each tome by Manetho. A single glance directed to the subject of the first two parts of his work will be sufficient to apprise the most careless observer of the object with which one of them is devoted to the Memphite line, and the other appropriated to the Theban.

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[234] Conf. Syncel. ubi supr. p. 54. b. 55. b. Marsh. ut supr. Sæc. I. p. 27. "Ipse Menes et Thinites fuit et Thebanus."

[235] Syncel. p. 54. b. conf. Marsh. ubi supr. Sæc. VI. p. 84. 85.

[236] Syncel. ib. p. 60. c. conf. Marsh. ib. Sæc. XI. p. 298.

[237] Marsh. ubi supr. Introd. p. 5. Sæc. VII. p. 92. Sæc. XI. p. 298.

Tome I.[238]			Tome II.[239]		
	Dynasties.	Duration.		Dynasties.	Duration.
I.	8 Thinites	253	XI.	17 Diospolites	59
II.	9 Thinites	302	XII.	7 Diospolites	160
III.	9 Memphites	214	XIII.	60 Diospolites	184
IV.	8 Memphites	274	XIV.	76 ————	484
V.	9 Elephantines	248	XV.	6 Phœnicians	284
VI.	6 Memphites	203	XVI.	30 Phœnicians	518
VII.	70 Memphites		XVII.	43 Diospolites	153
VIII.	27 Memphites	146	XVIII.	16 Diospolites	263
IX.	19 Heracliots	409	XIX.	7 Diospolites	209
X.	19 Heracliots	185	XX.	12 Diospolites	135

In reducing these dynasties to the proper standard of the Egyptian chronology, and distributing them into regular and connected series, a sufficient clue to direct us presents itself in the work in which they are embodied. As several of them consist of merely anonymous reigns, little hesitation can be felt in discarding them from the proper succession of Egyptian sovereigns. By this expedient we at once dispose of not less than ten dynasties,[240] which are composed of those shadowy monarchs, of whom no memorial exists, and whose very names have perished, if they ever possessed more than imaginary existence. In disposing of the remaining dynasties, which present themselves under a less questionable shape, we have a sufficient direction, in the similarity of their titles as Thinites or Memphites, and in the order which they are assigned, not less than the place which they occupy in the different tomes, appropriated by Manetho to the rulers of Upper and Lower Egypt.

Proceeding upon this principle, we directly obtain two catalogues, which are identified by their titles, as Thebans or Memphites, with either of those provinces, and which, as respectively deduced from the first Egyptian monarch, determine the epoch from which their reigns must be computed. As the Phœnician dynasty is extracted from the second tome of Manetho,

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[238] Syncel. ubi supr. p. 54. d. seq. [239] Id. ibid. p. 59. c.

[240] Dynasty VII. VIII. Syncel. p. 58. c. IX. X. XI. p. 59. b. c. XIII. XIV. p. 61. a. c. XVI. XVII. ib. c. XX. p. 73. c.

which is appropriated to Theban kings, the epoch of that dynasty is taken from the last year of the antecedent Diospolite sovereigns. Into this line, the sovereignty passed with Nitocris.

UPPER EGYPT.

	Dynasties.	Founders.	Duration.	Accession. J. P.	Accession. B.C.
I.	8 Thinites [241]	Menes	253	2041	2673
II.	9 Thinites [242]	Bochus	302	2294	2420
V.	9 Elephantines [243]	Usercheres	248—1	2596	2118
			Terminate	2813	1901

LOWER EGYPT.

III.	9 Memphites [244]	Nacherochis	214	2041	2673
IV.	8 Memphites [245]	Soris	274	2255	2459
VI.	6 Memphites [246]	Othoes	203	2529	2185
XII.	7 Diospolites [247]	Geson	160—1	2732	1982
XV.	6 Phœnicians [248]	Salatis	259	2891	1823
			Terminate	3150	1564

As the line of Theban kings has been already determined and arranged on the authority of Eratosthenes, and as the only anomaly in the government of Egypt was introduced by the establishment of a foreign dynasty in its lower region, who fixed their capital in Memphis; of the supernumerary dynasties disposed in the preceding tables, those contained in the last compartment are alone deserving of notice. In the coincidences which may be traced between this list of their princes, and the monarchs who held the seat of their government at Thebes, which will be evident, by a comparison of the successions subjoined to this investigation, they afford each other that support, which tends to their mutual establishment.

At *the head* of the *Thinite* succession we find the same monarch placed, in whom the *Theban* line commences; and if not the same persons, yet such as were contemporaries, must be recognised in the two sovereigns who held

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[241] African. ap. Syncel. ib. p. 54. b. c. [242] Id. ibid. d.
[243] Id. ibid. p. 57. d. [244] Id. ibid. p. 56. b. [245] Id. ibid. d.
[246] Id. ibid. p. 58. b. [247] Id. ibid. p. 60. c. [248] Id. ibid. p. 61. b.

a similar rank in the Memphite line; for so much may be collected from the character of the prince who occupies the second place in this succession.[249] Of Athothis, who succeeded Menes in the former, not less than of Tosorthrus, who succeeded Nacheroches in the latter, it was asserted, that they were equally distinguished by their skill in medicine, and it was generally believed, that if not identical, they were at least contemporaries.[250] A similar instance occurs at *the close* of the Memphite dynasties, in which the succession derives no less confirmation from its accordance with the Theban. Correspondent to Nitocris, the twenty-second sovereign of the latter line, we discover a princess of the same name in the former,[251] whose accession is dated, in the one, from J. P. 2711, and in the other, from J. P. 2720; the time when she succeeded to the Memphite throne, nearly corresponding with that when she ceased to occupy the Theban. And this coincidence is the more striking, if not important, as it serves to account for the termination of the dynasty, to which she belonged, with the transfer, or the cessation of her authority. An union of the two crowns having taken place in her person, the succession would necessarily pass into one channel, which had previously descended in different branches.

When the commencement of the Phœnician dynasty is dated from the close of the Diospolite in J. P. 2891, the coincidence which consequently ensues, between the sacred and pagan chronology, in a remarkable period of the Egyptian history, imparts the most decisive confirmation to the system in which the agreement is preserved. It is acknowledged by the writer who has undertaken to reduce the dynasties into order, that, during the reign of Apophis, the fourth prince of this succession, Joseph was raised to the authority which he acquired at the court of the Pharaohs.[252] According to Ussher's scheme of patriarchal chronology, of which a demonstration has been given in a former part of this investigation, the high public function which the patriarch held in the internal administration of the kingdom, he exercised between the years of J. P. 2999 and 3025.[253]

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[249] African. ap. Syncel. ibid. p. 56. b. conf. Marsham. ut supr. Sæc. I. p. 28.

[250] Syncel. ib. p. 56. b. Marsh. ib. p. 40.

[251] Syncel. ib. p. 58. b. Comp. the successions subjoined to the memoir.

[252] Vid. supr. p. 312. n. 83.

[253] Usser. Annal. ad A. J. P. 2999. 3013. p. 14.

As the entire reign of the sovereign by whom he was promoted, is comprised, according to the present scheme of chronology, between the years of J. P. 2990 and 3051, nothing can more happily verify the statement of those chronologists, who declare, that in this reign the ministry of Joseph was included. By a comparison of the preceding dates, it appears, that he came into power in the tenth year of the monarch's reign by whom he was promoted, and that he survived him twenty-six years, when he probably exchanged a public for a private station.

From the preceding investigation, we seem to be warranted in concluding, finally, that besides the royal line, which was perpetuated in a series of Thebans, whose authority continued for 1567 years, but two successions of sovereigns professing to be descended from Menes, made pretensions to the government of Egypt; one of whom having the seat of authority at This, possessed a dominion in Upper Egypt for 825 years; and another holding their metropolis in Memphis, extended their authority over its lower region 781 years; when those countries respectively passed under the dominion of the proper Egyptian monarchs. Eratosthenes in undertaking to deduce the royal line of Egypt from its source, having been wholly devoid of the prepossessions to which the natives were liable, followed the proper order of descent, as perpetuated through the Theban monarchs,[254] and thus continued it, for 2148 years, until the subjugation of Egypt, by a foreign dynasty, under Cambyses the Persian. The author of the 'Ancient Chronicle,'[255] whose prejudices prove him in some respects identified with Upper Egypt, conducted the descent in the rightful line, for the first fourteen generations; but having departed from the direct stream and deduced the succession through a Memphite channel for three dynasties, he again directed it into the proper course, from the time of the deliverance of Egypt out of the power of the Phœnicians, to its final subjection to the Persians under Ochus. By Manetho, this writer appears to have been followed, in the scope and disposition of his subject;[256] instead however of tracing the primitive succession in one Theban line, he deduced it by separate channels, through four dynasties of Memphites

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[254] Syncel. p. 91. c. [255] Id. ibid. p. 51. c.

[256] Id. ibid. p. 51. b. 52. d. 54. b. conf. Marsh. ut supr. p. 349. n. 237.

on one side, and as many of Thinites on the other, probably with the object of vindicating the monarchy established in Lower Egypt, of which he was a native, from the opprobrium of having been originally founded by an alien dynasty. But in composing his tomes, in which he has collected the different successions of viceroys, by whom the principal nomes in Egypt were governed, his collections were made without any strict attention to the chronological order of the earliest dynasties; and with the ostensible object of preserving notices of those successions merely, by which the rulers of those principalities, who in the later period of the monarchy had occasionally supplied it with kings, pretended to trace their descent to its royal founder.

Of the more modern writers, in whose compilations the remains of those early chronologists are preserved, Africanus has confined himself to giving merely a transcript from the tomes of Manetho;[257] in executing which task, there seem to be no just grounds for charging him with the infidelity imputed to him by Marsham. The chronological essay of Eusebius makes some pretensions to method;[258] though they are such as betray the limited capacity of the author, for the work which he attempted. Of the dynasties embodied in Africanus's volume, he adopts the first fifteen, with some alterations in the names and reigns of the monarchs, with the view of imparting an air of originality to his work; the last fifteen he has endeavoured to accommodate to the chronological scheme of the 'Ancient Chronicle,' which was preserved and followed by Manetho. But with so little skill has he performed what he undertook, that in the mere scope which he prescribed in executing it, we have a proof that his very conception of the subject was inadequate. In embodying the first dynasties of Manetho, with the last of the Chronicle, he has fallen into the fundamental error which Marsham imputes to Africanus, in making his transcript of the tomes of Manetho. Of this charge, Syncellus alone, of all the ancients, must be acquitted;[259] on the general merits of whose work I have already offered some observations. He seems to have acquired

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[257] Syncel. ibid. p. 53. d. seq.

[258] Euseb. ap. eund. ibid. conf. p. 62. b. 68. b. 69. d. 71. b.

[259] Syncel. ut supr. p. 91. a. seq.

a juster view of his subject, from the example of Eratosthenes; but the succession of Egyptian kings which he has manufactured, when internally viewed, exhibits such palpable marks of error and imperfection, as characterize a work of rude and private fabrication. Having prescribed to himself certain limits, between which an adequate number of names were to be enrolled, he appears to have taken them, in the order in which they first presented themselves, with a total disregard of time, or historical succession.[260] In the scheme which he preserves respecting the authorities on which his Egyptian chronology is founded, no inconsiderable evidence of its utter worthlessness is conveyed: when compared with his ambitious display of the sources from which his Assyrian chronology was derived,[261] it must be inferred, that his want of communicativeness arose from his having little which would bear to be unfolded.

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[260] On a comparison of the lists of Syncellus with the dynasties of Africanus, from the twenty-fifth monarch, (Chronagr. p. 104. b. 61. a. d.) the latitude assumed by the former chronologist in constructing his catalogue of Egyptian kings will be palpable. From the forty-ninth king to the sixty-first inclusive, the nineteenth and first dynasties of Africanus are garbled and falsified, with a view to connect the succession between the eighteenth and twenty-first: comp. Syncel. ib. p. 160. b. c. 169. c. d. 170. a. with ibid. p. 72. b. c. The fifty-ninth, sixtieth, and sixty-first kings are the Athothis, Cencenes, and Venephes of the first dynasty of Africanus, who, according to the chronological scale by which Syncellus computes, must have flourished 1530 years before the time which they are assigned in his catalogue. Comp. ib. p. 169. d. 170. a. 54. c.

[261] Syncel. ibid. p. 207. b. c. 220. b. conf. p. 91. a.

SUCCESSIONS
OF THE EGYPTIAN KINGS.

SUCCESSION I.

6 Gods, 984 years.

J.P.		Intervals. Years.	A.M.	B.C.
841	Phtha, or Vulcan .	742	131	3873
1583	Phre, or the Sun .	86	873	3131
1669	Cnouphis, or Agathodæmon	52	959	3045
1721	Levek, or Saturn .	40	1011	2993
1761	Osiris and Isis .	35	1051	2953
1796	Typhon . .	29	1086	2918
	9 Demigods, 216 years.			
1825	Horus . .	26	1115	2889
1851	Mars . .	23	1141	2863
1874	Anubis . .	17	1164	2840
1891	Hercules . .	15	1181	2823
1906	Apollo . .	25	1196	2808
1931	Ammon . .	30	1221	2783
1961	Tithoes . .	27	1251	2753
1988	Sosus . .	32	1278	2726
2020	Jupiter . .	21	1310	2694
	XV. XVI. XVII. Dynasties. Thebans, 1059.			
2041	Menes . .	62	1331	2673
2103	Athothis I. . .	59	1393	2611
2162	Athothis II. .	32	1452	2552
2194	Diabies . .	19	1484	2520
2213	Pemphos . .	18	1503	2501
2231	Togar Anachus .	79	1521	2483
2310	Stœchus . .	6	1600	2404
2316	Gosormies . .	30	1606	2398
2346	Mares . .	26	1636	2368
2372	Anoyphes . .	20	1662	2342
2392	Sirius . .	18	1682	2322
2410	Chneubus Gneurus .	22	1700	2304
2432	Ranoses . .	13	1722	2282
2445	Biyris . .	10	1735	2269
2455	Saophis . .	29	1745	2259

J.P.		Intervals. Years.	A.M.	B.C.
2484	Sensaophis . .	27	1774	2230
2511	Moscheris . .	31	1801	2203
2542	Musthis . .	33	1832	2172
2575	Pammus Archondes .	35	1865	2139
2610	Apappus the Great .	100	1900	2104
2710	Echeschus Caras .	1	2000	2004
2711	Nitocris . .	6	2001	2003
2717	Myrtæus . .	22—1	2007	1997
2738	Thysymares .	12	2028	1976
2750	Thyrillus . .	8	2040	1964
2758	Semphucrates .	18	2048	1956
2776	Chuther Taurus .	7	2066	1938
2783	Meres or Meures .	12	2073	1931
2795	Choma Eptha .	11	2085	1919
2806	Anchunius . .	60	2096	1908
2866	Penteathyris .	16	2156	1848
2882	Stamenemes . .	23	2172	1832
2905	Stosichermes .	55	2195	1809
2960	Maris . .	43	2250	1754
3003	Siphoas Hermes .	5	2293	1711
3008	Interreign . .	14	2298	1706
3022	Phruron Nilus .	5	2312	1692
3027	Amuthanthæus .	63	2317	1687
	XVIII. Dynasty. Diospolites, 333.			
3090	Tethmosis . .	30	2380	1624
3120	Chebron . .	13	2410	1594
3133	Amenophis I. .	21	2423	1581
3154	Amenses . .	22	2444	1560
3176	Mephres (Mœris) .	12	2466	1538
3188	Miphramuthosis .	25	2478	1526
3213	Thothmosis . .	9	2503	1501
3222	Amenophis II. (Memnon)	30	2512	1492
3252	Horus . .	36	2542	1462
3288	Achencheres .	12	2578	1426
3300	Rathothis . .	9	2590	1414
3309	Achencheres I. .	12	2599	1405
3321	Achencheres II. .	12	2611	1393
3333	Armais . .	4	2623	1381

J.P.		Intervals. Years.	A.M.	B.C.
3337	Rameses . .	1	2627	1377
3338	Rameses Meiamûn .	66	2628	1376
3404	Amenophis III. .	19	2694	1310
	XIX. Dynasty. Diospolites, 185.			
3423	Sethosis (Sesostris) .	51	2713	1291
3474	Rhapses . .	61	2764	1240
3535	Amenephthes .	40	2825	1179
3575	Amenemes . .	26	2865	1139
3601	Thuoris . .	7	2891	1113
	XXI. Dynasty. Tanites, 130.			
3608	Smedes . .	26	2898	1106
3634	Psusennes I. .	41	2924	1080
3675	Nephercheres .	4	2965	1039
3679	Amenophthes .	9	2969	1035
3688	Osorcho . .	6	2978	1026
3694	Psenaches . .	9	2984	1020
3703	Psusennes II. .	35	2993	1011
	XXII. Dynasty. Bubastites, 116.			
3738	Sesonchis (Shishac) .	21	3028	976
3759	Osoroth . .	15	3049	955
3774	3 kings . .	25	3064	940
3799	Tacellothis . .	13	3089	915
3812	3 kings . .	42	3102	902
	XXIII. Dynasty. Tanites, 89.			
3854	Petubastes . .	40	3144	860
3894	Osorcho . .	8	3184	820
3902	Psammus . .	10	3192	812
3912	Zet . .	31	3202	802
	XXIV. Dynasty. Saite, 44.			
3943	Bocchoris [Anysis] .	44	3233	771
	XXV. Dynasty. Ethiopians, 40.			
3987	Sevechus (So) .	8	3277	727
3995	Sabtachon . .	14	3285	719
4009	Tarchus (Tirhaka) .	18	3299	705

XXVI. Dynasty. Saites, 162.

J.P.		Intervals. Years.	A.M.	B.C.
4027	Stephinates . .	2	3317	687
4029	Nechepsos. al. II. .	15	3319	685
4044	Psammiticus .	54	3334	670
4098	Necho . .	16	3388	616
4114	Psammis . .	6	3404	600
4120	Apries (Hophra) .	25	3410	594
4145	Amasis . .	44	3435	569

XXVII. Dynasty. Persians, 111.

4189	Cambyses . .	3	3479	525
4192	Darius I. . .	36	3482	522
4228	Xerxes I. . .	21	3518	486
4249	Artabanus . .	1	3539	465
4250	Artaxerxes . .	41	3540	464
4291	Darius II. . .	9	3581	423

XXVIII. Dynasty. Saite, 6.

4300	Amyrtæus . .	6	3590	414

XXIX. Dynasty. Mendesians, 20.

4306	Nepherites . .	6	3596	408
4312	Achoris . .	13	3602	402
4325	Psammmuthis .	1	3615	389

XXX. Dynasty. Sebennites, 38.

4326	Nectanebo I. .	18	3616	388
4344	Tachos . .	2	3634	370
4346	Nectanebo II. .	18	3636	368
4364	Ochus . .	.	3654	350

SUCCESSION II.

III. Dynasty. Memphites, 214.

J.P.		Intervals. Years.	A.M.	B.C.
2041	Nacherochis .	28	1331	2673
2069	Tosorthrus . .	29	1359	2645
2098	Tyris . .	7	1388	2616
2105	Mesochris . .	17	1395	2609

J. P.		Intervals. Years.	A. M.	B. C
2122	Soïphis . .	16	1412	2592
2138	Tosertasis . .	19	1428	2576
2157	Achis . .	42	1447	2557
2199	Sephuris . .	30	1489	2515
2229	Cerpheres . .	26	1519	2485
	[IV. Dynasty. Memphites, 274.]			
2255	Soris . .	29	1545	2459
2284	Suphis I. . .	63	1574	2430
2347	Suphis II. . .	56	1637	2367
2403	Mencheres . .	63	1693	2311
2466	Rhatæses . .	25	1756	2248
2491	Bicheres . .	22	1781	2223
2513	Sebercheres . .	7	1803	2201
2520	Thamphthis . .	9	1810	2194
	[VI. Dynasty. Memphites, 203.]			
2529	Othoes . .	36 .	1819	2185
2565	Phius . .	53	1855	2149
2618	Methusuphis .	7	1908	2096
2625	Phiops . .	94	1915	2089
2719	Mentesuphis .	1	2009	1995
2720	Nitocris . .	12	2010	1994
	XII. Dynasty. Diospolites, 160.			
2732	Geson . .	46—1	2022	1982
2777	Ammanemes . .	38	2067	1937
2815	Sesostris . .	48	2105	1899
2863	Lachares . .	8	2153	1851
2871	Ammeres . .	8	2161	1843
2879	Ammenemes .	8	2169	1835
2887	Semiothris . .	4	2177	1827
	XV. Dynasty. Phœnicians, 259.			
2891	Salatis . .	19	2181	1823
2910	Beon . .	44	2200	1804
2954	Apachnas . .	36	2244	1760
2990	Apophis . .	61	2280	1724
3051	Janias . .	50	2341	1663
3101	Aseth . .	49	2391	1613
3150	terminates		2440	1564

SUCCESSION III.

I. Dynasty. Thinites, 253.

J.P.		Intervals. Years.	A.M.	B.C.
2041	Menes . .	62	1331	2673
2103	Athothes . .	57	1393	2611
2160	Cencenes . .	31	1450	2554
2191	Venephes . .	23	1481	2523
2214	Usaphedus . .	20	1504	2500
2234	Miebedus . .	16	1524	2480
2250	Semempsis . .	18	1540	2464
2268	Bienaches . .	26	1558	2446

II. Dynasty. Thinites, 302.

2294	Bochus . .	38	1584	2420
2332	Cæachus . .	39	1622	2382
2371	Benothris . .	47	1661	2343
2418	Tlas . .	17	1708	2296
2435	Sethenes . .	41	1725	2279
2476	Chæres . .	17	1766	2238
2493	Nephercheres .	25	1783	2221
2518	Sesochris . .	48	1808	2196
2566	Cheneres . .	30	1856	2148

V. Dynasty. Elephantines, 215.

2596	Usercheres . .	28	1886	2118
2624	Sephres . .	13	1914	2090
2637	Nephercheres .	20	1927	2077
2657	Sisiris . .	7	1947	2057
2664	Cheres . .	20	1954	2050
2684	Rathuris . .	44	1974	2030
2728	Mercheres . .	9—1	2018	1986
2736	Thercheres . .	44	2026	1978
2780	Obnus . .	33	2070	1934
2813	terminates		2103	1901

In the disposition of the reigns of the eighteenth dynasty by Manetho, seven years are withdrawn from the gross amount of the whole succession, and

distributed in months at the end of the several reigns, as in the annexed scale. In the preceding successions, these months have been taken into the reigns; thirty years having been ascribed, after the precedent of M. Champollion, to Tethmosis, twenty-one to Amenophis, and twenty-two to Amenses, on the authority of Africanus. Should the preference be deemed due to the disposition of Manetho, the reigns of this dynasty may be thus distributed.

J.P.		Yrs.	Mths.	Accession.	A.M.	B C.
3093	Tethmosis	25	4	Pachon	2383	1621
3119	Chebron .	13	0	Thoth .	2409	1595
3132	Amenophis I.	20	7	Thoth .	2422	1582
3152	Amenses .	21	9	Pharmuthi	2442	1562
3174	Mephres	12	9	Tybi .	2464	1540
3187	Mephramuthosis	25	10	Paophi .	2477	1527
3213	Thothmosis	9	8	Thoth .	2503	1501
3222	Amenophis II.	30	10	Pharmuthi 30th	2512	1492
3253	Horus .	36	5	Mechir .	2543	1461
3289	Achencherses	12	1	Epiphi .	2579	1425
3302	Rathotes .	9	0	Thoth .	2592	1412
3311	Achencheres I.	12	5	Thoth .	2601	1403
3323	Achencheres II.	12	3	Tybi .	2613	1391
3335	Armais .	4	1	Pharmuthi	2625	1379
3339	Rameses .	1	4	Pachon .	2629	1375
3341	Rameses Meiamûn	66	2	Thoth .	2631	1373
3407	Amenophis III.	19	6	Athyr .	2697	1307
3426	terminates	333	0	Pachon .	2716	1288

The above table is computed on the supposition that Amenophis II. succeeded Thothmosis on Pharmuthi 30th B. C. 1492; Thothmosis having perished in the Red Sea, on Nisan 17th of the same year, which fell upon Sat. April 26th, as appears from a computation of the time of the paschal new moon, in the year of the Exod.

XXI.—*On the Battle of Marathon.* *By* GEORGE FINLAY, ESQ.

Read January, 1838.

Καὶ ἐς μὲν ἀκρόασιν ἴσως τὸ μὴ μυθώδες αὐτῶν ἀτερπέστερον φανεῖται.—THUCYD. i. 22.

The battle-field, where Persia's victim horde
First bow'd beneath the brunt of Hellas' sword,
As on the morn to distant glory dear,
When MARATHON became a magic word;
Which utter'd, to the hearer's eye appear
The camp, the host, the fight, the conqueror's career,
The flying Mede, his shaftless broken bow;
The fiery Greek, his red pursuing spear;
Mountains above, earth's, ocean's plain below;
Death in the front, Destruction in the rear!
Such was the scene—what now remaineth here?
What sacred trophy marks the hallow'd ground,
Recording Freedom's smile, and Asia's tear?
The rifled urn, the violated mound,
The dust thy courser's hoof, rude Stranger! spurns around.
Yet to the remnants of thy splendour past
Shall pilgrims, pensive, but unwearied, throng;
Long shall the voyager, with th' Ionian blast,
Hail the bright clime of battle and of song;
Long shall thine annals and immortal tongue
Fill with thy fame the youth of many a shore.

LORD BYRON'S CHILDE HAROLD, II. LXXXIX.

THE battle of Marathon was fought in autumn, four hundred and ninety years before the Christian era.[1] The plain, which was the scene of this cele-

[1] In Clinton's Fasti Hellenici, vol. ii. p. 244 and 336, this battle is supposed to have taken place in the month Boëdromion. But Thirlwall (History of Greece, vol. ii. 395.) and Müller (Dorians, vol. ii. p. 264.) mention that Böckh (Index Lect. Æstiv. Berol. 1816) has endeavoured to show that the battle took place in the preceding month, Carneius or Metageitnion. Müller considers Böckh's arguments conclusive. These months seem to correspond with August and September.

brated event, extends in a perfect level along a fine bay, and is in length about six miles, and in breadth never less than about one and a half.

Two marshes cover the ends of the plain: the southern is not very large, and is almost dry at the conclusion of the great heats; but the northern, which generally covers considerably more than a square mile, offers several parts which are at all seasons impassable. Both, however, leave a broad firm sandy beach between them and the sea. The uninterrupted flatness of the plain is hardly relieved by a straggling tree, and an amphitheatre of rocky hills and rugged mountains separates it from the rest of Attica, over the lower ridges of which some steep and difficult paths communicate with the districts in the interior.

Near the centre of this barrier, now bare, but anciently covered with olive-trees and vineyards,[2] a torrent issues from a narrow gorge, and passes through the plain: the water is generally lost, even in winter, under the sand, which the long level has allowed to accumulate in its course.

The modern village of Marathóna[3] is situated about a mile above this gorge. A small plain, of somewhat more than a square mile in area, opens here on both sides of the torrent. A little way above the village this torrent is a perennial brook, and is now called the river of Marathon. The plain appears to have formed the territory of Oinoe, one of the towns of the Tetrapolis or Marathonian district;[4] and a spot where some relics are visible, on one of the hills which enclose it, retains the ancient name uncorrupted. The stream, now called the river of Marathon, was itself anciently known by the name of the torrent of Oinoe; and it is still remarkable for occasional inundations, one of which gave rise to a proverb ridiculing the folly of the inhabitants of Oinoe,

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[2] The authorities are given by Colonel Leake, and in Cramer's Description of Ancient Greece, ii. 386. Nonn. Dionys. xiii. 84. xlviii. 18. The name Oinoe (*οἶνος, wine; οἴνη, a vine,*) is itself evidence of the early celebrity of the vineyards.

[3] That this cannot be the site of the ancient town of Marathon is proved by the fact, that it is not in the great plain, but in a separate valley. The vicinity of the spot called Oinoe, and that of the Charadra, are decisive of the question. Colonel Leake has well stated the little importance which can be attached to the precise situation of the modern representatives of ancient names. The last relics of Greek inhabitants, when expelled from their villages by Sclavonians or Albanians, often transferred an ancient name to a new site: Garitó, Gargettus; Vraóna, Brauron. Those who refuse to place Marathon at Vraná ought at least to seek a site for it in the *plain of Marathon*.

[4] The four towns of the Tetrapolis were Probalinthus, Marathon, Oinoe, and Tricorythus.

who, in attempting to irrigate their fields, had their lands ruined by the torrent.[5] A copious fountain, surrounded by the marble blocks of a splendid ancient basin, a rich vegetation of oleanders, a small cavern in the neighbouring hill, and the name of Marathóna, having drawn most travellers to this spot, they were readily induced to believe that they had found the town of Marathon, the cavern of Pan, and the fountain of Macaria, mentioned by Pausanias, though the town and the fountain, and perhaps also the cavern, are to be sought for elsewhere.

That part of the plain of Marathon which lies to the south of the gorge, from which the torrent issues, seems always to have been the most important. The level ground becomes here considerably broader, and intrudes itself into the counter-fort of Mount Pentelicus, called Aphorismós. In the valley thus formed, close to the precipices which border the plain, over the southern part of which it possesses a commanding view, is situated the Monastery of Vraná. Numerous remains point this out as the site of an ancient town. The spot seems admirably chosen for the barbarous capital of a little state; for on one side it commands the richest part of the Marathonian plain, and on the other, it communicates immediately with one of the best wooded and finest hunting districts in Attica. Here then Colonel Leake places that Marathon which was the capital of one of the twelve states into which the Attic commonwealth was divided, previously to the time of Theseus.[6]

Not very far from the centre of the southern division of the great plain, the dull level is interrupted, and from every part the eye rests on "a heap of gathered ground," nearly thirty feet in elevation, with a base of about six hundred feet in circumference, half dug open by speculators in antiquities, and cut into deep furrows by the rain of more than two thousand three hundred years. This tumulus is the monument raised over the bodies of the hundred and ninety-two Athenian citizens who fell in the battle. It is called the Sorós (Σορὸς), "the word which," Colonel Leake observes, "has probably been applied to it by the people of Attica ever since its erection."

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[5] Suidas; Leake's Demi, p. 51.

[6] Leake's Demi, p. 53. Müller (Dorians, ii. 483.) yields to the force of Leake's arguments; yet Mr. Wordsworth, in his "Athens and Attica," clings to the old usage, placing Marathon at Marathóna. It is to be regretted that he has not stated his reasons for abiding by the old opinion.

The plain of Marathon communicates with the rest of Attica by five passes. The northern road leads to Rhamnus, famous for the temple of Nemesis, and the statue of the goddess which Pausanias[7] says was made by Phidias, from a block of Parian marble that the Persians had transported to Marathon, in order to construct a trophy. The ruins of the temple, and of the fortress, which was one of the strong places of Attica,[8] are still interesting, and have survived many more considerable works, merely from that loneliness of situation which is now not their least impressive charm. The second road leads to the north-west up the valley of Souli, and, having passed through several large villages, unites in the Oropian territory (at the very spot where Pausanias would lead us to seek for the Amphiaraeion) with the road from Athens to Oropos, by Aphidna; that is, by the modern road passing Kapandríti and Marcópoulo to the Scala of Oropó. The road to Rhamnus unites with that to Souli, in a plain which is separated from the rest of the Marathonian level by the northern marsh, and anciently formed the territory of Tricorythus, the relics of which are found on a hill near the lower village and tower of Souli. This ancient demus was as remarkable for gnats as its modern representative.[9]

The united road passes between the marsh and the rocks which border it to the west. The mountain which rises above this narrow pass is now called Koráki, or Stavrokóraka. This seems the chariot-road of Strabo, and a fountain beside it is unquestionably the Macaria of Pausanias, which has been sought for by some near Oinoe. This place was celebrated in the heroic history of Marathon, as the spot where the head of Eurystheus was buried, when that monarch fell in his attempt to drive the Heraclidæ out of the Tetrapolis. Colonel Leake conjectures that the cavern of Pan may still be found in Mount Koráki; for it can hardly be supposed that the imposing description given of it by Pausanias can be applied to the cave above Marathóna.

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[7] Attica, c. 33. Moderns have doubted the account of Pausanias. Mr. Wordsworth, "Athens and Attica," p. 41, conjectures that we are to attribute the destruction of one of the temples in ruins at Rhamnus, to the Persians allied with Sparta at the close of the Peloponnesian war; but Livy affords historical grounds for rejecting this supposition, l. xxxi. 26, and attributing the devastation to a later period: "Ad vastandos agros profectus, et ne quid inviolatum relinqueret, templa Deûm, quæ pagatim sacrata habebant, dirui atque incendi jussit (Philippus)."

[8] Demosthenis Or. de Corona, p. 238, Reiske.

[9] Aristophanis Lysistrate, v. 1032. Suidas in v. Ἐμπίς.

The third road, ascending the banks of the river of Marathon, is the direct line of communication between the Tetrapolis and Bœotia, and, indeed, all northern Greece. It crosses the road already alluded to as leading from Athens to Oropos under the walls of a paleókastro, supposed by the writer to mark the site of Aphidna, and proceeding by two remarkable ancient positions, Malakása, perhaps Sphendale[10] and Kakosiálesi, conducts the traveller to Tanagra and Thebes.

The fourth road leads out of the valley of Vraná round the northern slope of Mount Pentelicus to Kephisía, and is the direct road to Eleusis, Megara, and Peloponnesus. It is also the most commodious road to Athens for foot-passengers and single horsemen, and is the one generally used by modern travellers in visiting the plain of Marathon. It is, however, too rugged, and must have passed through a country too much intersected by enclosed vineyards and olive-plantations, to have been the road in general use for the march of large bodies of troops in the heavy armour of the Greeks; while cavalry must always have proceeded along several miles of it in single file.

The fifth road offers the most important line of communication between the Marathonian district and the greater part of Attica. After passing between Mount Argalíki and the southern marsh, it enters a plain about two miles in length and considerably more than a mile in breadth. The country is here varied with undulations and wood, but is well adapted even for rapid movements of cavalry. The northern part of this district most probably formed the territory of Probalinthus, though it must have included other demi of the Tetrapolis towards the frontiers of Brauronia. Beyond this the low wooded hills of the district of Brauron[11] appear to close in the road; but they only compel it to pass through open defiles, which always leave sufficient space for the march of large bodies of infantry and a good road for cavalry, while the country always affords the means of turning the flanks of a less numerous defending army. After these defiles, the plain of Mesogaia is entered, the most extensive agricultural district in Attica, and which communicates with

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[10] Herodotus, ix. 15. The spot is convenient for a halt of cavalry, as a large fountain gushing from the rock forms immediately a little brook. The road also is much more suitable for the march of Mardonius and the main body of the army, than that by A'ghios Mercúrios, where the site of Sphendale has been vainly sought for.

[11] Pausanias, Attica, c. 33.

the Athenian plain by a wide level between Pentelicus and Hymettus. This was probably the only chariot-road from Athens to Marathon; and the tradition that the body of Eurystheus was carried by a defeated army to Gargettus, a town near the level between Pentelicus and Hymettus, while his head was buried at the fountain of Macaria, affords the strongest proof that, from the most ancient times, this was the usual military road even for the march of infantry.

The distance from Athens to Vraná by Kephisía is about twenty-two miles, while by the Mesogaia road the distance to the pass between the southern marsh and the foot of Mount Argalíki is about twenty-six. Between these two roads there is another path leading from Vraná directly over Pentelicus, the highest summit of which is left about a mile to the westward. This is in reality the shortest road from Athens to the plain of Marathon; but in a distance of little more than nine miles it ascends and descends a ridge of the mountain which rises 2500 feet above the level of the plains below. This route is far too rugged and precipitous to have been used for the march of troops carrying the large shields, long spears, and weighty armour of the Grecian hoplites. It is therefore as completely left out of the question in the following inquiry, as it is understood to be by the modern muleteers in all their bargains.[12]

The preceding description of the general features of the country will be sufficient, with the aid of the maps, to afford the reader the required topographical knowledge of this part of Attica.

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[12] The following is an itinerary of the different roads from Athens to the plain of Marathon in time and distance:

	hours.	minutes.	miles.
1. The usual road by Kephisía to Vraná - - - - - -	5	35	22
2. The road over Pentelicus by the magnificent valley of Rapetósa -	5	50	20
3. The Mesogaia road by Kharváta, the true site of the ancient Gargettus, leaving the whole range of Pentelicus on the left, to the pass between Argalíki and the southern marsh of the Marathonian plain	6	30	26
4. Leaving the preceding road at Kharváta, and crossing the lower ridges of Pentelicus by the Monastery of Daoud, and again falling into the preceding road, a mile before arriving at the pass below Argalíki	6	20	23

No notice is taken of this last road in the text, as in all military questions connected with the battle it must be regarded as the same road with No. 3. It consists of steep ascents and descents when it does not follow the line of the Mesogaia road, and is neither suitable for the march of cavalry nor heavy-armed infantry.

The Persian troops who were sent to avenge the insult the Athenians had inflicted on the empire of Darius by the burning of Sardis, the principal city in the western part of the empire, were the chosen soldiers of an army long accustomed to combat with the Greeks; numbers of whom they had repeatedly vanquished and reduced to complete subjection. These troops were led by Datis and Artaphernes, of whose feats in arms we are indeed ignorant; but that the former was a distinguished soldier who had long served against the Greeks, there can be little doubt. He appears to have held the chief command, while Artaphernes, a relation of the great king, served under him as his colleague.

The satire of Aristophanes[13] warrants the conclusion that he could even speak the Greek language, though not with classical correctness. The Persian generals paid great deference to the advice of Hippias, the banished tyrant of Athens, who seems to have received, by the express command of Darius, considerable authority in the direction of the expedition.

The assistance of Hippias was of considerable importance to the success of an expedition against Attica. His father Pisistratus had a high reputation throughout all Greece; he had three times obtained the sovereignty or tyranny of Athens; and after having been twice expelled, he died in possession of a throne, which he retained by his prudent conduct.[14] Hippias had himself ruled Athens for eighteen years.[15] His knowledge of the country, his supposed family and party connexions, and his acknowledged military talents,[16] rendered him an indispensable ally. In his youth he had succeeded in persuading his father to attempt the recovery of sovereign power by invading Attica from Eretria, and marching on Athens after a debarcation at Marathon.[17] He saw that expedition crowned with success. It was his singular fate to be again, after an interval of nearly fifty years,[18] engaged with the Persians in a vain attempt; by following the same route, to replace the sovereignty of his country in his own hands.

It follows from this, that the leaders of the Persian army had been made aware of all the peculiarities of Grecian warfare, and of the leading topo-

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[13] Aristophanis Eirene, v. 289, and the scholiast; see also Larcher's note to Herodotus, vi. 94.

[14] Polyænus, v. 14. *οὐκ ἔτι τύραννος, ἀλλὰ χρηστὸς πατὴρ καὶ δημοτικὸς πολίτης.*

[15] Clinton's Fasti Hellenici, ii. 203.

[16] Herodotus, i. 61.

[17] Herodotus, i. 62.

[18] Clinton, F. H., places the third attempt of Pisistratus in the year B.C. 537.

graphical features of the country, whose high and rugged mountains, and deep and precipitous valleys, probably seemed, in their eyes, ill adapted to the heavy armour, deep ranks, and slow evolutions of Greek tactics. The generals of Persia could indeed have no very high opinion of a military system so completely at variance with that which had in a few years conducted Persia to the empire of the civilized world.[19]

The long career of success which had attended the Persian arms in Asia, in Thrace, and in the Ægæan, must have carried the confidence of the troops to the highest pitch. The impression of their power and valour on the minds of the Greeks was at this period so great, that Herodotus, long after the overthrow even of the mighty armament of Xerxes, could awaken a memory of former feelings when he told his countrymen, that "the Athenians were the "first amongst the Greeks who viewed the array of the Medes without fear, "for, before the battle of Marathon, the name alone of the Persians excited "terror throughout all Greece."[20] Flushed therefore with an uninterrupted series of success, the Persian army landed on the plain of Marathon.

It is now necessary to ascertain as nearly as possible the number of this celebrated army, which the absurd exaggeration of some writers has made to exceed half a million.[21] The profound examination of this subject by Colonel Leake leaves little to be added; he has pointed out the recorded facts, which lead to far more probable conclusions than the vague assertions of Plato and Lysias.

The chief dependence of the critic in this inquiry must be placed on those facts which are mentioned by Herodotus, who read his narrative of these events to the most distinguished citizens of all the Grecian states, assembled at the Olympic games in the year 456 B. C., not more than thirty-four years after the

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[19] Xenophon, Cyropædia, l. vi. s. iii. 21. makes Cyrus express great contempt for any formation of troops which exceeded twelve in depth: *εἰς δύο ἔχοντας ἕκαστον τὸν λόχον· ὁ δὲ λόχος ἦν ἕκαστος εἰκοσιτέτταρες.*

[20] Herodotus, vi. 112.

[21] Justin, lib. ii. c. 9, makes the number of the Persians six hundred thousand, and of their loss two hundred thousand. Plato (Menexenus, t. iv. p. 190. ed. Tauch.) and Lysias (Oratio Funebris, p. 18. ed. Tauch.) both state the Persians at five hundred thousand. Plutarch (Moralia, t. ii. p. 334. ed. Tauch.) gives three hundred thousand. Cornelius Nepos (Miltiades, c. 4.) two hundred thousand infantry and ten thousand cavalry.

battle.[22] It may be added, that his description of the expedition carries with it every evidence of the most scrupulous accuracy. Those facts only are recorded in detail, of which it was possible to obtain exact information after such a lapse of time, while all that is of more difficult verification, and concerning which there might already have existed a difference of opinion, is stated in general terms.

Herodotus informs us, expressly, that the fleet for the transport of the infantry consisted of six hundred triremes.[23] Besides these triremes there were some horse transports, the number of which is not stated; nor is there any statement of the number of men on board each vessel. It is necessary to seek for information on this subject in other passages of the historian which relate to nearly contemporary expeditions. The facts shall now be stated, and the conclusions exposed which it is attempted to establish from them.

In the last year of the Ionian war, four years before the Marathonian expedition, the fleet of the Chians carried forty chosen warriors in each trireme.[24] The number seems to have been considered extraordinary, and it probably enabled the Chian ships to come out of the battle with more honour than the greater part of the defeated Ionians. In the expedition of Xerxes, which took place ten years after the battle of Marathon, and when the finest fleet the world had then seen was carefully collected from all the maritime states in the Mediterranean, each trireme carried one hundred and fifty rowers, fifty soldiers of the nation to which the trireme belonged, and thirty chosen Persians, making a total of two hundred and thirty men to each ship.[25] But every thing connected with this expedition had been prepared with great care, and on a scale of unusual grandeur, during the four preceding years.[26] As the expedition of Xerxes proceeded along the coast, it seems not improbable that as great a number of men as possible were placed in the ships, in order to relieve the choicest troops from the fatigues of a long march; it would not

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[22] Clinton, F. H. ii. 45.

[23] Herodotus, vi. 95. Cornelius Nepos gives the number of the fleet as five hundred vessels. His account is evidently not taken from Herodotus, but it contains too many errors to be of much value, even in illustration of that historian.

[24] Herodotus, vi. 15. [25] Idem, vii. 184. [26] Idem, vii. 20.

be warrantable, therefore, to state the numbers on board a trireme in the earlier invasion of Attica quite so high.

It must also be remembered, that the attack on Athens, by Datis and Artaphernes, was, in the opinion of that age, a maritime expedition,[27] and, as such, differed essentially even from the preceding armament of Mardonius, which, two years before, had been nearly destroyed and rendered completely unserviceable, by a storm off Mount Athos. Some diminution would likewise require to be made from the greatest number of men a trireme usually carried, in order to afford room for those supplies which the fleets, both of Mardonius and Xerxes, could daily receive from the shore. Nor is it entirely to be lost sight of, that this event happened at the commencement of a period which is distinguished for the rapid improvement which took place in naval affairs.[28] These considerations render it extremely improbable that the fleet of Datis could bear any very close comparison with the splendid armament of Xerxes, in which the Phœnicians, the ablest mariners of the time, took the leading part.[29] A lower standard on which to base the calculations of the numbers of Datis's expedition must therefore be sought for.

The fact of the trireme commanded by Cleinias, the father of Alcibiades, at the battle of Artemisium, having on board a complete crew of two hundred men, rowers and soldiers included, seems to fix that number as the equipage of these vessels in fighting trim. Even the ship of Cleinias, as it was commanded by the most distinguished man present, and fitted out at his own expense, was probably the best equipped in the Grecian fleet.[30] It seems probable that the early triremes were so constructed as to row twenty-five oars on each tier, or seventy-five oars on each side, making a complement of one hundred and fifty rowers. Even this would require the trireme to be a much longer vessel than the penteconter. In the Peloponnesian war, the number of rowers on each tier was increased to thirty, making the complement one hundred and eighty men.[31] This is the natural conclusion

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[27] Herodotus, vi. 95.

[28] Thucydides, i. 14, gives a lucid sketch of the state of naval affairs in Greece before the Peloponnesian war.

[29] Herodotus, vii. 96. Thucydides, i. 16.

[30] Herodotus, viii. 17. *ἠρίστευσαν Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ Ἀθηναίων Κλεινίης ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδεω.*

[31] There is an excellent account of the naval affairs of the Athenians in Böckh's Public Economy of Athens, i. 371. His objections to Meibomius are removed by the fact, that, after the battle of Salamis, triremes were decked, and the oars were not all used with the sails.

to be drawn from the fact that thirty was the usual number of troops embarked on board a trireme for the purpose of transport.[32] Thucydides makes it appear that forty was the greatest number of land troops a trireme could conveniently transport, even with the improved vessels used in the Peloponnesian war.[33]

Considering, therefore, forty soldiers as the greatest number a trireme could have transported at the period of the Marathonian expedition, the regular troops of Datis, even when they left the shore of Asia, did not exceed twenty-four thousand men. This number was doubtless considered by Hippias and the Greek military advisers of Darius as amply sufficient to insure the conquest of Athens, a city which was at that time far inferior in wealth and power to many of the Greek cities both in Asia Minor and the islands, and at the very time engaged in a doubtful contest with the little island of Ægina.[34] A third of the crews of the triremes may have consisted of light troops, regularly trained to act on shore, as well as on board, as slingers and archers. The greater part of the crews must, however, have remained constantly on duty on board the ships while kept afloat.

Much greater difficulty exists in making any calculation concerning the numbers of the cavalry. No mention is made of the numbers of the transports in which it was embarked, nor does any record of its services in the campaign afford the slightest means of forming any certain conclusion concerning its force. A passage of Suidas, alluding to its absence at the time of the battle, proves that its number was not too great to have been on a foraging party.[35] From the very large crews ancient vessels were compelled to carry, and from the imperfections of the vessels themselves, the embarkation, the transport, and the debarkation of horses, must have been attended with great difficulties. In this expedition very few horses could have been embarked in each vessel, as it would be necessary to transport the forage required for several weeks. The army ravaged Naxos, stayed some days at Delos, visited several of the islands, and stopped to besiege Carystos: during all this time the cavalry remained on board, and it was for the first time disembarked at Eretria.[36]

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[32] Thucydides, i. 57. See also, i. 29, and iv. 42.

[33] Idem, i. 60, and ii. 56.

[34] Herodotus, vi. 93, mentions that just before the expedition of Datis, the Æginetans had defeated the Athenians, and taken from them four ships.

[35] Suidas: χωρὶς ἱππέων.

[36] Herodotus, vi. 101.

However astonishing, therefore, the number of this cavalry might appear in the eyes of the Greeks, and even though it induced the Persian generals to select Marathon as the place of their descent in Attica, from the peculiar facilities the plain afforded for profiting by this force, still the numerical strength of the Persian horse may not have been very considerable. At this period the Athenian state could only bring into the field one hundred horsemen. If it be conjectured that the cavalry of Datis amounted to one thousand men, it is not probable that the account will fall short of the real number. Supposing that ten horses each with the horseman, and the attendant who invariably accompanied him,[37] were embarked in each ship, the transport of the cavalry would have required an additional fleet of one hundred horse transports (ἱππαγωγοὶ νέες).

The following may perhaps be considered a fair estimate of the numbers of the whole expedition when it left the coast of Asia; and as they far surpassed the force which any of the European states could then oppose to them, it is not surprising that they were subsequently much exaggerated. They are sufficient, even at the present day, to give those acquainted with the transport of armies, very high ideas of the wealth, power, and order, which reigned in the empire of Darius.

Regular infantry, - - - - -	24,000
Regular cavalry, - - - - -	1,000
	25,000
Light infantry, - - - - - -	30,000
Attendants on the cavalry, - - - -	1,000
Land troops, - - - - -	56,000
Rowers and sailors of 600 triremes, - -	60,000
Crews of 100 horse transports, 50 men each, -	5,000
Total number of men employed in the expedition,	121,000

If such were the numbers of the armament which sailed from the coasts of Cilicia and Samos, some diminution must have taken place in its force before it arrived at Marathon. Though it plundered Naxos without resistance, a few vessels would naturally be despatched to Asia with the prisoners and the booty,

[37] Thucydides, iii. 17. vii. 75. 78.

which it is known were not allowed to encumber the fleet. The loss of vessels, of light troops, and of rowers, caused by this detachment, may have occasioned the visit to the islands of the Ægæan, which it is recorded were obliged to furnish reinforcements to the expedition. The army was subsequently compelled to besiege and storm Carystos, and some loss even of the heavy-armed troops must have been sustained before it. Again, at Eretria an attempt to storm the city having failed, a considerable loss was sustained in this abortive attempt and in some skirmishes before the walls, until on the seventh day after the assault the city was betrayed into the hands of the Persians, not improbably by some remains of that party which the Pisistratidæ had formerly possessed in the place.

A few days after the fall of Eretria, Hippias conducted the Persians to Marathon. His influence may be easily traced in the direction of the whole expedition; and this circumstance is a just ground for inferring, that although the professed object of Darius was that of destroying Eretria and Athens, to avenge the burning of Sardis, it was connected with some scheme for the permanent establishment of Persian authority in Greece; in furtherance of which he probably intended to establish Hippias in the sovereignty of Athens, as he had established Syloson in that of Samos, without leaving perhaps a free inhabitant in the place.[38] The fleet visited, in succession, those spots in which the influence of the Pisistratidæ had once been all-powerful. Naxos had been so devoted to Pisistratus, that the Athenian hostages were detained there. At Eretria his family had long resided, and he had fitted out in that town the armament which re-instated him for the third time at Athens.

Eretria was levelled with the ground, and in order that the prisoners and spoils might not encumber the fleet, even when the army was landed, it was considered necessary to set them on shore at the island of Ægileia, in the bay of Stura, immediately opposite to Marathon.

It is now necessary to estimate the strength of the army with which the Persian leaders prepared to march on Athens. The regular troops must have suffered some diminution in the progress of the campaign: the usual casualties of transport and sickness are not to be overlooked, and some allowance must

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[38] Herodotus, iii. 149, gives a dreadful account of the cruelty of the Persians at Samos.

be made for the killed and wounded, both at Carystos and Eretria. Guards must likewise have been detached with the prisoners and booty made at these different places. Four thousand men is certainly not a large allowance for these losses; so that the regular infantry which the Persian generals reviewed on the plain of Marathon could hardly have exceeded twenty thousand men. The care which had been hitherto taken of the cavalry may have preserved this force at pretty near its original complement. A deduction of one-sixth may be fairly made from the rest of the armament, even after allowing for the reinforcements received from the islands of the Archipelago.

Such are the grounds on which it is conjectured that the Persians could not have had more than forty-six thousand men at the battle of Marathon, and, of these, twenty thousand were regular infantry; the only force which seems to have been engaged, and the only force, exclusive of cavalry, that the Greeks in their military operations considered worthy of enumeration.

There can be no doubt, that even if the whole of the rowers of the triremes had been regularly trained as light troops, their services were not counted on in the battle. In case of any reverse, or any change of plan, their services were necessary on board in order to embark the army, and, in case of success, they were required to navigate the fleet round to Athens. They in fact remained on board; for the whole fleet, though ranged close to the shore, was kept afloat, and was not, as frequently happened with the vessels of the ancients, drawn up on the beach. Even extreme confidence of success on the part of the Persians does not appear to have induced them to relax, in any point, the strictest discipline in their fleet, or neglect any precaution for the order and security of the ships. So judicious indeed were their arrangements, that the defeated army was embarked, and the whole expedition quitted the bay with the loss of only seven ships.

Before the enemy landed, the Athenians were in doubt as to the place where they were to expect the attack. This may be considered a proof that, in spite of the advantages afforded at Marathon for the shelter of the fleet, and for the immediate employment of the cavalry, there were other places on the coast, which, in the opinion of those best qualified to judge, offered equal facilities for an attack on Athens. It may be remarked, that the most convenient spot in the channel of Eubœa for landing, in order to proceed directly to Athens, was Halæ Araphenides. Here Iphigeneia landed from Tauris with the statue of

Diana, and at this place, according to Strabo, the usual communication between Athens and the south of Eubœa was maintained.[39] If Halæ Araphenides was situated at the marsh called Alikí, about two miles to the south of Rafina, the Persians would have found a fine beach for the arrangement of their ships. This spot communicates with Athens by an excellent road, which at no great distance from the sea enters the plain of Mesogaia.[40] It offers only one pass of the slightest difficulty, over the low ridge of hills which separates Mesogaia from the maritime plain, and even this could hardly present a serious obstacle to an invading army. On the rest of the road, cavalry and light infantry could always protect the flanks of the army, while the superiority of the Persians, in numbers, would have been available in case of a battle on the road. The distance does not exceed seventeen miles.

The reasons which decided the preference in favour of Marathon have been mentioned. It may also be supposed, that the memory of his father's expedition exercised a strong influence on the mind of Hippias. Pisistratus had succeeded, immediately on his arrival, in rendering himself master of the town of Marathon, which commanded some of the communications with the interior; but in this Hippias and the Persians failed. Hippias himself had contributed very much to the success of the former attack on Athens, and he probably thought that destiny had made the Marathonian road, the path which was to lead his family to sovereign power. In all doubtful cases, similar associations strongly influenced the decisions even of statesmen and warriors amongst the Greeks.

But the fortune of Pisistratus soon ceased to attend his son. On stepping ashore he was seized with a fit of coughing, during which one of his teeth dropped out upon the sand, and could not be found; whence he inferred that it covered all the territory he was destined permanently to occupy in Attica.

The Persians were not only defeated in their attempt to seize the fortress of

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[39] Strabo, lib. x. p. 322. ed. Tauch.

[40] The Turks landed some of their artillery, which they brought from Negropont for the siege of Athens in 1826, at Rafina, from which they conveyed it by land to Athens. They first gained the road from Marathon to Mesogaia, which they followed until they arrived at the road alluded to in the text, and by that they proceeded to Athens, leaving Spata to the south.

Marathon, but they failed also to gain possession of the pass leading out of the plain to the south.[41] This circumstance explains the extraordinary inaction of their army for so many days. They patiently awaited the effect of the communications which Hippias endeavoured to establish with a discontented party, or with some remaining partisans of his family at Athens, for a result similar to that which had put them in possession of Eretria. The speech in which Miltiades urged the necessity of a speedy engagement,[42] and the general opinion that signals had been made to the Persians, even after their defeat, to renew the attack on the city,[43] seem to prove that these communications had not been entirely without effect.

The time which had elapsed between the banishment of Hippias and his return, had been productive of a very considerable change in the public mind at Athens; and of this change, Hippias, having been bred a prince, and having resided long at an eastern court, or as chief of a dependent city, may easily be supposed not to have duly appreciated the importance. Throughout Greece it was a period of general excitement; and civil society was entering on one of those epochs of sudden and extraordinary change for the better, of which similar instances are found in various countries and in far distant times. A feeling of national independence, and a love of civil liberty, are the first-fruits of this impulse towards improvement; and the energy which these feelings awaken was not likely to be understood by Hippias, however great his talents. He could not be expected to foresee that patriotism, a feeling of a recent origin, might forbid the friends of his family from aiding one who availed himself of a foreign army to regain his power. Public opinion, while it reduced his partisans to secret intrigue, rendered secret intrigue unavailing; for it is seldom an efficient weapon, except in a despotic or aristocratic government.

There is strong reason to conclude, from the failure of the Persians in taking Marathon, and in securing the southern pass, that the four thousand Athenians

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[41] Some may conjecture from this, that Marathon stood at the foot of Mount Argalíki, where the Heracleion is placed in the map, and that this sacred enclosure of Hercules was merely a walled space without the fortifications of the town. There must, however, have been a fortress at Vraná, which the Athenians had secured.

[42] Herodotus, vi. 109. [43] Idem, vi. 115.

who marched to the assistance of Eretria, and had been advised to quit that town when its civil dissensions rendered it apparent that no effectual resistance could be made, must have thrown a strong garrison into these positions. Perhaps, as they crossed over to Oropos, they may never have proceeded further than the passes out of the Marathonian district; and their number was doubtless found sufficient not only to garrison the town of Marathon, but also to secure the pass below Argalíki and the gorge of the valley of Oinoe. The southern pass below Mount Argalíki would require to be strongly fortified, as its breadth is considerable, and its possession by the Persians would have left the principal road to Athens open to the march of their army. Indeed a day's march would have brought the whole force of the Persians under the walls of Athens.

That it was by this road Hippias intended to conduct the Persians, there can be no doubt. It has been already mentioned that the interment of the body of Eurystheus at Gargettus proves this to have been the regular road to Marathon in the most ancient times. The operations of Pisistratus in his expedition from Eretria prove that it remained always the usual road. From Marathon he marched to Pallene, where the troops from Athens met him.[44] Now as the situation of Pallene in the plain which extends between the approaching ridges of Pentelicus and Hymettus, covers this road at the only spot on it where the Athenian army could not with ease be turned, it indicates the very place which an army from Athens ought to occupy, in order to arrest the progress of an enemy advancing from Marathon.

To secure the pass between Mount Argalíki and the sea must have been one of the first objects of the Persians, and the season of the year caused the marsh to be no impediment to the advance of cavalry. It may be thought, therefore, that this was the place where the field-works of felled trees, mentioned by Cornelius Nepos,[45] were constructed. Herodotus makes no allusion to this circumstance, though Cornelius Nepos probably derived it from some Greek account of the battle; but a comparison of Herodotus with Cornelius Nepos shows clearly that the account of the latter is but carelessly put together, for these works must have been constructed before, and not after the arrival of the Athenian army at Marathon. If the pass had not been fortified, it is inconceivable that Hippias should have neglected to push forward the Persian

[44] Herodotus, i. 62. [45] Cornelius Nepos, Life of Miltiades, c. 5.

cavalry into Mesogaia, or at least to secure the defiles through Brauronia. And on the other hand, if this pass was sufficiently fortified to resist the Persians before the arrival of the Athenian army, Miltiades would certainly not have thought it necessary to add additional works after. The strongest argument in favour of these opinions must rest on the appearance of the localities, (which it is hoped can be perfectly understood from the map and the preceding description,) when it is borne in mind that the marsh would at this season present a firm passage for the march of troops, of almost half a mile in breadth.

As soon as the Athenians were informed that the enemy had disembarked at Marathon, their army hastened to the spot and encamped in an enclosure sacred to Hercules. Colonel Leake has supposed the camp of the Athenians to have occupied the valley of Vraná; but as that valley appears to have been completely secured by the fortress of Marathon, it seems more probable that the sacred enclosure was not far removed from the pass under Mount Argalíki. Some ruins in the pass, and an Hellenic wall running up the side of the mountain, probably indicate the exact site of the Heracleion, which may have aided very much in securing this wide passage. It seems the defences were completed by the felled trees already mentioned, and the ditches, which must always have been necessary for the drainage of the marsh. A well still existing by the roadside, and the sources which form the marsh, would supply the camp with potable though bad water.

It cannot be supposed that so large a body of troops as that which composed the Athenian army, clad in the heavy armour and carrying the large shields and long spears of the Grecian hoplites, could have marched with sufficient celerity by any road leading into the plain of Marathon, except that through the level country of Mesogaia. Supposing that, anciently, the road from Kephisía to Vraná had been artificially widened, there must always have remained several narrow passages, which would have occasioned great delay in the movement of a large body of troops. The country must always have been a district of vineyards and olive-plantations, and consequently encumbered with enclosures, while the other road passed in great part through an unenclosed district cultivated with grain. But, above all, it would have been extremely imprudent for the Athenians to have moved so far from the sea-coast, a knowledge of which fact would have enabled the Persians to venture on disembarkations on various parts, in the hope of pushing their troops into the great plain of Mesogaia before the return of the Athenian army.

It is remarkable that ancient history has left us as ignorant of the exact amount of the Athenian, as of the Persian forces. Herodotus, who might easily have known their number, makes no mention of it; and the authority of the writers in Roman times, who treat of early Grecian history, is valuable only when it is supported by some collateral evidence from contemporary history, or when it coincides with probability, which unfortunately is not always the case. All the later writers however seem to have agreed with public rumour in fixing the number of the Athenians at ten thousand. There are various circumstances which lead to the belief that such was nearly their force in round numbers. The fact of the Lacedæmonian troops having visited the field of battle immediately after the engagement, must have rendered it easy for all Greece to obtain tolerably exact information on this head. The jealousy of Athens, which was soon felt, rendered any diminution of her forces, far more unlikely than exaggeration of the numbers of the Persians.

At the battle of Platæa, when Athens had increased in strength, she had only eight thousand heavy-armed troops in the field. It is perhaps a fair conjecture to suppose that her forces were then equally divided between the fleet and the army. At the battle of Tanagra, which took place forty-seven years after that of Marathon, Athens had fourteen thousand men in the field, and she must then have had also some of her heavy-armed troops absent with the fleet. Supposing however that the Athenian state could not have assembled as large an army at the time of the battle of Marathon, as at subsequent periods, and considering that part of the heavy-armed troops were compelled to remain behind, in order to guard the city against faction and treason, it does not seem probable that the army which was assembled to meet the Persians could have much exceeded the ten thousand men, of which it is generally reported to have consisted. To these may be added the thousand Platæans[46] who joined the army after its arrival at the Heracleion, though some writers

[46] It has been supposed from a passage of Pausanias, that slaves fought as hoplites in the Athenian ranks at Marathon. Mitford's History of Greece, vol. iii. 94. Had this been the case, the army might have been much more numerous than has been stated. There can also be little doubt that in early periods, in many poor democratic states, the number of the heavy-armed was limited rather by the want of the resources necessary to equip those duly exercised with the expensive armour of an hoplite, than by the want of men. Böckh (Public Economy of Athens, vol. i. 343.) infers from the words of Pausanias alluded to above, that the slaves served only in the ranks

include them in the former number. The position of the Platæans on the left seems to have led to their crossing directly from their own territory by Kephisía, in order to join the army in its position at Marathon. This incidental circumstance tends to give us a high opinion of the excellence of the preparative arrangements adopted by the Athenian generals. The transmission of this order of march to the Platæans assists us in a singular manner in explaining the real situation of the Greek troops, while it proves that measures had been adopted, which rendered it certain that the communications between the Kephisía road and the road by Mesogaia, that is, between Vraná and the pass below Argalíki, would be preserved.

The preceding calculation gives the Athenians an army of at least eleven thousand men clad in the perfect panoply of the Grecian heavy-armed warriors, the chivalry of antiquity. On adding to these the usual number of light-armed troops which attended the hoplites, it appears the Grecian camp must have contained not less than twenty-two thousand men.

With regard to the light-armed troops of the Athenians, it is possible that their inferiority to those of the Persians in arms, skill, and discipline, was as great as the superiority of the Greek regular infantry to that of the Persians. The Athenian cavalry was so few in number at this period, that even if it had been present in the field, it could not have taken part in the battle. Its services would probably be considered more important in the plains of Mesogaia and Athens, watching any movement of the disaffected or any insurrection of the slaves. The whole hope of Athens must have reposed on the courage and discipline of the hoplites.[47]

The inquiry has now been brought down to the moment when the two

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of the Platæans, and Böckh's authority will be received as conclusive on such a question. Perhaps the fact of the Platæans having mustered only six hundred at the battle of Platæa, may be held to confirm this; yet it is possible that their forces were, like those of the Athenians, divided between the fleet and the army. See further, Böckh's Public Economy of Athens, vol. i. 350.

[47] For an excellent sketch of the military establishment of Athens, see Böckh's Public Economy of Athens, vol. i. 339. In quoting the valuable translation of this important work, it is necessary to notice a singular inadvertency at p. 348. The translation leads the reader to suppose there were two Demi in Attica called Acharnæ. The parenthesis will read as follows, with a slight alteration, and it will then give the exact meaning of the original:

"By which we are not to understand *a* little village of charcoal burners, as is generally supposed, but a considerable town, which was celebrated for the heroism of its ancient inhabitants."

armies were placed in sight of one another. The Persian camp occupied the ground about the mouth of the rivulet, and extended towards the northern marsh. Their ships were ranged in a double line along the beach, from the southern angle of their camp to the long cape which shelters the bay. The first tier seems to have had their sterns resting on the beach, from the circumstance of Kynægeirus, the brother of Æschylus, dying from the loss of his hand, which was cut off as he laid hold of the poop of one of the Persian ships. The space they occupied is almost five miles long, and would therefore admit of the whole fleet being thus disposed; but there is no reason why they should not have been stationed in three lines, had it been desirable to occupy a smaller extent of beach.

It may appear surprising that the Persians did not on their arrival extend the line of their ships beyond the southern marsh, and thus turn the position of the Athenians stationed to defend the pass below Mount Argalíki, by disembarking on the plain of Probalinthus. But the fact is, that the water which in the bay of Marathon is deep, even close to the beach, and has a sandy bottom, beyond the southern marsh becomes shallow with shelving rocks. The landing of a large body of troops would therefore have been an operation of difficulty and danger, as the triremes could hardly approach near enough to cover the disembarkation with the archers and slingers on board.

The head-quarters of the Athenians were at the Heracleion, but the army was posted along the terraces which terminate the slope of Argalíki towards the great plain. This position enabled them to keep up their communications by means of these terraces with Vraná, the valley of which must anciently have been full of enclosures, gardens, vineyards, and olive-plantations,—a circumstance that would very much facilitate its defence. The elevated position of the Greek camp gave the Athenians a perfect view of the camp and fleet of their enemy, and enabled them to seize instantly any advantage which might result from the movements of the Persians.

Nine days elapsed, during which each army guarded its position. The Greeks were too strongly posted for the Persians to venture on attacking them. The command of the sea ensured the arrival of abundant supplies, so that delay seems to have caused no alarm to the Persians, while to the Athenians it appeared attended with many dangers. The number of the enemy was so great, as to render it, in the opinion of five of the ten generals of the Athenians, an act of extreme rashness to descend and attack them in the plain.

Miltiades, one of the Athenian leaders, possessed at this period considerable personal influence, and his military reputation and long experience in Persian warfare would naturally augment his authority among his countrymen at such a crisis. He had already given proofs of his daring character, in advising the Greeks to break down the bridge over the Danube, and to abandon Darius while engaged in his Scythian expedition: and his attack and conquest of Lemnos, while under the protection of Persia, seem to show that his intimate knowledge of the military forces of the Persian empire had enabled him at this early period to foresee the possibility of successful resistance from the superiority of Grecian tactics. His ambition may have flattered him with the hope that he would be enabled to take a leading part in the Ionian war, which owes its fatal termination as much to the want of talents and character in Aristagoras and Histiæus, as to the want of force in the confederates.

On the present occasion Miltiades strongly urged the necessity of descending into the plain and attacking the enemy, fearing the intrigues of Hippias and the movements of the disaffected at Athens, much more than the military array of the Medes. The votes of the ten generals were equally divided, but the opinion of Miltiades was supported by Aristides and Themistocles, names destined to become even more celebrated than his own in future ages. The casting vote of the polemarch Kallimachus, of Aphidna, was given in favour of descending into the plain and attacking the Persians. Herodotus says, that the officers who had supported the opinion of Miltiades then resigned to him their days of command; but that he did not avail himself of this generosity, preferring to engage the enemy when his own day of command arrived.

If the debate took place immediately on the arrival of the army at the Heracleion, the unwillingness of some of the generals to engage, even though they were outvoted in the council of war, and the desire of Miltiades to fight on the day of his peculiar command, which happened to be the tenth, may have occasioned the delay. A powerful reason in favour of it was probably found in the hourly augmentation of the confidence and enthusiasm of the Athenians, who had leisure to observe the arms and evolutions of the Persians, and compare them with their own complete armour and steady discipline.

It is evident from the proposal of Miltiades to descend into the plain and attack the Persians, that he must have been able to draw out his army in line of battle where it would be difficult for the Persians to attempt to attack him; and that the position rendered it impossible for them to turn his wings with

their cavalry, or by a partial attack on any part of his troops while they were engaged in taking up their ground, to render the superiority of their numbers available. He must therefore have drawn up his army before the camp with the extent of front, and in the exact order, which he intended they should occupy during the battle.

Under these circumstances there appears no spot but the lower slopes of Argalíki where the army could have been drawn up, and no line of battle but that extending from the rugged hill of Kotróni to the sea, in which Miltiades could have perfectly secured his flanks. Here alone it would be absolutely impossible for the Persians to present a larger front than the Greeks; and that this was the case is proved by the fact that Miltiades found it necessary even to weaken his centre, in order to make sure of occupying as great an extent of front as the Persians from the nature of the ground could possibly cover. Had he, when he weakened his centre, allowed the possibility to remain of outflanking his wings, he would have afforded the Persians the very best means of availing themselves of all the advantages they possessed, instead of rendering, as he did, those advantages of no avail.

In order to take up the desired position as rapidly as possible, and to prevent any part of the enemy from intruding themselves between his left wing and the enclosures in the valley of Vraná during the operation, Miltiades commanded the Athenians to execute the movement at the most rapid pace which it was practicable to employ in military evolutions. The circumstance of the Athenians running to join battle made a great impression on the mind of Herodotus, who records that they were the first of the Greeks who had thus engaged an enemy, and that the space over which they ran was about eight stades, almost an English mile. The rapidity of this attack seems to indicate that the Persians were already drawn out to receive them, and it was probably adopted to render the superiority of the Persian light troops[48] useless, and perhaps to secure some advantage resulting from the absence of the cavalry foraging in the plain of Tricorythus.[49] Possibly, too, some accident of wind or sea rendered it

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[48] Justini Hist. lib. ii. c. 9. "citato cursu ante jactum sagittarum."

[49] A conclusion which may be drawn from Suidas, *χωρὶς ἱππεῖς*, above alluded to, p. 373. The Ionians, however, would not have required to make any signals to the Athenians, who from their elevated position could see every movement of their enemy. See a note in Thirlwall's History of Greece, vol. ii. p. 240.

difficult at the time for any of the ships of the Persians to be placed near the shore in order to annoy the right wing with their slingers and archers.

The space over which the Athenians advanced with such rapidity will be found to coincide pretty exactly with the interval between the foot of Argalíki and a line drawn from Kotróni to the sea, passing by the great tumulus.

This monument doubtless indicates that part of the line where the Athenians suffered the greatest loss; and as it stands exactly opposite the pass of the Mesogaia road, it indicates the very point, against which the Persians would be likely to direct their most vigorous attack.

The space, within which it is thus supposed that the battle was fought, is such as would require the Athenians to have covered a front of about two thousand five hundred yards,[50] and this will admit of Miltiades having drawn up his army in the following order. Each flank would occupy a front of eight hundred yards, and would consist of four tribes, each of which would present a front of two hundred men, with a depth of six files;[51] thus each wing would consist of a solid phalanx of four thousand eight hundred men. On the extreme left the Platæans occupied the place of a tribe.

The centre having been considerably weakened for the purpose of strengthening the wings, it may be supposed to have consisted of three tribes, occupying a front of nine hundred yards, and having a depth of only three files. It seems hardly possible that a Greek leader could venture on a feebler disposition than the above, for, from the leaders of five (*πεμπάσταρχοι*) mentioned in the Cyropædeia, it would seem that five or six deep was the ordinary formation of the Persians:[52] and the weakened centre was opposed to the well-armed and

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[50] From Kotróni to the tumulus is about sixteen hundred yards, from the tumulus to the shore about nine hundred. It must be supposed that some accidental interruptions occurred in this line, and this must be regarded as adapting the calculation of the text to the ground. A Greek warrior probably did not require more than two feet and a half in front.

[51] Thucydides, iv. 94. mentions that the Athenians were drawn up eight deep at the battle of Delium. It appears from Xenophon, (Hellenics, III. ii. 16. and VI. ii. 5.) that Greek troops were sometimes drawn up three deep, or, according to the expression of Greek military tactics, eight in front: a passage in Xenophon's description of the battle of Leuctra makes three in front, twelve deep, which varies from the calculation here adopted. All depends on the number of the enomotia, which varied at different periods. See some illustrations of this subject in Müller's Dorians, vol. ii. 250.

[52] Cyrus however is stated (lib. VI. iii. 21.) to have drawn up his troops twelve deep. *Παραγ-*

active native troops of Persia and to the battle-axes of the Sacæ.[53] This calculation, however, gives the Athenian army twelve thousand three hundred men: by making the flanks five deep, the number would be ten thousand seven hundred.

The Persians, from the smallness of their shields and the shortness of their spears, must have formed in rather closer ranks than the Greeks. They may be supposed to have placed at least three thousand men in their front rank. This formation, with a depth of six files, would leave a sufficient number of heavy-armed troops of the first class to form the rear-guard, the τελευταῖοι, who were stationed behind the lighter troops; an arrangement which, according to Xenophon, was usual with the Persians. The leading division of the Persian regular infantry would thus consist of eighteen thousand men.

It was fortunate for these arrangements of Miltiades, that the tribes of Antiochis and Leontis were placed in the centre, as they were commanded by Aristides and Themistocles, men in whose conduct and courage every confidence could be placed in such critical circumstances.

The battle was long fought and severely contested. Both wings of the Persians were defeated by the phalanxes opposed to them; but the centre of the Athenians was compelled to give way, and some of the fugitives from the army, probably part of the light troops in the rear, fled even as far as Mesogaia.[54] Now as it may be observed, that in their retreat into Mesogaia the fugitives took the direct road, by which they could most rapidly retreat before the victorious enemy, this statement of Herodotus strongly confirms the views adopted in this essay concerning the position of the two armies during the battle.

γείλατε δὲ τοῖς ταξιάρχοις καὶ λοχαγοῖς ἐπὶ φάλαγγος καθίστασθαι, εἰς δύο ἔχοντας ἕκαστον τὸν λόχον. Ὁ δὲ λόχος ἦν ἕκαστος εἰκοσιτέτταρες. The πεμπάδαρχος seems therefore to have been the file-leader of six, and the δεκάδαρχος the file-leader of twelve. (Lib. II. i. 20.) The distribution of the θωρακηφόροι, ἀκοντίσται, τοξόται, and τελευταῖοι in the army serves to give a good idea of Persian tactics; for the heavy-armed τελευταῖοι were placed in the rear, to prevent the javelin-men and bow-men from running away.

[53] Herodotus vii. 61. 64. Xenoph. Anab. iv. 4.

[54] It has been generally supposed by critics, that in this passage, vi. 113, Herodotus merely says that the fugitives fled into the interior of the country (ἐδίωκον ἐς τὴν μεσόγαιαν). Without entering on the question how far the Persians pursued them, I have ventured to read Mesogaia as a proper name, and to give the interpretation adopted in the text to this passage.

Miltiades, who must have attended anxiously to every change of the field, soon ordered his victorious wings to wheel round to the relief of the broken centre. Here, then, the greatest slaughter must have taken place, both of the Athenians and the Persians; and here Kallimachus the polemarch may have perished. If the great tumulus does not mark the very spot where he fell, it at least indicates the part of the field which was the scene of the most desperate combat: and this it shows was about the right of the Greek centre.

The combined attack of the Athenian wings compelled the Persians and the Sacæ to follow the rest of the army, and the whole Median host fled to the ships. The troops which formed the right wing of the Persian army would be those disembarked from the ships forming the northern division of the fleet. No other arrangement could have secured the necessary facilities for the movement of the large masses present on this narrow ground. These troops running directly towards their own ships in their flight, would naturally get encumbered in the northern marsh; and many were drowned in its deep pools, as Pausanias mentions.[55] Any other arrangement of the armies in the plain almost implies a necessity, on the part of the Persian fugitives, of going out of their way to drown themselves.

The victorious Athenians rushed down to the ships, and even attempted to set them on fire. But the warlike genius of the Persians, and the excellence of their military arrangements, were now displayed. The disposition of the Persian generals relative to the embarkation of the defeated troops, and the order and discipline maintained on board the fleet, were so admirable, that the Athenians were checked. Some assistance was probably afforded by the return of the cavalry from their foraging expedition, while the archers and slingers afloat protected the beach so effectually, that the victors could only render themselves masters of seven vessels. The rest of the invading armament departed in safety, leaving behind it six thousand four hundred slain.[56]

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[55] Pausanias, Attica, c. 32.

[56] A curious anecdote informs us that the number of the Persian slain proved much more distressing to the Athenian state, than it could have been to Persia. Kallimachus the polemarch vowed before the battle to sacrifice as many he-goats as there should fall enemies in the engagement. The fulfilment of the vow, or its neglect, seemed likely to prove equally ruinous to Athens. It was, at last, resolved that the vow should be fulfilled by instalments, at the rate of five hundred goats a year.

One hundred and ninety-two Athenians fell in the battle, and the tumulus which was reared over their bodies now forms the sole contemporary monument of that glorious day, which remains on the plain of Marathon. The names of the heroes whose ashes it covers were recorded on marble columns which once adorned it. Kallimachus the polemarch, who gave his casting vote for the fight, Stesilaos, one of the generals, and Kynægeirus, the daring brother of Æschylus, were amongst the slain. Æschylus himself fought in the battle.[57]

The Platæan slain, whose number is not mentioned, had likewise a separate tomb; and a monument, raised to the memory of Miltiades, was long beheld on the scene of his victory,[58] testifying as strongly the gratitude of his countrymen for his great services, as their conduct after his failure at Paros did their severity for his subsequent faults. A few fragments of marble, scattered over the plain, sometimes persuade the enthusiastic traveller to fancy he now beholds the last relics of the monuments mentioned by Pausanias. The mind of the philanthropic wanderer must, however, recur with a far deeper interest to the conduct and the feelings of those who fought in this memorable battle. Such speculations may be indulged in with delight; but it is doubtful whether their results could be recorded with equal profit.

It is somewhat remarkable that Herodotus should record the number of the Persian slain with such detail. There are circumstances, however, which warrant more implicit reliance being placed on his account, than can often be conceded to similar details concerning modern victories. Athenian vanity in after-ages increased the number indefinitely;[59] but the historian, who read his writings to assembled Greece, at a period when there must have been some among his listeners who were present at the battle, felt that this was an occasion to display his knowledge and impartiality, by stating the whole truth.[60] More than one person present, induced by no favourable feelings towards Athens, may have actually counted the slain. This arose from the circumstance of the

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[57] Parian Marbles, No. 49.

[58] Pausanias saw this monument nearly seven hundred years after the battle.

[59] An epigram in Suidas, Ποικίλη, shows that the Athenians generally stated the Persian loss at two hundred thousand.

[60] The author maintains the opinion that Herodotus *did* read his history at the Olympic games, in defiance of the learned arguments to the contrary: we must believe something even in spite of the German critics.

two thousand Lacedæmonians, who had been despatched after the full moon, really visiting the field of battle, though they arrived too late to aid the Athenians. They heard of the splendid victory on their arrival in the Attic territory, and in their eagerness to gratify the feeling of astonishment and admiration which the news excited, they continued their march to behold the scene of the exploit, and to verify the real state of affairs.

While the Athenian army was hastily counter-marching along the Mesogaia road, the Lacedæmonians pushed forward from Eleusis, by Acharnæ and Kephisía, to Marathon. They found Aristides with his tribe, the Antiochis, encamped on the field of battle.[61] He had been left to guard the spoil, to bury the slain, and to erect over them that tumulus whose historical interest is not a little augmented by this accidental connexion with his unsullied name.[62] The Persian dead were still unburied, and the jealousy of Sparta would be too deeply roused by this signal victory, for her sons to fail in counting with accuracy their numbers. The Lacedæmonians then returned home, to lend their reluctant testimony to the glory of a battle which could not fail to raise the reputation of the Athenian army to an equality with that of the troops of the Doric states, and diminish considerably the influence of the military superiority which the Dorians had hitherto arrogated to themselves.

Though the battle was won, the minds of the Athenians were not perfectly at ease; they felt that, although they had defeated, they had not destroyed the

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[61] Plutarch's life of Aristides. The order of the tribes, and consequently any conjecture concerning their exact position on the field of battle, present a subject of great difficulty; it is a question which the learning of Böckh may have illustrated, but the author of this essay has never been able to see his Treatise on the Battle of Marathon, in the Berlin programme of 1816. Notwithstanding what Plutarch says, it seems most probable that Aristides was left on the field, because his tribe had suffered more severely in the action than any other, and had more dead to bury. This is a more military and more natural reason than the one given by Plutarch, though it might not appear to the philosopher of Chæroneia so flattering to his hero. That hero, however, requires no flattery. The tumulus may therefore indicate the station of Aristides and the Antiochis during the battle. It seems also by no means sure, as some have supposed, that Kallimachus was at the head of his own tribe. As polemarch, he commanded the right wing, in virtue of his office, but his tribe, which might have been elsewhere, would be led by its own general. The Æantis, however, was on the right. Plutarch, Symposiacon, lib. i. qu. 10. c. 3.

[62] See a note at the conclusion, on the subject of the flints hitherto called Persian arrow-heads, found in the tumulus at Marathon.

Persian armament, and that the enemy's force was still probably greater than their own.[63] The hostile fleet alarmed them by standing round Cape Sunium; and they hastened back to Athens, to prevent any attack on the city. A report prevailed, that traitors had held up a shield as a signal to the Persians to attempt seizing Athens; and this report was generally believed. The distinguished family of the Alcmæonidæ was, in the opinion of Herodotus, unjustly accused of having participated in this treason.

There cannot exist the slightest doubt that the line of march which the Athenians would follow on their return would be by the Mesogaia road. As long as there remained any question of a second descent, the army could not have ventured to remove far from the coast without manifest imprudence. On their arrival near Athens, the troops encamped in another sacred enclosure of Hercules, in Cynosarges.[64]

The Persian fleet, after standing off Phalerum, and finding every thing prepared to give it a hostile reception, abandoned all hope of making any impression on Attica, and sailed away for Asia; the leaders of the expedition consoling themselves for their defeat at Marathon by the plunder and slaves which the ravage of Naxos, Karystos, and Eretria, would enable them to lay at the feet of Darius.

Such are the views which a careful comparison of the ground on which this battle was fought, with the facts relating to it recorded by ancient writers, have induced the author to adopt. Nothing can be discovered at variance with a single fact recorded by Herodotus; there is much which confirms and explains his account. The victory must ever be regarded, in its moral results, as one of the most important of human combats. In spite of the popular desire to attribute its success to miraculous causes, to the favour of the god Pan, and to the assistance of the heroes Hercules, Theseus, Marathus, and Echetlus; it must have been the feeling of many enlightened men at Athens, besides Themistocles[65] and Aristides, that success was the natural result of the military skill of Miltiades, and the steady discipline of the Athenian and Platæan troops.

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[63] In the Persian dead both light troops and attendants would be included, while only the loss of the Athenian hoplites is reported. Even the numbers of the Platæan slain are not recorded.

[64] Numerous instances occur, in ancient writers, of sacred enclosures serving as camps and fortifications.

[65] Themistocles' own words were: "The glory of Miltiades will not allow me to sleep."

Amongst the public men in the Attic state, it must, therefore, have excited an eager desire to cultivate those qualities, individual and national, which had led to so splendid a result.

There can be no doubt that it was the victory of Marathon which ripened the love of national liberty, even amongst the populace of Athens, into that enthusiastic patriotism, which led them to abandon their city in order to secure their independence. The recollection of Marathon kept alive that detestation of a foreign yoke which induced the whole Attic population to abandon their paternal dwellings, and wander forth as exiles, rather than compromise the honour of their country; and taught them, though unskilled in the dangers of the sea, to prefer the wooden walls of the oracle to the Pelasgic battlements of the Acropolis: while by this glorious example of successful resistance to disproportionate numbers, an echo of corresponding feelings was awakened through all Greece, and that spirit was roused which caused the destruction of the mighty armament of Xerxes, and added to the glory of Marathon the imperishable memories of Salamis and Platæa. There is no battle in ancient or modern times more deserving of applause for its military conduct, none more worthy of admiration for its immediate results on society, or more beneficial in its permanent influence on the fate of mankind; nor is there any of which it can with greater truth be said, that it was one of "true glory's stainless victories."

Note concerning the pieces of flint called Persian arrow-heads, found in the tumulus at Marathon.

The pieces of flint (or obsidian, for there appears to be some doubt about the exact nature of the substance), artificially formed, which are found in considerable quantity in the tumulus at Marathon, have been hitherto universally regarded as Persian arrow-heads, and have been used as an argument for the immense numbers of the Persian host, as it was supposed they belonged to the archers of the Ethiopian legion. Herodotus, in his enumeration of the forces of Xerxes, mentions that the Ethiopians used arrows pointed with stone; but this would not warrant the supposition that Ethiopian archers were present in the expedition of Datis. Indeed, had the Persians at Marathon really fancied

they could check the assault of the Athenian hoplites by shooting such bits of flint at them as are now picked up in the tumulus, there must have been a strange difference between the Asiatic Greeks they had before vanquished, and the Europeans whom they were about to engage.

The truth seems to be, that these pieces of flint were mixed with the soil when it was heaped up by the soldiers of Aristides. Similar flints are often found scattered about over small spaces in many parts of Attica, and indeed in all Greece. The author found some pieces curiously formed on the site of Aëxone; he has met with them at almost every ancient site he has visited since his attention was directed to the subject, and he obtained some fine specimens in the island of Santorin.

Colonel Leake has informed him they are found in many parts of the world, particularly in Egypt and in Ireland. An accomplished nobleman, in passing through Athens, told him that they exist in great number at Elsdon in Northumberland, and that the finest collection of them is to be seen in the museum of Copenhagen, amongst the Scandinavian antiquities.

In Greece they abound near ancient sites, where no accumulation of soil has taken place, and appear to be parts of the weapons and instruments of domestic economy used by the inhabitants of the country who preceded the Hellenes and Pelasgi. This flint, or obsidian, has not yet been discovered in its native position in any part of Greece, though the author has lately received a specimen, resembling common flint, from the island of Amorgos. The weapons or instruments for which this stone was employed seem similar in the different countries in which they are found, but the exact material of which they are composed varies.

Observations on the road from Athens to the plain of Marathon, by Mesogaia.

As this road has been entirely overlooked by travellers, a short description of it may be considered not uninteresting.

On quitting Athens, it passes by the village of Ambelokepos, in the direction of the level between Pentelicus and the northern slopes of Hymettus. Here Pallene seems to have been situated, commanding the communications between the plains of Athens and Mesogaia, and forming the point of intersection and separation of several roads.

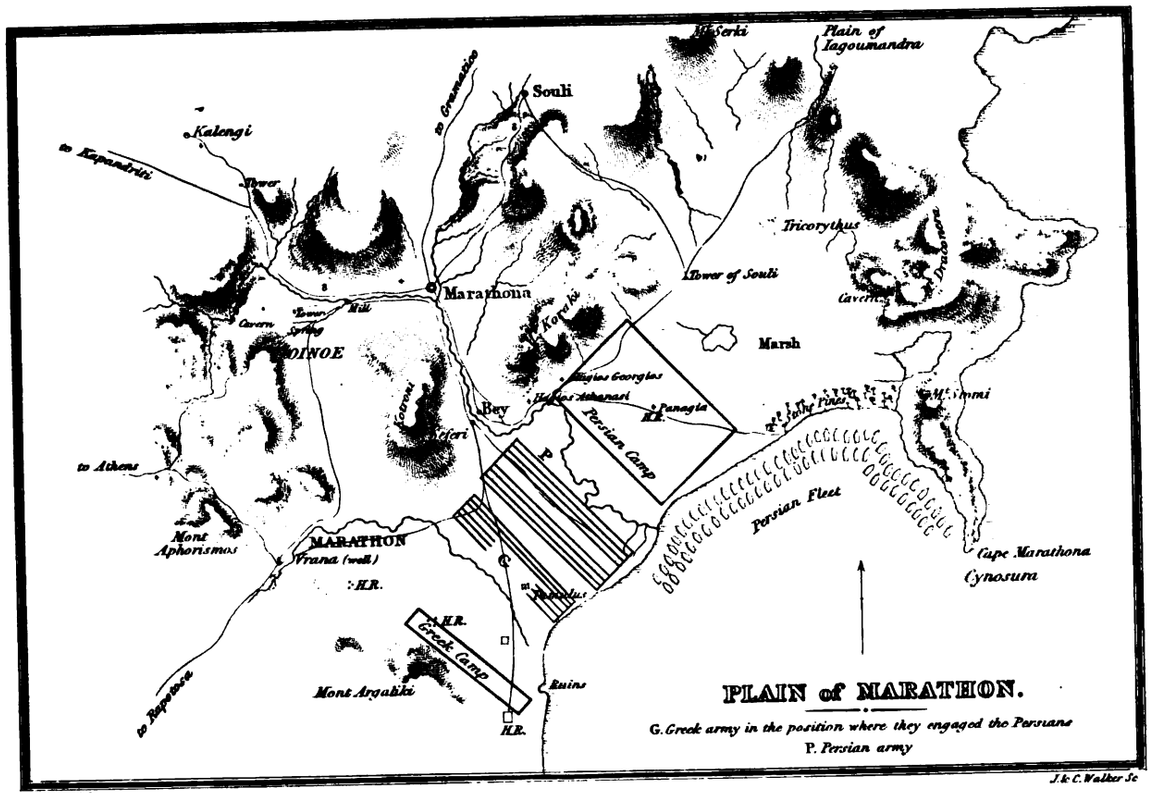
From hence the road to Marathon follows the plain, skirting the lowest slopes of Pentelicus. In about half an hour from Pallene, and nearly three hours from Athens, it arrives at the village of Kharváta, not far from which stood the ancient Gargettus. It is difficult to fix on the exact site of Gargettus, as the foundations of more than one ancient demus are visible not far from the modern village, and two sites occupy commanding situations close to the road, presenting a fine view over the plain of Mesogaia. There cannot, however, be a doubt that Garitó, an abandoned modern village in a retired valley of Pentelicus, nearer to the monastery, only indicates the spot where the last relics of the Hellenic population of Gargettus preserved, until their extinction, the name of their town and their ancient language. Both have now disappeared; but the Albanian intruders, who drove them from their possessions, still dwell over the tombs of their fathers at Kharváta.

About an hour further, the road leaves the small village of Pikermi a few minutes to the left. Pikermi is situated on a perennial stream which flows from the heights of Pentelicus, and which has a better title than the stream at Vraóna to be called the Erasinos of Strabo, if the length of its course and the quantity of its water, in the absence of all stronger reasons, be allowed to decide the question of the name.

An ancient town, of very considerable extent, stood at Pikermi, and numerous remains prove that it must have preserved its importance and a large population to a very late period. The citadel, which is neither of inconvenient height nor difficult ascent, affords a splendid view over a rich and well-watered but deserted plain. Two ruined metokhi, or monasterial farms, are all that remain of the demi, which must once have been very numerous in this district. It is perhaps difficult to determine the ancient name of Pikermi, but the position seems well suited for the capital of Brauronia; though the order in which the towns of this part of Attica occur in Strabo, and the luxuriant myrtles rather point to Myrrhinos.

In the bed of the stream of Pikermi, the author discovered a large quantity of fossil bones, which are now deposited in the Museum of the Society of Natural History at Athens. They contain the remains of several extinct species of animals.

At about forty minutes beyond Pikermi, after having passed two ancient positions, the road to Rafína falls off to the right. This is a ruined metokhi on the sea-shore, which is here distant from the road about a mile and a half.



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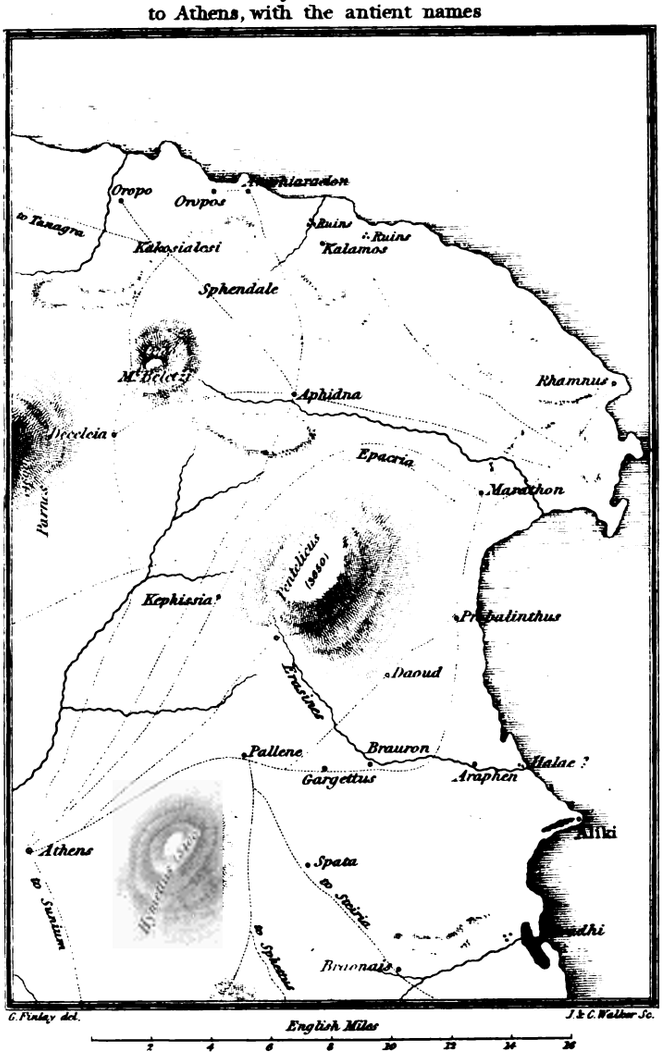
Sketch of the Country about Marathon & the Roads to Athens, with the antient names



Published by the Royal Society of Literature March 1839.

There are considerable remains of an ancient demos at Rafína, and the substructure of a public building eighty-two feet broad, but the length of which cannot be measured with any accuracy until an excavation be made.

The road now turns to the north, and passes through a wooded and undulating country, with the sea generally about a mile and a half to the right, until it enters the plain containing the village of Gerotchakola and the metokhi of Xylokerasa. This plain seems to be that of Probalinthus. The sea now gradually approaches the mountains, and the road soon gains the pass between Argalíki and the southern marsh, where it enters the plain of Marathon.

It may be remarked, that besides the road to Marathon, two other great roads diverge from Pallene through Mesogaia. The centre road passes through the middle of the plain by Spata to Port Rafti: this appears to be the Steirian way. The third keeps along the foot of Hymettus, and passing the ancient site called Kokla, near the large modern village of Alopekí, proceeds to Marcópoulo: this appears to be the Sphettian way.

The following inscription was found near the ruins of Pikermi :—

ΟΡΟΣΧΩΡΙΟΓΕ
ΓΡΑΜΕΝΟΕΡΑ
ΝΙΣΤΑΙΣΤΟΙΣ
ΜΕΤΑΚΑΛΛ
ΙΤΕΛΟΣΗΗ
ΗΗΔΔ

"The boundary of the field sold to the Eranistæ under (*the presidency of*) Kalliteles for 420 (drachmas)."

Inscriptions of this kind seem to have formed the instrument of seisin of the ancient Greeks: its brevity and publicity are alike recommended to the attention of law reformers.

The Eranos corresponded exactly to the modern club; the bond of union of the members being frequently good living, gambling, and electioneering, as well as weightier matters.—See Böckh's Public Economy of Athens, vol. i. p. 328.

XXII.—*Letter on the Position of Aphidna, addressed to Colonel Leake, author of 'Travels in Northern Greece,' &c.* By G. Finlay, Esq.

Read, February, 1838.

The position of Aphidna is an interesting subject of inquiry to those who occupy themselves in comparing the topography of Attica with the ancient authors. It was, in the remotest times, the capital of a state bearing the same name; one of the twelve which formed the Attic commonwealth prior to the age of Theseus, when the political organization of Attica received a new form. The position of Aphidna has hitherto eluded the search of antiquaries, and even in your able and judicious work on the Demi of Attica, which has served as the basis for the inquiries of contemporary topographers, you have only ventured a conjecture on its position.

I shall therefore hazard addressing to you a few remarks on what I conceive to be its site. My conclusion is founded on a comparison of the country with the ancient authorities. Unfortunately, our scanty materials hardly admit of absolute certainty on the subject; still, I shall strive to collect such collateral proof as may afford satisfactory evidence in my favour.

Aphidna was celebrated in the ancient traditions of Attica from its connexion with the adventures of Theseus and Helen. Herodotus and Plutarch[1] both relate, that Theseus having carried off Helen from Lacedæmon in her tender years, concealed her at Aphidna, where he entrusted her to the care of his friend Aphidnus. When her brothers Castor and Pollux invaded Attica in search of their sister, she was no where to be found. Some unknown cause had delayed their expedition, for, at the time of their arrival in Attica, they found that Theseus had departed on another attempt to carry off a young princess for his friend Pirithous. This attempt failed, Pirithous perished, and Theseus became a prisoner in the hands of the king of the Molossians, who was the young lady's father. The news of his misfortune had thrown the direc-

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[1] Herodotus, ix. 73. Plutarch, Theseus, c. 31., also Isocrates, Helenæ Laudatio, 510.

tion of public affairs at Athens into the hands of his political opponents, who aided the Tyndaridæ in their search for Helen.

But all inquiries were vain, until Dekelos, an inhabitant of Deceleia, at length revealed to them that Aphidna was the place of their sister's concealment. Aphidna, however, was a state of such power, and possessing so numerous a force, that it resisted the attack of Castor and Pollux, though assisted by numerous allies, for a considerable time. A war of great fame in the heroic history of Greece was carried on in its territory,[2] yielding in celebrity only to the wars of Troy and Thebes. In this contest, not only the Tyndaridæ with the Lacedæmonians and Athenians were engaged, but they were joined also by troops from Arcadia and Megara.

The Megareans lost Alykos, the son of Skiron a Megarean general,[3] and Timalkos, the son of Megareus the king of Megara.[4] Akademos and Marathos were the chiefs of the Arcadians. Marathos devoted himself to be sacrificed at the head of the army, in order to secure victory to his friends; for the Aphidnians were so powerful as to offer battle to the numerous army of the confederates. Though defeated in this engagement, Herodotus informs us, they were reduced at last only by the treason of one of their own citizens named Titakos. The city of Aphidna was sacked by Castor and Pollux; but so deep was the impression which the difficulties of this war had made on the minds of the Lacedæmonians, and so long was the tradition of its dangers matter of public notoriety, that even in the Peloponnesian war the Spartans spared the territories of Deceleia, Marathon, and the Academy, as belonging to the descendants of those who had aided the Dioscuri in this doubtful contest.[5]

In spite of the strong tincture of the fabulous which pervades those traditions, the war of Aphidna seems to have exercised a very considerable influence on succeeding times both in Athens and Lacedæmon, though the true origin

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[2] Strabo, ix. 1.

[3] Plutarch, Theseus, c. 32.

[4] Pausanias, Attica, 41. 4. The doubts of Pausanias are not here of much importance, as he lived about 1300 years after the war of Aphidna, when the boundaries of truth and fiction in all the traditions connected with it had long been imperceptible.

[5] Herodotus mentions that the lands of Deceleia were spared on account of the services of Dekelos. Diodorus (l. xii. c. 45) says that Tetrapolis was not laid waste by the Peloponnesians, from its having been the place of refuge of the Heracleidæ. Plutarch (Theseus, c. 32) tells the story about Akademos and the Academy.

and connexion of much of this influence are defaced by the admixture of later fables.

The whole history of Theseus, for instance, is so anomalous, the facts are so much mingled with that which appears fabulous, that we are wholly at a loss to determine the limits between truth and falsehood. The union of deep political wisdom and amorous folly, of justice and of violence in his character, seems quite incompatible in the individual. We are tempted, therefore, to conjecture that his history merely represents the actions of the party or the dynasty which produced those great political results in Attica, testified by history to have really resulted from the Thesean policy. As the faction of Mnestheus[6] (the first whom, according to Plutarch, history records to have acted the part of a demagogue) gained the ascendancy, though by a reaction of the nobles, over that of Theseus, every calumny may as usual have been readily listened to against the unsuccessful leader or banished monarch.

Slight as the accounts we possess of the Aphidnian war are, some circumstances are recorded relating to the foundation of those peculiar relations which long subsisted between the north-eastern part of Attica and Lacedæmon. Aphidnus, the friend to whom Theseus entrusted the care and concealment of Helen, is the person who adopts Castor and Pollux as naturalized Athenians, in the most solemn manner, by their initiation into the Eleusinian mysteries. Whether some previous connexion between Aphidna and Lacedæmon was the cause of Helen being entrusted to the care of Aphidnus, or the manner in which he fulfilled his charge laid the foundation of this friendly step, it is vain to conjecture. The war of Aphidna, however, seems to have prepared the way for the shelter of the Heracleidæ in Marathon, and probably served as a precedent for the invasion of Attica by Eurystheus. In a later age, the selection of the Aphidnian minstrel Tyrtæus as general of the Lacedæmonians in the second Messenian war, is a less dubious proof of the influence of this contest and the deep impression its memory had made.

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[6] Homer, Il. ii. v. 525, shows that Mnestheus enjoyed a high reputation in Greece :—

> No chief like thee, Mnestheus ! Greece could yield,
> To marshal armies in the dusty field,
> Th' extended wings of battle to display,
> Or close th' embodied host in firm array.
>
> POPE.

In attempting from the existing accounts of the Aphidnian war to ascertain the position of Aphidna, there are several points which lead us to conjecture in what particular part of Attica it was situated. That it was in a position not very near Athens, and not in habitual communication with the city, is rendered probable by the circumstance of none of the inhabitants of the Cecropian plain being able to afford the Tyndaridæ the slightest information concerning their sister. The Peloponnesian connexion we have alluded to, points to a situation in the north-eastern part of Attica. This, with the fact of its having been one of the twelve ancient states of Attica, leads us to conclude that it could not have been situated in the basin which is enclosed between the sea and the mountains of Aigaleos, Parnes, Pentelicus, and Hymettus. It must therefore be sought for in that part of Diacria, lying beyond the ridge of hills at the head of the Athenian plain which connects Parnes and Pentelicus. If this be not the case, the upper part of Diacria and the rich and populous basin between Parnes and Phelleus will remain without a central capital, in the ancient division of Attica. But if Aphidna be placed in this district, the division of Attica amongst the twelve confederated states becomes much simplified.

Though the exact site of each capital cannot be pointed out, the situation of the territory of each can be conjectured with tolerable accuracy. Attica can then be apportioned into twelve such little communities as men issuing from a state of barbarism would be likely to form.

The following is an enumeration of the twelve states, with an attempt to indicate the situation of their respective territories. I take them in the order in which they are mentioned by Strabo.[7]

1. *Kekropia.*—This evidently includes the country about Athens, of which the Acropolis was the capital. Cecrops, if a native and not an Egyptian, may have removed the capital from Pallene.

2. *Tetrapolis.*—This probably included not only the plain of Marathon, but also that of Rhamnus to the north and Probalinthus to the south. You have shown that the capital Marathon was at Vraná.[8]

3. *Epakria* included the northern slopes of Pentelicus, and probably embraced the secondary summit of Pentelicus to the east, called Mavronóro. Its capital is still doubtful.

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[7] Strabo, who quotes Philochoros, ix. c. 1. p. 242. ed. Tauch.

[8] Demi of Attica, p. 54.

4. *Deceleia* embraced the eastern slopes of Parnes. Its capital, which bore the same name, was situated near the fountain of Tatói, on the upper road from Athens to Tanagra and Chalcis.

5. *Eleusis.*—Its territory is marked by natural boundaries, and its capital has retained the ancient name.

6. *Aphidna* I suppose to have occupied that elevated plain in which the waters collected from the slopes of Parnes, Pentelicus, and Phelleus, form the river of Marathon. The present attempt to ascertain the position of its capital may perhaps lead you, as the father of Attic topography, to decide the question.

7. *Thoricos* must have embraced the maritime district round Sunium. The ruins of the capital, which still retains its ancient name modified to Theriko, are still extensive and interesting.[9]

8. *Brauron.*—This state must have occupied all the south-eastern slopes of Pentelicus: it extended from Tetrapolis and Epakria to the sea. There seems to be some doubt about the position of its capital: the modern villages of Vraonais are so far in the plain of Mesogaia, that I cannot suppose them to indicate the position of the ancient capital, which probably was placed near the centre of the district.[10] A memoir on the geography of Brauronia is a desideratum.

9. *Kytherus.*—The situation of Kytherus is perhaps the most doubtful point in the ancient topography of Attica. Professor Müller, in his map of Northern Greece, attached to the first volume of his work on the Dorians, places Kytherus on the coast between Rhamnus and Oropos. I know not on what authority this is done; but if it was really situated in this part of Attica, the capital probably occupied the site of Revíthia, a place near the large modern village of Kálamos, where extensive ruins are still visible. For my own part, however, I hold your opinion to be more probable, that it divided the greater part of the plain of Mesogaia with Sphettus. As I agree with Professor Müller in his position of Sphettus, I am compelled to place Kytherus under the eastern side of Hymettus.

10. *Sphettus.*—The mythic origin of Sphettus leads us to look for it near

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[9] See Inedited Antiquities of Attica, and Dodwell's Classical Tour, vol. i. p. 534. Leake's Demi, p. 41.

[10] Leake's Demi, p. 44.

Anaphlystus, since Sphettus and Anaphlystus were both sons of Trœzen. The fact that the Sphettian way passed near Gargettus, however, shows that it was in Mesogaia and not immediately on the sea-coast. It must therefore have included that part of the Mesogaian plain which approaches the maritime hills to the south-east of Attica. This position is confirmed by the probable vicinity of Sphettus and Myrrhinos, to which you allude in the Demi, page 13; and the Myrrhinousian inscriptions of Fourmont are a strong presumption that Méronda occupies the site of Myrrhinos.

11. *Kephisia* retains its ancient name.

12. *Phaleros* is also perfectly well known.

By this arrangement all Attica is divided amongst the confederate states, in such a manner as to afford each a considerable extent of fertile territory. Aphidna, I suppose, extended from the hills which connect Parnes and Pentelicus to the borders of Oropia, and to the sea on the east. It equalled any of the other states in size, and its arable land and extensive pasturage admitted of a large and hardy population, while its natural boundaries were more secure than those of its neighbours. On the west the rocks of Parnes are nearly impassable, and to the east the hills which bound the Tetrapolis offer only a few rugged ascents into the Aphidnian territory; the sea-coast is without harbours and is extremely precipitous. Even from Oropia and Athens the passes, though easier of passage, are strong and easily guarded.

To proceed now with my attempt to determine the site of the capital. From the history of the Aphidnian war several topographical conclusions may be drawn. The circumstance of Dekelos revealing the place of Helen's concealment warrants the supposition that Deceleia and Aphidna were so situated as to be in continual communication. It is true, the road from one to the other is by a difficult defile; the distance however is not more than six miles, and Aphidna commands the lower and more level road to Tanagra and Oropos, while Deceleia commands the shorter and more rugged. The Demos Titakidae, connected in name with Titakos the traitor, was doubtless in the immediate vicinity of Aphidna. The war and the siege both point to the probability of Aphidna being situated in a very strong situation, but with a plain in its vicinity. Dekelos was doubtless aware of Helen's concealment, from his habitual relation with Aphidna, and Titakos was enabled from his peculiar situation to play the traitor. The necessity of Marathos, the founder of Marathon, devoting himself to death in order to ensure the defeat of the Aphidnians, indicates that

the Marathonian plain was exposed to serious sufferings when its inhabitants joined the confederates. The distance of the Academy enabled Akademos to escape unhurt.

Thus far our information is as vague as the history of those times: it only warrants the inference that Aphidna lay somewhere between Deceleia and Marathon. From Demosthenes,[11] however, we learn that in his time Aphidna was still one of the most important Attic fortresses, from its strength and situation. He quotes a decree which shows that Eleusis, Phyle, Aphidna, Rhamnus, and Sunium, were considered the most convenient fortresses for those who dwelt at a greater distance from Athens than one hundred and twenty stades, to seek shelter in case of the invasion of the Attic territory. The fortresses on the land side were selected as affording the most convenient points of retreat for the inhabitants who lived between them and the frontier, and as offering the greatest facilities to the people in the neighbourhood for assembling in sufficient force to defend their property.

If the enemy entered Attica from the neighbourhood of Platea, Eleusis became the natural place of safety; if by the direct road from Thebes, Phyle covers the pass. We come now to a very important question, the answer to which must lead to the solution of all our difficulties concerning the position of Aphidna, even if it fail to fix the exact site of the city. The question is, where ought this fortress to be situated, in order to answer in the best possible manner the end proposed by the Athenians? Their object was to select the fortress which would offer the most convenient place of refuge, and best point of rendezvous, for those inhabitants of Attica who dwelt between Mount Parnes and the maritime district defended by Rhamnus. In invading this district by land from the Tanagrean territory, or from Oropos, there are two roads which the enemy could follow; the upper and lower. Deceleia, from its situation on the upper road, was sure to afford protection to those who might be driven before an enemy on this road. Deceleia, however, is too close to the precipices of Parnes to be a convenient point of rendezvous for this district, while the barren nature of the country between it and the frontier on the upper road, added to the strength of the fortress of Deceleia, was not likely to invite an invasion by this road merely for the purpose of plunder. It may

[11] De Corona, Reisk. p. 238.

further be supposed from this decree that the Athenians kept a permanent garrison at Deceleia, and for that reason it was superfluous to mention it as a fortress, while the nature of the country rendered it useless as a place of rendezvous.

We may conclude from this, that Aphidna was situated on the lower or common road from Athens to Oropos and Tanagra. Its position pointed it out as a central point of retreat, whether the enemy advanced from the frontier or landed on the coast to the north of Rhamnus. In the plain below Kapandríti, there is a spot remarkable as the point of union of several roads. Those from Tanagra by Malakása, from Oropó by Marcópoulo, from Kálamo by Kapandríti, and from Varnáva to Athens, all unite near it, and here the road to Marathon falls off. Above this spot, from the banks of the river of Marathon, which is here a perennial stream, an isolated hill rises to the height of several hundred feet. On its summit there are remains of an ancient fortress, and traces of habitations on its sides. Like other similar hills in this district, it is called Kotróni. The distance from Athens is about sixteen miles, from Marathon eight, from Deceleia about six, and from Oropos about thirteen.

This hill is beautifully situated, overlooking the fine undulated and well-wooded country through which the river of Marathon flows. It presents three sides clothed with fine Veláni oaks towards the roads leading to Athens, Oropos, and Marathon, while to the north-east it is connected by a rocky ridge with the arable hills of Phelleus around the village of Kapandríti.

The existing remains on the hill show that the Acropolis has been succeeded by a fortified hold in the middle ages; and the vestiges of modern houses and churches prove that, even to a late period, it must have possessed a considerable population. It is near the centre of an elevated but fertile plain, so much intersected by low wooded hills, advancing from the mountains around, that its extent is apparent only to those who traverse it in different directions. It appears to have escaped the attention of travellers, though it is generally crossed in proceeding from Athens to Chalcis, and Sir William Gell notices the ascent from it "amidst magnificent pines." [12]

Had Aphidna not occupied this position, an enemy advancing from Tanagra

[12] Itinerary of Greece, p. 67.

or Oropos, who had once entered this district, must have had it at his option either to cross the pass of Katiphone into the Cecropian plain, or descend into Marathonia by Oinoe, and invade Mesogaia by thus turning Rhamnus. The position I assign to Aphidna places that fortress on the flank of the army, whichever of these movements it might attempt.

The country around is less rocky than the other mountainous districts of Attica, and it abounds in perennial streams, which form the sources of the river of Marathon. At numerous chapels there are remains of Hellenic buildings, and often in their vicinity the ruins of villages of modern date indicate that this district has maintained a numerous population at a comparatively recent period. Even at present there are several populous villages in the neighbourhood: not one of these villages, however, is situated in the plain below the Kotróni, though this plain is the most extensive in the Katádhema, as Diacria is now called. Such, however, has long been the state of Greece, that precisely those spots best adapted for the habitations of man are now the most desolate.

The villages in the hills around are Kapandríti and Mazi, distant about a mile and a half from the Kotróni, and containing one hundred and fifty inhabitants; Tchourka, which is not much further, containing one hundred and ninety; Varnáva, distant about two miles and a half, contains one hundred and forty; Kalengi, a mile and a half, seventy. The ruined villages of Spata, Siráko, and Lyósha, having been private Turkish estates, were utterly destroyed, and are only rising from their ruins. Where, then, was the capital of this populous district, which I cannot doubt formed the state of Aphidna? where, but at the Kotróni?

As a proof of the vicinity of Aphidna, slight indeed, but not entirely worthless, I may add that, in the church of Spata in the Katádhema,[13] I discovered a broken marble with the upper part of an urn sculptured in low relief, and bearing the following letters:

ΔΙΩΝΑΦΙ
ΦΙΛΟΣΤΡΑ

On the Kotróni I have picked up a number of those triangular flints which

[13] This must not be confounded with Spata in Mesogaia. We have, likewise, a Liópesi in the Katádhema as well as in the Mesogaia.

are found in the great tumulus at Marathon. I am informed that similar flints are used in Macedonia and part of Thessaly, for threshing out the grain. They are fastened into a wooden frame, on which a weight is placed, and the machine is drawn over the grain. This rude instrument is called δοκάνι, a name which is also given to a similar instrument in general use in Greece, in which, in the place of flints, there are iron nails.

Second Letter to Colonel Leake; on the Position of the Oropian Amphiaraeion.

THE exact situation of the Oropian temple of Amphiaraos is still a problem, the solution of which would throw considerable light on the topography of the north-eastern part of Attica. The extent of your researches in this country, the judgment and learning displayed in that series of works by which you have illustrated Grecian geography, entitle your opinion on every subject connected with it, to the greatest deference. At the same time I am persuaded that, of all the readers of this letter, none will more readily admit that a discussion of all ambiguous questions, by persons residing on the spot, is always desirable. You have conjectured that the Amphiaraeion was situated in a rugged valley near the large village of Kalamos, at a place called Mavrodhílissi. This supposition of yours has been followed by most modern critics,[1] and it has been adopted by Mr. Wordsworth, who seems to have devoted considerable attention to the ancient geography of the neighbouring district.

The reasons for your opinion are stated in your 'Travels in Northern Greece,' a work without which it is impossible to visit the country with advantage; as well as in the 'Essay on the Demi,'[2] in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature. Your strongest arguments are derived from the ancient foundations, which testify the existence of more than one important building at this spot; and from the discovery of two inscriptions amidst these ruins, which evidently belonged to the Amphiaraeion. The inscriptions are Nos. 368 and 378 in the British Museum.[3]

Still, it appears to me that all ancient authorities militate against this opinion; but as it has been so generally received and so strongly supported, I feel bound, before attempting to ascertain the exact site of the temple, to adduce proof from ancient writers that it could not have been at Mavrodhílissi. There are

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[1] Professor Kruse, Hellas ii. 282, expresses some doubts, and quotes the distance between Oropos and the Amphiaraeion as given by Pausanias at ten stades, instead of twelve.

[2] Vol. ii. p. 441, and in the Demi of Attica, p. 90.

[3] See also Leake's Travels in Northern Greece, vol. ii. p. 440 and 441.

two direct testimonies against this position of the Amphiaraeion, which appear to me to be decisive of the question.

Dicæarchus, who flourished about 300 B. C.,[4] mentions that the Amphiaraeion was situated on the road from Athens to Oropos. *Ἐντεῦθεν εἰς Ὠρωπὸν διὰ δαφνίδων* (Mr. Wordsworth proposes *δι' Ἀφιδνῶν*) *καὶ τοῦ Ἀμφιαράου Διὸς ἱεροῦ, ὁδὸς ἐλευθέρῳ βαδίζοντι σχεδὸν ἡμέρας πρόσαντα· ἀλλ' ἡ τῶν καταλύσεων πολυπλαθία, τὰ πρὸς τὸν βίον ἔχουσα ἄφθονα καὶ ἀναπαύσεις, κωλύει κόπον ἐγγίνεσθαι τοῖς ὁδοιποροῦσιν· ἡ δὲ πόλις τῶν Ὠρωπῶν οἰκία* (you read *ἀποικία*, Mr. Wordsworth reads *σκιά*) *Θηβῶν ἐστι.* A question, it is true, exists concerning the position of Oropos itself: but wherever Oropos may have been situated, whether on the coast or inland, no direct road from thence to Athens could have passed by the deep and rugged ravine of Mavrodhílissi. The fact is, there are two roads from Oropos to Athens; one alluded to in this passage as passing through the "laurels" or by the town of Aphidna, which now passes by the plain of Kapandríti; and the other, which is alluded to by Thucydides, vii. 28, *ἐκ τοῦ Ὠρωποῦ κατὰ γῆς διὰ τῆς Δεκελείας θᾶσσον οὖσα*, is the road which passes by Buyáti or Milósi, and thence gains the road to Chalcis by Tatói.

Besides this direct testimony, which Dicæarchus affords us, that the Amphiaraeion could not have been situated at Mavrodhílissi, he gives an inference to the same effect in another passage, v. 85,

εἶτ' ἔστ' Ὠρωπὸς πόλις
καὶ τῆς θαλάττης ἀπέχον ἱερὸν οὐ πολὺ
Ἔστ' Ἀμφιαράου, καὶ νεὼς καὶ τὸ τέμενος·
Αὐλίς τε Βοιωτῶν πόλις.

Here the mention of the temple and sacred buildings of the Amphiaraeion after the town of Oropos, and in connexion with their vicinity to the sea, warrants the conclusion that it was situated in the Oropian plain, and not, as the temple would have been at Mavrodhílissi, invisible from the sea; a conclusion very much strengthened by the delight with which the goodness of the inns is dwelt on in the passage quoted before, and the feeling of satisfaction therein betrayed of having bid farewell to the rugged roads of Attica.

These inferences, and the direct testimony of Dicæarchus, are confirmed by another more express statement against the position of Mavrodhílissi in Pau-

[4] Clinton's Fasti Hellenici, vol. iii. p. 474.

sanias, who flourished about A. D. 180.[5] *Ἡ μὲν οὖν πόλις (Ὠρωπὸς) ἐστὶν ἐπὶ θαλάσσης μέγα οὐδὲν ἐς συγγραφὴν παρεχομένη· ἀπέχει δὲ δώδεκα τῆς πόλεως σταδίους μάλιστα ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀμφιαράου· λέγεται δὲ Ἀμφιαράῳ φεύγοντι ἐκ Θηβῶν διαστῆναι τὴν γῆν καὶ ὡς αὐτὸν ὁμοῦ τὸ ἅρμα ὑπεδέξατο.* Now this passage of Pausanias seems not only to prove that the temple of Amphiaraos could not have been at Mavrodhílissi, but it evidently determines its exact position as soon as that of Oropos in the time of Pausanias is ascertained.

The mythus of the death of Amphiaraos, who was reported to have been swallowed up in at least three different spots in Bœotia,[6] would also lead us to seek for the site of the oracle in the plain which extends from the mouth of the Asopos to the Attic hills. The inhabitants of Oropos must have felt that the fiction would have partaken too much of the ridiculous, had they figured the flying horses of Amphiaraos whirling him up the sides of the rugged hills about Kálamo. The chariot would have been overturned, and the neck of Amphiaraos broken before he reached the ravine of Mavrodhílissi.

The worship of Amphiaraos must have been instituted after the success of the Epigoni; for probably it was established to expiate the slaughter of that leader or his followers, in the first war, by the inhabitants of the country, at the different spots at which he was reported to have disappeared. That it so long flourished as the leading worship in the Oropia is probably to be attributed to the circumstance, that the early inhabitants of Bœotia made good the possession of the plain at the mouth of the Asopos against the attacks of the Bœotians, at the invasion mentioned by Thucydides, i. 12. I cannot conceive that the ancient Oropia could ever have extended so far into the Attic hills, as to include the position of Mavrodhílissi.

I must now, in order to ascertain the site of the Amphiaraeion, endeavour to determine the exact position of the city of Oropos. Here we unfortunately find the best modern authorities at variance. You (Travels in Northern Greece, vol. ii. p. 445, and in the Demi, p. 87) place Oropos at the modern village of Oropó, and Delphinium at the Scala, or modern port, while Mr. Wordsworth, who follows your authority in placing Delphinium at the Scala, (Athens and

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[5] Petersen's Handbuch der griechischen Litteraturgeschichte, p. 216.

[6] See the Commentarius in Pindari Carmina of Dissen, in the Gotha and Erfurt edition, vol. ii. p. 288. Hennings.

Attica, p. 23), allows that Oropos was on the sea-coast, though he thinks Delphinium was the port from which passengers embarked for Eubœa.

I am inclined to believe, that Oropos was a town originally founded in the situation which it continued to occupy during the whole period of ancient history, subsequently to the Homeric age. Graia, according to Aristotle, was the town which in Homer's time was the capital of Oropia; and Strabo says it was near Oropos: *καὶ ἡ Γραῖα δ' ἐστὶ τόπος Ὠρωποῦ πλησίον.* Be that as it may, however, during the whole time to which ancient historical records extend, the town called Oropos stood on the sea-coast; and, from being the leading continental harbour in this part of the channel of Eubœa, it seems to have entirely eclipsed the ancient Homeric town of Graia, which doubtless ruled all the plains about the mouth of the Asopos.

I shall now succinctly state the leading authorities in favour of this maritime position of Oropos. Herodotus, vi. 100, mentions that the four thousand Athenians, who came from Chalcis to Eretria before the battle of Marathon, crossed from Eretria to Oropos: *καὶ οὗτοι μὲν διαβάντες ἐς Ὠρωπὸν ἔσωζεν σφέας αὐτούς.* Thucydides repeatedly mentions Oropos as the leading harbour in this district. In the sixth year of the Peloponnesian war, (B. C. 426. Clinton's Fasti Hell.) the Athenian fleet, consisting of sixty ships, and having on board two thousand hoplites, selected Oropos as the most convenient port for the debarkation of so large an expedition, which was directed against the Tanagrean territory. The words of Thucydides are, (iii. 91,) *αὐτοὶ μὲν ἔπλευσαν ἐς Ὠρωπὸν τῆς πέραν γῆς, ὑπὸ νύκτα δὲ σχόντες εὐθὺς ἐπορεύοντο οἱ ὁπλῖται ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν πεζῇ ἐς Τάναγραν.* When he mentions in the twentieth year of the war (B. C. 411) that it fell into the hands of the Bœotians, he remarks, that from its maritime situation opposite Eretria, it was a source of great annoyance to its neighbour when in hostile hands: (viii. 60,) *ἐπὶ γὰρ τῇ Ἐρετρίᾳ τὸ χωρίον ὃν ἀδύνατα ἦν, Ἀθηναίων ἐχόντων, μὴ οὐ μεγάλα βλάπτειν καὶ Ἐρετρίαν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Εὔβοιαν.*

Next year, (B. C. 410,) that celebrated battle in the Eubœan channel took place, whose results were more destructive to the power of Athens than the catastrophe at Syracuse. The admirable description of it transmitted to us by Thucydides, viii. 95, can leave very little doubt on the minds of readers acquainted with the localities concerning the sites of both Oropos and Eretria.

During the time that a general assembly of the citizens of Athens, in the theatre of Bacchus, was proceeding to deliberate on the means of extinguishing the embers of a civil war, and of assuaging the irreconcilable passions of the

aristocratic and democratic parties in the Athenian state, the news suddenly arrived that a Peloponnesian fleet was hovering off Salamis. Party interest and personal ambition were forgotten; the Athenians rushed from the council to the Piræeus, and prepared what vessels they found there for an immediate engagement. The Peloponnesians however, sailing on, doubled cape Sunium and proceeded to Oropos. The Athenians were more alarmed for their sovereignty over Eubœa than for the safety of their own city; for with the forces of the enemy encamped at Deceleia, and commanding the greater part of Attica, that island was the chief resource of the Athenian state; and they well knew the facility with which subject nations are excited to hope that they will better their condition by any change of masters. With the ships therefore which they could get ready for sea they immediately followed the enemy.

Thymocharis, the Athenian commander, having reached Eretria, united together a fleet of thirty-six ships. Hagesandridas, the Spartan admiral, lay at Oropos with forty sail. The distance from Oropos to Eretria was sixty stadia, and Thucydides, in order to indicate the exactitude which he held necessary in the description of so eventful a battle, expressly adds, that the distance so given is in maritime measure: *ἀπέχει δὲ μάλιστα ὁ Ὠρωπὸς τῆς τῶν Ἐρετριέων πόλεως θαλάσσης μέτρον ἑξήκοντα σταδίους.* Thuc. viii. 95. The Peloponnesians having been informed by a signal from the discontented Eretrians, that the Athenians had quitted their ships, to purchase provisions and stores, sailed out to attack them in this unprepared state. The Athenians, almost surprised, had only time to form their line of battle before the port of Eretria. Fortune, and perhaps discipline, had begun to abandon the navy of Athens; valour was vain, and they were completely defeated. The fugitives who sought refuge in Eretria were murdered: twenty-two ships were taken by the enemy. Eubœa, now the all of the Athenian empire, revolted, and a mortal wound was inflicted on the power of Athens. When the news reached the city, the people felt that their empire of the sea was gone, and that the war with Sparta must henceforth be a struggle for their existence as an independent state. The destruction of the Sicilian expedition, dreadful as that blow was, did not, according to the testimony of Thucydides, make so deep an impression on men's minds. The defeat at Syracuse annihilated all hopes of wide-extended empire, but that at Eretria destroyed every chance of power.

It appears to me that this description leaves no doubt of the position of Oropos at the Scala, nor of that of Eretria at the ruins called Kastri, the

position of the attempted colony of Psariotes, to which the name of Eretria is again applied.

It appears clear that Oropos had, up to this time, been an important sea-port; but Diodorus Siculus mentions, that in the third year of the ninety-fourth Olympiad (B.C. 402), in consequence of a sedition, the Thebans removed the city seven stades from the sea. *Θηβαῖοι δὲ στρατεύσαντες ἐπὶ τοὺς Ὠρωπίους, καὶ κυριεύσαντες τῆς πόλεως, μετῴκισαν ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάττης αὐτοὺς ὡς ἑπτὰ σταδίους.*[1] The situation chosen by the Thebans was probably on that range of hills which terminates towards the sea in the acropolis of Oropos, and the site would doubtless be determined by the advantage which could be derived from the aqueducts of Oropos. Still this change was merely temporary, for we have proof that Oropos soon fell into the hands of the Athenians, who would not fail to bring the inhabitants back to their original position on the coast, in conformity with the general policy of Athens.[2] After this it frequently changed masters, even though it had been adjudged by Philip to Athens, B.C. 338.[3]

It seems, however, during all the subsequent period of its existence to have remained a sea-port; for Pausanias evidently supposes it to have occupied in his time the same site which it occupied in the time of Philip, and he expressly mentions that it was *ἐπὶ θαλάσσης*. Dicæarchus shows, that even while it was occupied by a Theban colony, it preserved its importance as a maritime city. *Ἡ δὲ πόλις τῶν Ὠρωπῶν οἰκία* (*ἀποικία* Leake, *σκιὰ* Wordsworth) *Θηβῶν ἐστι μεταβολῶν ἐργασία, τελωνῶν ἀνυπέρβλητος πλεονεξία, ἐκ πολλῶν χρόνων ἀνεπιθέτῳ τῇ πονηρίᾳ συντεθραμμένη· συνετοὺς ἐπανελόμενοι, ἀρνούμενοι τοὺς Βοιωτούς, Ἀθηναῖοι εἰσι Βοιωτοί. οἱ στίχοι Ξένωνος·*

Πάντες τελῶναι, πάντες εἰσὶν ἅρπαγες·
Κακὸν τέλος γένοιτο τοῖς Ὠρωπίοις.[4]

The distance also which Dicæarchus gives between Oropos and Tanagra, 130 stades, agrees perfectly with this position.

We have, besides this, the testimony of Strabo that Oropos was in his time on the coast. *Ἐξῆς δὲ τὴν περιήγησιν τῆς χώρας ποιητέον, ἀρξαμένους ἀπὸ τῆς πρὸς Εὔβοιαν παραλίας τῆς συνεχοῦς τῇ Ἀττικῇ. Ἀρχὴ δ' ὁ Ὠρωπὸς καὶ ὁ ἱερὸς λιμὴν, ὃν*

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[1] Diodor. xiv. 17.

[2] See Lysias, Defensio Polystrati, s. 2, and Accusatio Philonis, s. 4, &c. ed. Tauch.

[3] Müller's Orchomenos und die Minyer, p. 411.

[4] Dicæarch. Geogr. Min. ii. 12.

καλοῦσι Δελφίνιον, καθ' ὃν ἡ παλαιὰ Ἐρέτρια ἐν τῇ Εὐβοίᾳ, διάπλουν ἔχουσα ἑξήκοντα σταδίων. Μετὰ δὲ τὸ Δελφίνιόν ἐστιν ὁ Ὠρωπὸς ἐν εἴκοσι σταδίοις· κατὰ δὲ τοῦτόν ἐστιν ἡ νῦν Ἐρέτρια· διάπλους δ' ἐπ' αὐτὴν στάδιοι τεσσαράκοντα. Εἶτα Δήλιον, κ. τ. λ.[1] Both here and in his enumeration of the places in Attica which are near Oropia, Strabo evidently confines his observations to the coast: *Μετὰ δὲ Μαραθῶνα Τρικόρυθος, εἶτα Ῥαμνοῦς, ὅπου τὸ τῆς Νεμέσεως ἱερόν· εἶτα Ψαφίς, ἡ τῶν Ὠρωπίων. ἐνταῦθα δέ που καὶ τὸ Ἀμφιαράειόν ἐστι τετιμημένον ποτὲ μαντεῖον, ὅπου φυγόντα τὸν Ἀμφιάρεων, ὥς φησι Σοφοκλῆς,*

Ἐδέξατο ῥαγεῖσα Θηβαία κόνις,
Αὐτοῖσιν ὅπλοις καὶ τετρωρίστῳ δίφρῳ.[2]

Ὠρωπὸς δ' ἐν ἀμφισβητησίμῳ γεγένηται πολλάκις.

It may be here remarked, that between Rhamnus and Oropos no town is mentioned but Psaphis, which appears to have been even nearer to the Amphiaraeion than Oropos, though this latter town was only twelve stades distant. No allusion is made to the ruins which appear either at Revíthia, two miles to the east of Kálamo, or at Mavrodhílissi, though both attest the existence of considerable ancient towns at these places, and particularly at Revíthia. Psaphis, it appears to me, must have been in the Oropian plain near the foot of the Attic hills, where some ruins may be traced. Delphinion I suppose to have been the port of debarkation for those coming by sea to the Amphiaraeion, and thence it was probably called the sacred port: it was twenty stades to the east of Oropos, and therefore not much more than eight stades from the Amphiaraeion, which Pausanias shows was distant from Oropos twelve stades in the same direction.[3] This circumstance, and its probable insignificance, account for the slight mention we find of the port of Delphinion in the ancient writers, and for the fact of no very distinct traces of it now remaining. That every trace of the Delphinion should have disappeared is not remarkable; but it would be remarkable if no traces could be observed of a maritime city which, like Oropos, existed from the time of the battle of Marathon (B.C. 490), at least to that of Pausanias (A.D. 180.)

For the reasons I have now stated, I believe myself fully warranted in selecting the Scala, as the site of the ancient city of Oropos. It is true there are no important remains of antiquity at the place, but we find distinct indica-

[1] Lib. ix. c. 2. §§ 6. [2] Ib. c. 1. §§ 22. [3] Attica, xxxiv. 1.

tions of the existence of a town of some size, a harbour, and the foundations of an Hellenic mole for its protection, the whole crowned on the land side by an Acropolis, which, though not inconveniently high, affords an extensive and commanding view of the whole neighbouring country. The walls of the Hellenic fortress have afforded materials for the construction of a modern castle; yet even its ruins have so completely disappeared, that a few fragments of masonry and ruined cisterns are hardly more conspicuous than the Hellenic blocks of the old foundations of the Acropolis, on which the modern fortress had been raised, to defend this important outlet for the exportation of the south-eastern part of Bœotia. Hellenic tombs are sometimes found in the neighbourhood: the inscription, No. 1, was found with a bas-relief of finer workmanship, and apparently belonging to an earlier period, though attached to the same tomb. It represents an elderly man and a warrior standing together in a quadriga. The surface of the soil all around is deeply covered with fragments of ancient tiles and Greek pottery; indications which, to the observer of Grecian sites, as infallibly point out the existence of an Hellenic site, as the foundations of Cyclopian walls themselves. Besides this, traces of an ancient aqueduct, which leads to this spot from the neighbouring hills, testify its former importance; and I have searched in vain for the situation at no great distance, which Mr. Wordsworth, p. 24, supposes must have offered the strength of an inland with the opportunities of a maritime position.

All these indications of an ancient site, when joined with the position of the Scala opposite the ruins of Eretria, and at a distance agreeing perfectly with the exact description of Thucydides, seem to me quite conclusive, in spite of Strabo's old Eretria opposite Delphinion, and new Eretria and Oropos at a distance of only forty stades from one another. As your opinion is however different, I shall quote your explanation of this passage of Strabo, without abridgement, from that treasure of topographical illustration of the ancient classics, the Travels in Northern Greece, vol. ii. p. 445. "Opposite to Delphinium was old Eretria in Eubœa, and opposite to Oropus, new Eretria: the passage across the strait in the former situation was sixty stades; in the latter, forty. As the mouth of the Asopus makes a projection in the coast, and narrows the strait between it and Kastrí, from whence the shore of Eubœa retires in an easterly direction to Vathy', leaving the respective breadths of the channel from the mouth of the Asopus to those places, nearly as Strabo has indicated, his description leads directly to the conclusion

that Oropus was at or near the mouth of the Asopus, new Eretria at Kastri, Delphinium at Apostólous (the Scala), and old Eretria at Vathy or thereabouts."

In reply to these remarks, the justness of which I fully appreciate, I can only urge that the distance between Oropos and Eretria is given by Thucydides, as sixty stades, maritime measure, with a precision which shows that he attached no little importance to exactness, and had paid some attention to the topography of the spot; and that even in ordinary cases I should be inclined to prefer a distance mentioned by Thucydides to one given by Strabo, few of whose distances in Greece are nearer the truth than a traveller's guess, and seem generally to rest on no better authority than his boatman's estimate.

After a careful examination of the country, I can find no indications of any ancient site, nor any spot suitable for the construction of a city, or the formation of a port, in the alluvial plain between the Scala and the mouth of the Asopus; much of which, and particularly the cape, appears to be of more recent formation than the date of the foundation of Oropos, while the Scala is now, and seems ever to have been, the position of the great commercial outlet of this district.

Assuming, then, that in the times of Dicæarchus and Pausanias, Oropos was situated at the Scala, I shall now endeavour to ascertain the site of the temple of Amphiaraos. The passage of Dicæarchus, *εἰς Ὠρωπὸν διὰ δαφνίδων καὶ τοῦ Ἀμφιαράου Διὸς ἱεροῦ*, may be received as testimony that the temple stood on the usual road from Oropos to Athens.

Mr. Wordsworth, in his Athens and Attica, p. 28, has conjectured that in this passage we ought to read *δι' Ἀφιδνῶν* instead of *διὰ δαφνίδων*. He justly remarks, "that this oracle of Amphiaraos would hardly have occurred on the road from Athens to Oropos, had Oropos been on the site of Oropó." But then, though Mr. Wordsworth allowed Oropos to have been situated on the sea, he placed Delphinion at the Scala, and consequently adopts the opinions you have stated in the passage quoted above. But whether the emendation of the text of Dicæarchus be correct or not, of which I do not pretend to judge, it is certain that the discovery of the exact position of Aphidna would have remained as doubtful as ever, if the temple of Amphiaraos be supposed to have been situated at Mavrodhílissi; for, if Dicæarchus be allowed to go three miles out of the direct road to see the temple, he may surely be permitted to go as far to see the scene of the Aphidnian war. And it appears evident that

Mr. Wordsworth supposes Dicæarchus to have passed from Mavrodhílissi to the Deceleia road, as he infers that Aphidna was near Deceleia. "Now Deceleia was in the direct road from Athens to Oropos, that is, *on the precise road which Dicæarchus is here describing*. . . . . Deceleia was one hundred and twenty stadia from Athens. Hence assuming, what from Herodotus compared with Dicæarchus we may now safely do, that Aphidna was near to Deceleia, whose direction and distance from Athens are known, we are now enabled to assign the site of the important fortress of Aphidna." I own that I feel compelled to dissent from this position of Aphidna, and to conjecture that Aphidna was situated not on the road from Oropos to Athens by Deceleia, but on the other road which passes by Kapandríti; in the neighbourhood of which, on a hill called Kotróni, I suppose the ruins of Aphidna to be visible. The arguments in favour of this opinion I have stated in my preceding letter. It may be remarked, that in this case Mr. Wordsworth's emendation of the text of Dicæarchus agrees perfectly with the topography of the route I choose, while it applies less accurately to that which he has preferred.

"But, however this may be," as Mr. Wordsworth says, "with respect to the other features of the route, the bay-tree groves can hardly plead as an excuse for their own absence, that Time, which has ruined the temple, has also uprooted them. They in fact never really existed there. They have been planted in such abundance upon these hills by geographers out of the fertile nursery-garden of a false print. The word δαφνίδων in the text of Dicæarchus is an error of his transcribers: it is not Greek." Mr. Wordsworth then proceeds to show how he supposes the change arose.

Truth, however, demands that Mr. Wordsworth should replant the laurels of Dicæarchus and Barthelemy, which with so stern and critical a hand he has uprooted. To his exclamation of πᾶ μοι ταὶ Δάφναι; from Theocritus, I must respond with "Yet once more, O ye laurels!" from Milton. A grove of laurels still flourishes on the banks of a torrent flowing from the hills to the north of Deceleia to the river of Marathon, which runs beneath the remains of Aphidna. On the road which leads thence to the pass of Deceleia, a little beyond the ruined village of Belousa, in a remarkable ravine, and between two large caverns which are situated on each side of it, a grove of laurels may still be seen. They grow on my own property, and several of them, transplanted to my garden in Athens, are now flourishing, green as in the days of Dicæarchus.

It seems that two varieties of the *laurus nobilis* of botanists exist in Greece:[1] the δάφνη and the δάφνη πλατυτέρα of Dioscorides. Now, one of these varieties is remarkable for the large size of the fruit (and here the word δαφνίδων is surely good Greek), which, I am informed, is used in making pomatum. These bay-trees may therefore be considered as a proof of their luxuriance on the road from Oropos to Athens in the time of Dicæarchus, and even as a presumption of their having been alluded to by that traveller, who in this very passage testifies his taste for the agreeable. I shall not, however, venture to conjecture whether the text requires even more extensive emendations than that made by Mr. Wordsworth; though, perhaps, the words δι' Ἀφιδνῶν and δαφνίδων may both have a right to a place in the original text.

The direct road from Athens to Oropos must certainly have passed through the plain of Aphidna, whether it took the direction of the road which now passes by Kapandríti, the Hellenic site beyond it called Drámesi, and the village of Marcópoulo, or by the shorter road which, turning to the left on descending the pass of Katiphori, quits the plain, (I suppose to be that of Aphidna at its northern angle,) passes by some ruins in the hills, and joins the preceding road on the summits before descending to Marcópoulo.

On the continuation of this road from Marcópoulo to the Scala, and at the distance of about twelve stades from the Scala or the ancient Oropos, the temple of Amphiaraos, according to the testimony of Pausanias, seems to me to have stood.

It appears to have been situated at the foot of the Attic hills, near the spot where the road enters the Oropian plain, just where the torrent from Malakása issues from the mountains, and not far from the separation of the roads from Oropos to Marcópoulo and to Kálamo. At this spot there are remains of a large well, now nearly filled up, called τοῦ Ἀράπι τὸ πηγάδι, or "the black man's well."

The temple, with its altars, described by Pausanias, the multitude of the inns, and the abundance of the refreshments, which made the place the delight of travellers in the time of Dicæarchus, have not left a trace of their existence. Nay, the very fountains and streams, of which Livy speaks, have likewise disappeared. No vestige of the former importance of the Amphiaraeion can now be found by the topographer. Fragments of ancient tiles and pottery,

[1] Sibthorp's Flora Græca, vol. i. p. 268.

large blocks of stone peeping through the soil, and here and there a slight mound of stones, or a long trench, may perhaps be thought by the antiquary to afford hopes of interesting discoveries to the excavator.

The short distance of the place from the sea, the vicinity of the sacred port and that of the city of Oropos, which afforded such facilities of transport, easily explain the disappearance of the marbles which once adorned the temple. They have, doubtless, been removed to supply materials for the magnificent Turkish tombs which are still to be seen, though rapidly diminishing in number and falling to decay, at the town of Chalcis on the Euripus. Indeed, if the destruction of these monuments continues for a few years more, with the same rapidity as during the last four years, the proof they now afford of the number and splendour of the ancient buildings along the shores of the channel of Eubœa, which must have been plundered to construct them, will be wanting; nor will the historian or antiquary be easily persuaded of their present magnificence. The Turks, indeed, seem destined to leave as few traces of their rule in Greece as the Franks of the middle ages.

The disappearance of the ruder materials of the buildings is likewise easily explained by the reflection, that a continued succession of houses and enclosures have been replacing one another during many centuries, for the cultivation of this fertile plain; and that no recurrence has ever been made to the stone quarry.

It appears, indeed, that even previously to the arrival of the Turks in Europe, the Amphiaraeion had already served as a quarry to the builders of Christian churches in the neighbourhood; for I am inclined to explain in this manner the appearance at Mavrodhílissi of the two inscriptions before alluded to, which led you to suppose that place to be the site of the Amphiaraeion. And this opinion of mine has been confirmed by the fact of my having discovered another inscription, which appears likewise to have been brought from the Amphiaraeion, at a very ancient ruined chapel of the Panaghìa, upwards of a mile to the east even of Kálamo. (No. 2.) At this chapel there are numerous blocks of marble from the islands of the Archipelago, or from the Eubœan quarries, mixed with others of Pentelic marble. The appearance of this foreign marble at the Amphiaraeion is natural enough, but it seems strange to find different kinds of marble at a small Attic temple in the hills, even though it be near the sea-coast. These circumstances induce me to conclude that all these marbles have been brought from the Amphiaraeion of Oropos.

Numerous instances can be cited, even in modern times, of marbles and ornamented stones having been transported to still greater distances for the construction of churches. The present position of inscriptions, especially when they are found in modern churches, cannot therefore be received as decisive evidence in favour of an ancient site, unless other testimony confirm their authority, and lead directly to the same conclusions.

I can hardly suppose that it will be attempted to explain the existence of these inscriptions by the conjecture that altars to Amphiaraos were erected, and dedications to him scattered, over the north-eastern frontier of Attica, as we find the worship of Artemis extended over the district round Brauron. Amphiaraos was a Bœotian divinity, and his worship, I suppose, must have been general only in parts of Bœotia.

The vicinity of the Amphiaraeion to Oropos is proved also by a passage of Livy, though it is there mentioned as the temple of Amphilochos, the son of Amphiaraos. "A Chalcide Aulidem trajicit (Æmilius Paullus) : . . . . Inde Oropum Atticæ ventum est ; ubi pro Deo vates Amphilochus colitur, templumque vetustum est, fontibus rivisque circa amœnum."[1] The apparent inaccuracy in this passage of attributing Oropos to Attica is explained by the decision of Philip, to which we have already alluded ; and the circumstance of the temple being styled that of Amphilochos is also elucidated by two passages in Pausanias, where he is describing the Amphiaraeion. In one he mentions an altar of Amphilochos, and he afterwards says, *τῷ δὲ Ἀμφιλόχου καὶ παρ' Ἀθηναίοις ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ πόλει βωμὸς, καὶ Κιλικίας ἐν Μαλλῷ μαντεῖον ἀψευδέστατον τῶν ἐπ' ἐμοῦ.*[2]

It might be supposed that Livy's description of the delightful situation of the temple would be an infallible guide to its exact situation. The plain, however, is now quite dry, with the exception of a small marsh near the sea, in the bed of the torrent of Malakása, which proves that the water of this brook, though lost in the surface, still filters through the gravel. The depth of this marsh, and its situation, may perhaps authorise the conjecture that this is the port of Delphinion.

It may be concluded, therefore, that the fountains and streams which rendered the Amphiaraeion so delightful a retreat in the times of Æmilius Paullus,

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[1] Liv. xlv. 27. Drachenborch reads "antiquus" for "Amphilochus."

[2] Pausan. Attic. xxxiv. 3. See Müller's Orchomenos und die Minyer, p. 146, and Aristides on Serapis, (P. i. p. 82. a) as there referred to.

were chiefly derived from the abundant spring at Malakása, which was conducted to this spot by an aqueduct, some traces of which, I am informed, may still be found. The fountain seems abundant enough to warrant the praises above quoted, when we reflect that the verdure of the plain was probably supplied by numerous wheel wells; for water is found at no great distance from the surface of the earth in every part of the plain. But though the fountains have now failed, the wooded hills behind, which gradually rise to the summits of Parnes and Pentelicus, the channel of Eubœa spread like a magnificent lake in front, the villages on the other side of the strait, and the mountains crowned with the sublime peaks of Dirphe and Ocha beyond, make the scenery a remarkable union of no common beauty and majesty, even in the present desolate condition of the country.

Another means of identifying the site of this oracle may yet be found by the discovery of the fountain or well mentioned by Pausanias, Attica, 34, 3. *Ἔστι δὲ Ὠρωπίοις πηγὴ πλησίον τοῦ ναοῦ, ἣν Ἀμφιαράου καλοῦσιν, οὔτε θύοντες οὐδὲν ἐς αὐτὴν, οὐδ' ἐπὶ καθαρσίοις ἢ χέρνιβι χρῆσθαι νομίζοντες. νόσου δὲ ἀκεσθείσης ἀνδρὶ μαντεύματος γενομένου, καθέστηκεν· ἄργυρον ἀφεῖναι καὶ χρυσὸν ἐπίσημον ἐς τὴν πηγήν.* I have already mentioned a well now filled up on the road from Oropos to Athens, about twelve stades from the Scala, called the "black man's well." There is another on the sea-shore, about four stades from the former, the water of which is said to be good, and which I found agreeable in the month of May. The *πηγὴ*, however, may have been an artificial fountain, supplied by the water of Malakása, which is said to be bad, though I have tasted it both in summer and winter, without discovering any thing remarkably disagreeable in its taste. Athenæus, l. ii. c. 25, leads us to suppose that a difference of opinion concerning the quality of the water at the Amphiaraeion existed even in ancient times. He quotes Erasistratos thus, *Ἰδοὺ γὰρ τοῦ ἐξ Ἀμφιαράου ὕδατος καὶ τοῦ ἐξ Ἐρετρίας συμβαλλομένων, τοῦ μὲν φαύλου, τοῦ δὲ χρηστοῦ, ὄντος, οὐδ' ἥτις ἐστὶ διαφορὰ κατὰ τὸν σταθμόν.* And afterwards he quotes Evenor, *χρηστόν τε εἶναι φάσκει τὸ ἐξ Ἀμφιαράου, συμβαλλόμενον τῷ ἐν Ἐρετρίᾳ.* In one the allusion may, perhaps, be to the fountains supplied by the stream from Malakása, in the other to real wells, of which that on the sea-shore may be taken as a specimen. The water at Eretria has certainly at present the reputation of being unwholesome.

The last argument for identifying the position of the temple of Amphiaraos to which I shall allude, is the discovery of the site of the baths mentioned by

Stephanus Byzantinus in verbo *Ὠρωπὸς*, in a quotation from Euphorion. The passage, as emended in Clinton's Fasti Hellenici, vol. i. p. 21, is

Αὐλίς τ' Ὠρωπός τε καὶ Ἀμφιάρεια λυετρά.

Now at a distance of about six hundred yards from the black man's well, there are some indications of an ancient building, a few mounds of stone, and several large blocks. The place is called *Παλεολουτρό*. It is so named in the title-deeds of the plain, and is cited as the boundary of the lands of the villages of Oropó and Marcópoulo.

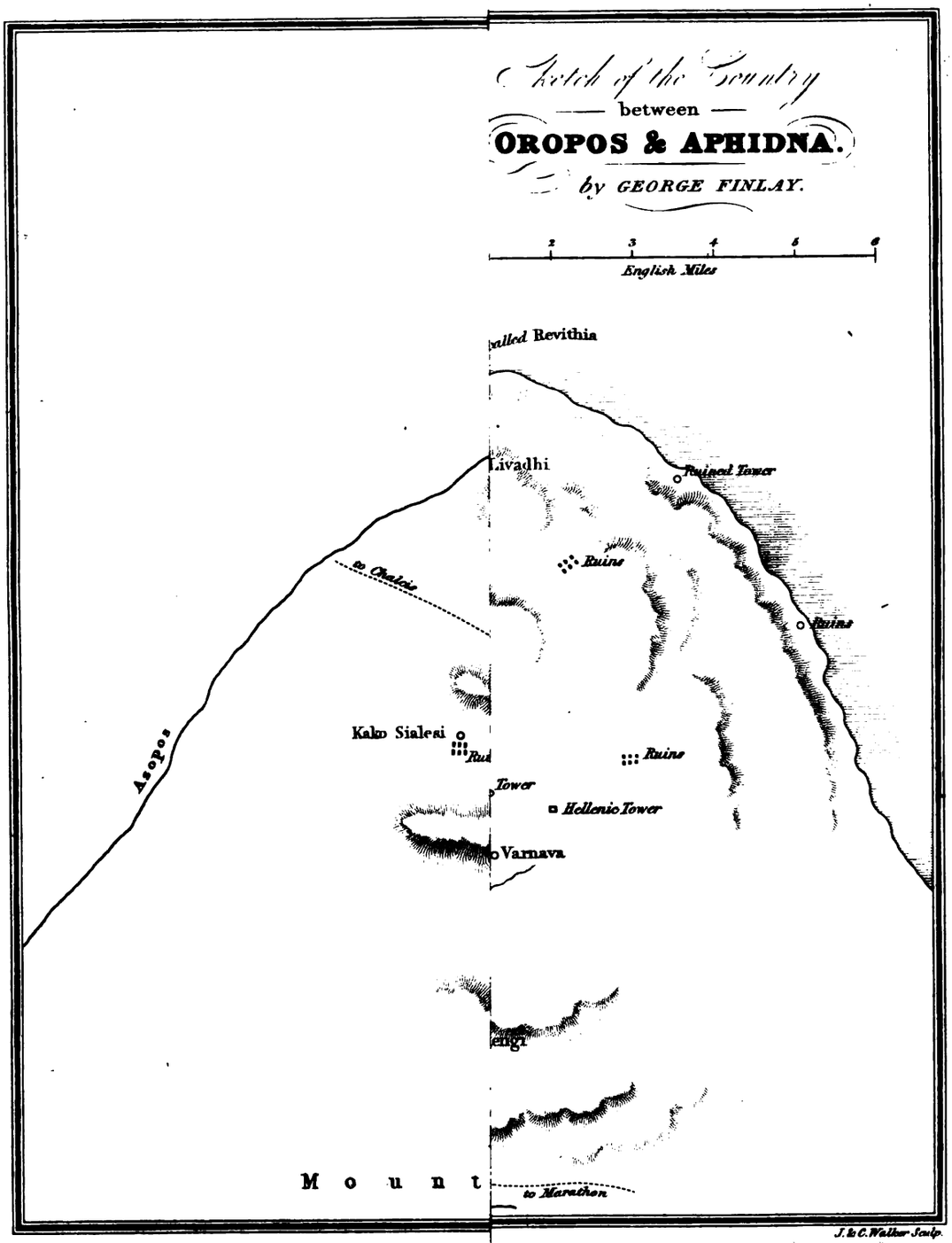
The above are the materials I have been able to collect in support of the position of the Amphiaraeion, as given by Pausanias, at twelve stades from Oropos.

The questions which will now suggest themselves to the reader are probably the following.

Where was Psaphis, the town in whose territory Strabo places the Amphiaraeion?

In reply to this question, I can only observe that, at the eastern extremity of the Oropian plain, an ancient wall may be traced, crossing the present road which leads from the black man's well, along the coast to the vineyards below Kálamo. Traces of an ancient town or village are here perceptible; but I pretend not to decide that this is Psaphis. I am not, however, inclined to seek for it in the Attic hills; for it can hardly have been farther from the Amphiaraeion than Oropos, or else the oracle would have been probably, in the strictest sense, in the Oropian, and not in the Psaphidian territory. Psaphis must have been on the immediate borders of Attica, or it never could have become, as it did, an Attic demos; yet we know that it was one of the villages of the Oropia.

What, then, are the ruins at Mavrodhílissi? I suppose them to be the ruins of some Attic demos, whose name is unappropriated. And in confirmation of the probability of a demos of so much importance, as the existing ruins attest this to have been, having remained unnoticed by Strabo and Pausanias, I may mention that, in a plain three miles to the east of Mavrodhílissi, and close to the shore, at a place called Revíthia, there are remains of an ancient town, which appears to have been still more considerable, and of one, too, which must have made a still more imposing appearance from the sea. Can these


Sketch of the Country
between
OROPOS & APHIDNA.
by GEORGE FINLAY.
2 3 4 5 6
English Miles
called Revithia
Livadhi
Ruined Tower
Ruins
to Chalcis
Ruins
Kako Sialesi
Ruins
Tower
Hellenic Tower
Asopos
Varnava
Mount
to Marathon
J. & C. Walker Sculp.

towns have already lain in ruins in the time of Strabo? I cannot say; but of them, and of many other Attic demi, the names can now only be revealed by accident or excavation.

I. Inscription discovered at the Scala.

ΦΡΟΔΙΣΙΟΣΦΙΛΟΞΕΝΟΥ
ΖΩΝΑΤΟΥΜΝΗΜΙΟΝ
ΚΑΛΛΙΤΥΧΗΑΦΡΟΔΙΣΙΟΥ
ΖΩCA

II. Inscription from the chapel of the Panaghia, to the east of Kálamo.

ΣΤΗΣΕΙΣ
ΙΦΙΑΡΑΩΙ

XXIII.—*Thoughts and Conjectures relative to the Book and History of Job: being the substance of a series of Letters addressed in the year* 1803 *to the Hon. Mr. Justice Hardinge. By the* Rev. Edward Davies, M.A., R.A.R.S.L., *Chancellor of Christ's College in Brecon, and Rector of St. Mary's in the Grove and Bishopston.*

Read 1828.

Dear Sir,—A month has nearly elapsed since I had the honour of receiving from you a letter to which I have returned no answer; but I trust the nature of the subject will supply me with an acceptable apology for the delay. In the first place, you remind me that writers of no obscure name have regarded the book of Job as an allegory, probably written by Moses; and then demand my reasons for having quoted this book as historical authority.

Had I entertained no other wish than merely to get rid of the question, I might have acquitted myself of a correspondent's duty by a brief statement, that this venerable narrative, from the earliest period in which it offers itself to our notice, has been comprehended in the Jewish canon; that the Christian church, in all ages, has received it as canonical; and therefore, that I am warranted in regarding it as either historically true, or else, as a just representation of history—I mean, as perfectly consistent with itself, and as faithfully delineating the manners of that age and country, in which its incidents are represented as having occurred.

This might have served as a general justification of the use which I have made of the work before us. But the hint, coming from you, would have demanded a more circumstantial reply, even if I had not perceived, that a regard to my credit with the public was your principal motive to this inquiry.

Unprepared, however, as I am, and unqualified to furnish a regular critique upon the subject of Job, I hope you will be satisfied with the result of such

general reflections as every man ought to bestow upon those books which constitute the basis of his serious opinions.

A want of connexion with the other writings of the Jewish canon, whether historical, legislative, or prophetical, points out this book as a subject by itself, and a proper field for distinct investigation. It comes to us without chronological date; without the accredited name of its author. Its history, which must be supplied, in a great measure, by the book itself, has furnished occasion to several elaborate systems. Where these systems go beyond the express authority of authentic documents, their respective merit must be estimated, not by the weight of names, but by the force and consistency of argument. I shall just remark some of the most popular amongst them, and then submit to your consideration a few conjectures of my own.

The opinion that Moses, either as the *author* or the *translator*, introduced this book to the Israelites, whilst they remained in Egypt, has considerable support from the page of antiquity.

"The Jewish doctors, or a great majority of them, believe that Moses was the writer of this book. And they found their belief upon a passage in the Talmud; which shows the opinion to have been very ancient, as well as common among them."[1]

One of the Jewish doctors (Ab. ben Ezra) supposes it a *translation*, made by Moses, from some other language.[2]

This opinion was not unknown to the ancient Christians. "The tradition is, Moses could not find any thing like it, for the support and satisfaction of the Israelites in their Egyptian bondage; and therefore took the pains to *translate* it into their language, out of the Syriac, wherein it was first written. Thus he who writes the commentaries upon this book, under the name of Origen, tells us, that he found, *in antiquorum dictis*, in the sayings of the ancients, that when the great Moses was sent by God into Egypt, and beheld the affliction of the children of Israel to be so grievous, that nothing he could say was able to comfort them in their lamentable condition, he declared to them the terrible sufferings of Job, with his happy deliverance; and setting them down in writing also, gave this book to that distressed people: that reading these things in their several tribes and families, and

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[1] Peters, Crit. Diss. 2nd edit. p. 127. [2] Ib. p. 129.

hearing how sorely this blessed man suffered, they might comfort and exhort one another to endure, with patience and thanksgiving, the evils which encompassed them; and hearing withal how bountifully God rewarded Job for his patience, they might hope for deliverance, and expect the benefit of a blessed reward of their labours."[3]

In this place I may be allowed to remark, that the tradition of the Jews, to which that of the ancient Christians must also be referred, does not describe the book of Job as a parable, but as a true history, accommodated by Moses to the use of the Israelites.

The early prevalence of such an opinion may be admitted as an argument of considerable weight that the book had belonged to the sacred canon, long before the time of Ezra or Ezekiel, to whom it has been ascribed by some modern commentators; but I have not that confidence in Jewish traditions which will induce me to admit this as sufficient evidence, that Moses was either the author or translator. I rather consider this persuasion as having arisen from circumstances only. And in the first place, the remote antiquity of the subject may have furnished the Jews with a plausible pretext for ascribing the book to the pen of Moses, the first acknowledged writer of their sacred canon.

But we cannot positively say that this great legislator was the oldest writer known to the Jews. If we appeal to their own traditions, this was by no means the case. The canon, indeed, begins with Moses; and very properly. He records the history of the Israelites from their remotest source; and of man, from the creation. He was also the divine missionary in that particular dispensation which was granted to the chosen people.

Notwithstanding this, an authentic book, which was perfectly consistent with the truth of the patriarchal religion, might have been received into the canon of scripture, though its date should have preceded the Mosaical dispensation. And it might have been received upon as good grounds as the history of the first ages, and of families not immediately connected with the house of Jacob, which are recorded in the book of Genesis, upon the ratification of prophetic authority. The Jewish tradition speaks of its having been admitted *as a translation*. It must have been equally admissible, if the original needed no translation.

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[3] Bishop Patrick. Pref. to his Paraphrase on Job.

Another circumstance which may have induced the Jews to ascribe this book to their venerable lawgiver, is that the severe trial and subsequent deliverance of Job were proper subjects to console the Israelites under the oppression of Egyptian bondage, and in their journey through the wilderness. The general tendency, however, of this book, to comfort the righteous under affliction, affords neither proof nor sufficient grounds of argument, that it was written upon this occasion. There were other occasions upon which it might have been introduced with equal propriety. The subject, for instance, would have applied to the situation of Abraham, Jacob, or Joseph, as well as to that of their afflicted descendants. And on the other hand, the pathetic history of these patriarchs, and the divine promise that God would never forsake them nor their posterity, must have been calculated to administer comfort to their children, with more interest and impression than the adventures of a stranger to their family. I therefore think that, if Moses had undertaken to write an *original* book, for the purpose assigned by this tradition, he would have chosen his subject differently; and however his choice may have been determined as to the subject, he would probably have given his narrative in plain circumstantial prose, such as he has made use of in the story of Joseph. At the same time, if we suppose that he found such a book, amongst the Midianites, already written to his hand, it is not unlikely that he would have presented it to his brethren, adapted to their use by a proper introduction and conclusion, or even by a *translation*, if it wanted one. But we are not to suppose that he returned from the land of Midian purely upon this errand: the commission with which he revisited Egypt was of a higher and more important nature.

You perceive, Sir, I am by no means satisfied with the authority which ascribes this book to the pen of Moses, either as author or translator; yet I am willing to allow some weight to the general tradition of the Jews, and to admit the probability that Moses introduced the volume to his brethren, as sacred and canonical; in which case, however, we must regard it as a true history.

But if, with Le Clerc, and some other modern writers, we consider the narrative as a mere parable, or as having but a very slight foundation in matter of fact, I feel and must acknowledge insuperable objections to the placing of it under the patronage of Moses, or of any other sacred writer. Upon this hypothesis I should be utterly at a loss to account for its admission into the Hebrew canon.

That the Jews did admit an allegorical interpretation of the scriptures, is not denied. The works of Philo, one of their most learned writers, consist, in a great measure, of such interpretations. But it is also certain that they strenuously maintain the literal truth of the narrative, and assert the historical authenticity, of those sacred books which purport, upon the face of them, to relate matter of fact. Why do I speak of *their* opinion? We also believe that the canon of scripture was established upon prophetic authority; and consequently, that its truth is indisputable. Throughout the Old Testament we can point out no narrative of this kind, gravely introduced, and related in the form of history, which is not regarded, both by Jews and Christians, as authentic and certain, making allowance only for the accidental errors of copyists.

Were this book a single exception, the circumstance would, undoubtedly, have been suggested, either in the introduction or conclusion: whereas, on the contrary, the minute and particular details relative to the country, the substance, the age, the children of Job, together with the names of his friends, their residence and connexions, unequivocally declare the intention of the writer to have been, that the book should be received as an authentic history: and as such the Jews and ancient Christians did receive it. Would it have suited the character of Moses, to write or publish a parable, under these imposing colours? He was not a composer of parables or allegories. It was his great aim to impress upon the minds of an obstinate and captious people the steady conviction, the firm belief, of things which were both highly important and literally true. Would he not have defeated his own design, had he opened his commission with a fable? We cannot, surely, suppose that he would have given the perverse Israelites an opportunity to make such an objection as this: "One of his tales, introduced and concluded with an historical air, has but little real foundation, or none at all: what dependence can we then place upon the truth of his other narratives?"

Thus, Sir, I venture to offer you my opinion that if Moses, agreeably to the ancient tradition, really delivered this book to the Israelites, he delivered it not as a parable, but as an authentic history.

But here it must be remarked, that the truth of the ancient tradition, and the claim of Moses, have been disputed by some modern authors of considerable eminence.

Doctor Warburton having, in the pride of learning and the presumption of superior genius, undertaken to maintain a singular paradox relative to the divine legation of Moses, and the faith of the ancient Israelites, found the book of Job directly in the way of his novel system. The obstacle was too weighty to be entirely removed; but it might be so chipped and battered as to give a free scope to the line of hypothetical argument. The Doctor acknowledges that at some period in the patriarchal ages, there was such a man as Job, and admits that the eminence of his character, his fortitude and patience in afflictions, and his preceding and subsequent felicity, are realities so unquestionable, that a man must set aside all sacred antiquity, before he can admit a doubt concerning them.[4] At the same time he contends that the book of Job is an *allegorical poem*, of the dramatic kind, written by Ezra, sometime between the return of the Jews from the captivity of Babylon, and their final establishment in their own country.[5]

Since the appearance of Dr. Warburton's memorable work, there has been some variation of hypothesis upon this subject. Dr. Orton, a dissenting divine, in the introduction to his paraphrase, insists upon it, that this book is a *drama*, in five acts, the several answers to Job's pleas constituting the first three, Elihu's reply a fourth, the Deity concluding in the fifth, and the historical parts furnishing a prologue and epilogue. It is also this author's notion that the drama of Job was written by Ezekiel.

Such a difference of opinion only proves that we have no positive and indisputable evidence to decide the point, and that the history of the book must rest upon circumstance and deduction.

And in this place it may be proper to consider those circumstances which furnished a pretext for setting aside the ancient tradition altogether, for dating the origin of the book a thousand years later than the time of Moses, and for ascribing its production to Ezra, Ezekiel, or any other man who is known to have held a pen in the age of the captivity. The principal of these circumstances are the silence of the older writers of the sacred canon, respecting the character of Job, together with the occurrence of certain terms and idioms in this book, which are not found in those older writers.

The negative argument, drawn from the silence of those sacred writers who

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[4] Div. Leg. v. ii. p. 483.

[5] Ib. p. 503, 506, &c.

preceded Ezekiel, will appear to have very little force, when the nature of the book of Job is duly considered. This is not a book of ordinances, like the law of Moses. It is not a history of the Israelites, or of their ancestors. It is not a series of prophecies connected with the circumstances and the expectations of that people. It is the relation of an insulated event in the patriarchal ages, which befel an individual not nearly related to the Jews; and it delivers the moral and religious sentiments of those ages, in poetic and figurative language, which was the primitive style of composition upon grave and solemn subjects.

Upon what occasion, and by whom, ought such a book as this to have been mentioned, in the slender volume of those sacred writers who preceded the age of Ezekiel? Amongst the works of those prophets, and sacred poets, who composed in a similar style, and there only, we might expect to find allusions to this book. But it has ever been the practice of poets to transcribe the sentiment, without naming the book or the author. A multitude of such indirect quotations from early history, from the Songs of Moses, and the Psalms, may be pointed out in the Old Testament. For proof of this assertion, you need nothing more than to open a Bible which contains marginal references. Thus you will perceive that coincidence of thought and expression, between certain passages in the book of Job, and others which occur in the Hymns of Moses, which must impress a general conviction that one of the writers was familiarly conversant with the works of the other, and has frequently alluded to them.[6]

Sentiments and expressions, very similar to those which occur in the book of Job, may be pointed out amongst the sacred poets in general. And as the event which is here related is confessedly of higher antiquity than any one of those poets, it would not be unreasonable to suppose that Job furnished the original. And this supposition appears to have some incidental support.

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[6] For example, compare

Exod. xv. 8	with	Job iv. 9.
Deut. xxxii. 4	—	Job xxxiv. 10.
— 13	—	Job xxix. 6.
— 34	—	Job xiv. 17.
— 39	—	Job v. 18.
Psal. xc. 6	—	Job xiv. 2.
xci. 5, &c.	—	Job v. 19, &c.
— 12	—	Job v. 23.

Sentences which, in this book, naturally arise out of the circumstances of the narrative or debate, and are delivered by their appropriate characters, occur in the writings of David and Solomon, as general and proverbial reflections.

If the writer of this book lived after the age of these royal authors, he has certainly displayed an uncommon degree of address, in adapting their scattered maxims to the circumstances of his own patriarchal subject; and more especially, in avoiding the most distant allusion to any of the great events in the history of the Israelites, whilst he was descanting upon the judgments, the mercies, and the wonderful operations of God. These events, had they been known to him, must unavoidably have tinged his descriptions. But it appears to me, that the many efforts which have been made to point out such allusions only discover the tincture of wayward hypothesis. Upon the whole, then, I conclude that the silence of the early writers supplies no argument that the book of Job was unknown to the Israelites of every age from the days of Moses; whereas, on the other hand, we have reason to infer that the author of this book was not acquainted with the Pentateuch.

Nor can the peculiarities which distinguish the language of this book from that of the most ancient sacred writers, be adduced as objections to its claim of antiquity, till it be proved that it was certainly the original composition of an Israelite; that all the terms and idioms of the ancient Israelites are preserved in the early canonical books, and that the general language and style of this book accord with those of some age subsequent to that of Moses. Neither of which particulars has been proved, or seems capable of proof.

Even the same author who strenuously contends, that the *tragedy* of Job was written by Ezekiel, invalidates his own argument by the candid admission that *the book is extremely difficult and obscure, differing so much from the general vocabulary and idiom of Jewish writers, that "it seems evidently to be a translation from some other language."*[7]

This is not the remark of a single individual. The peculiar difficulty and obscurity of this book are generally admitted; and some learned debates have arisen respecting the language in which it was first written. We may therefore safely conclude, that neither Moses, Ezekiel, nor Ezra, was the author. Had it been originally written by an Israelite, between the age of Moses and that of Ezekiel, it must have exhibited the same standard of language as

[7] Orton's Introduction.

the other sacred books of the same period. Had it been translated by an Israelite, it must have been accommodated to the use of the translator's contemporaries. At any rate, the Hebrew copy must have accorded with the age and style of the person by whom it was published. But the book is acknowledged not to be in the usual style of any writer of the Jewish canon. It contains some words and idioms which are found only in the Syriac or Chaldee, several which occur only in the Arabic, and many which have not been discovered elsewhere in any language; but all of which probably pertained to the language of the age and country in which it was first written. It has consequently a venerable air of antiquity throughout; and its language appears to have been obsolete even in the days of Moses.

Neither the silence of the older writers, therefore, nor the use of terms and phrases which are not found in their writings, supplies us with any proof that the book was unknown in their time.

But it will be urged, perhaps, that the dramatic form militates against its claim to remote antiquity, as well as to historical credit. Much has been said of late years upon the subject of Hebrew dramas. Of these, the critics had discovered two; namely, the Song of Solomon, and the Book of Job. The former, however, is now given up. It is no longer a drama, but a series of Idyls. For my own part, I have always felt a repugnance to the acknowledgment of any drama in the sacred canon. I consider the very idea as calculated only to derogate from the authority of the holy scripture. And if I am not greatly mistaken, this notion concerning the book of Job rests more upon fanciful hypothesis than upon solid argument and sound criticism. Let us hear what is advanced in its favour. Dr. Orton, in his introduction to this book, has asserted—"It is *undoubtedly* a piece of dramatic poetry." But how is this positive assertion supported? In the manner following: "An ingenious writer has observed, that the several answers to Job's pleas make three distinct acts, Elihu's reply a fourth, the Deity concluding in the fifth: the historical parts at the beginning and the end are a kind of prologue and epilogue." Upon this ingenious observation, it seems, we are to ground our belief that the book of Job is not only a drama, but a drama upon the Greek model. Must not such an hypothesis detract something from its value, in the esteem both of the divine and the antiquary?

Were I compelled to acknowledge that this is nothing more than a dramatic poem, written five or six hundred years before Christ, I might still plead

prescription for having quoted it as authority for the manners and opinions of the patriarchal age, in which the scene is confessedly laid. We quote Sophocles and Euripides as authority for the manners and customs of the heroic ages; but we should place greater confidence in a grave and respectable author, who lived in the very times which he has undertaken to describe. I therefore feel but little disposed to give up the venerable antiquity and sacred character of the book of Job.

Doctor Orton, at the same time that he pronounces so decidedly upon the form of this book, contends, in a tone equally positive, that *it was certainly given by inspiration.* For my own part, I can form no more conception of an imitation of a heathen drama thus given, than I can of an idol, a duplicate of Dagon or Moloch, set up by divine authority.

The subject of a divine inspiration is to be received as matter of faith. Are we then to believe that the spirit of God dictated a poem in the dramatic form? For what purpose? Was it to encourage in the Israelites a taste for the scenic representations, at the festivals of the heathen idols? Or was it to enlarge their liberality towards the customs of their Gentile brethren, by indulging them with something of their own in the same kind? Or else, are we to suppose that the author departed, in a certain degree, from the sacred dictation, in order to observe the rules of the drama? In this case, where are we to draw the line between the inspiration of the prophet and the license of the tragic poet, so as to preserve a due respect for the authority of the holy scripture? As this line has not yet been drawn, I must confess that I am disgusted and shocked with all that I have hitherto read upon the subject of Hebrew dramas.

That those refined nations with whom the Jews had political intercourse, were in possession of dramatic poetry; and that this people, who were so frequently seduced by them to the practice of idolatry, had some knowledge of such compositions, may be deemed highly probable. But when I recollect the occasions upon which the ancient dramas were represented, and the ceremonies which were generally connected with their representations, I must be allowed to call for pretty strong evidence before I agree to stamp this character upon any dialogue recorded in the Bible.

To the ingenious writer's distribution of the book of Job, I can allow but little weight, as I have understood that the division of the drama into *five acts* was an invention of the Greeks, to give room for the introduction of a stated number of choruses or dances. Nature acknowledges only a *beginning*, a

middle, and an *end*. Here, it seems, the answers of Job's three friends make three distinct acts. How are those acts arranged? We have part of act I., part of act II., and part of act III.: then a repetition of the same: after this we have again part of act I., and part of act II., and we come at once into act IV. It must have required no common ingenuity to unravel such a scheme. Nor is this all. Into how many acts soever the book of Job may be divided, it cannot be made to consist of more than one scene. Neither of the human characters either enters or leaves the stage during the whole course of the dialogue. Can any writer produce a similar tragedy of five acts, either ancient or modern? And if the book has so little of the form of the drama, why is it *undoubtedly a piece of dramatic poetry?* As the circumstances of the story might have obviously suggested a better plot, the manner in which it is told furnishes a good argument that the author had no thoughts of dramatic composition.

But supposing that this defect in the plan arose only from the poet's want of skill, I would ask, by whom, and with what design, could such a drama have been written? To appropriate that character it must have been intended, or, at least, adapted for representation. The author must have been conscious that he was either introducing or encouraging a taste for dramatic fable. Shall we maintain that any man, writing for the Jews, and affected with such a consciousness, could be under the influence of the divine spirit? The general sentiments of the book forbid our ascribing it to any idolatrous writer: and I think no professor of the true religion, either amongst the Jews or the patriarchs, though uninspired, would have ventured to introduce the Almighty, speaking out of the whirlwind, in scenic representation. Or were there an individual hardy enough to presume thus far, can we suppose that the conscientious Ezra, or even the Jewish nation, now finally reformed from idolatry, would have sanctioned the profane design, by receiving the book into the canon; or that its reception could have been ratified by prophetic authority?

And what, after all, are the grounds of the opinion that this book is a dramatic poem?

It is introduced with a general account of Job, of his afflictions, and of the assembling of his friends to condole with him. It recites a serious debate, which happened on the occasion, in figurative language and measured periods, which was the usual style of oratory, as well as of poetry, in the early ages. It proceeds to recite a prophetic vision, in which the Lord speaks audibly to Job,

as he sometimes spoke to other prophets, in the sacred historical books, and it concludes with some circumstantial account of subsequent events. If all this has a remote analogy to the plan of the old tragedy, it is only because that plan has a remote analogy to nature. Solemn dialogues, attended with action and incident, must have often happened before tragedy could have been thought of: they must have supplied the first hints for its invention. The conducting of every trial in a court of justice, and the passing of every bill in the British parliament, present us with more of the form of the drama than I can discover in the book of Job.

And now, Sir, as those new temples of snow, for the solemnities of which the book of Job was converted into an allegorical tragedy, are rapidly melting away, I can show no great respect to the scaffolding used in their erection. As the subject of this book is acknowledged to be ancient, the modern systems respecting it, which have no foundation in history, tradition, or solid argument, may surely be set aside; and more especially, as the various hypotheses which represent it as being of a date comparatively recent, or as a work of imagination, are so far from removing objections, that they involve difficulties peculiar to themselves.

It would be a more simple mode of proceeding, and, I think, more defensible, to receive the book of Job as an authentic narrative, committed to writing soon after the event which it records, delivered in figurative language, and describing some incidents in the prophetic style.

In supporting this view of the subject, I may have some difficulties to encounter; but these are not to be removed or diminished by regarding the story as a parable. Whatever is unnatural in real history must be equally so in the imitation of history. If it was inconsistent with the divine goodness to expose a righteous man to such temptations as those of Job, how could the good Spirit have suggested a narrative of those calamitous events, connected with circumstances which gave them the appearance of reality?

That such a man as Job did really exist cannot be regarded as matter of doubt.

The prophet Ezekiel, speaking, in his fourteenth chapter, of the certainty of God's judgments upon the land, for the transgression of the people, expresses himself in these words: "Though these THREE MEN, *Noah*, *Daniel*, and *Job* were in it, they should deliver but their own souls by their righteousness, saith

the Lord God." And the like declaration, with reference to these three men, is four times repeated. In this passage, Job is ranked with real and historical characters—with Noah, who was delivered by his righteousness, when the whole world was destroyed; and with Daniel, Ezekiel's contemporary, whom many of the Jews, to whom the prophet wrote, must have personally known, and whose recent deliverance of himself, and of all the wise men of Babylon, by his wisdom and righteousness, could be attested by multitudes of living witnesses.

Now if we suppose with Dr. Orton, that this same Ezekiel had composed the book of Job, as a dramatic poem, the Jews might have said to him, "We know Daniel, and we have read of Noah, but who is Job?" Would it have suited the sacred dignity of the prophet to reply, "Job is a traditional personage, whose character you will find delineated in my new tragedy?" Dr. Warburton's hypothesis is still worse; for Ezra, whom he supposes to have been the author of the book, was hardly born at the time when this prophecy was delivered.

But, not to shock your judgment with such impertinences, I submit, that the plain sense of the passage in Ezekiel undeniably proves, that the Jews acknowledged the reality of such a character as Job; that they had an account of some remarkable deliverance which he had obtained by his righteousness; and that they received this account, not as an allegory, either recent or ancient, but as historical truth. The prophet must have destroyed the whole force and consistency of his own argument, had he mentioned a character, or alluded to a history, which was regarded as either fictitious or doubtful. He could not, therefore, have referred the Jews to a vague tradition, which had floated for a thousand years upon the tongues of the multitude; but to some authentic, and consequently, *written* document, which was as firmly believed as the history of Noah. And as the adventures of an individual, and more especially the subject of a long conversation, cannot be authentically recovered, after it has been once lost, or mutilated and debased by oral tradition, it is necessary to suppose that this history was written within a short period after the occurrence of the events it records.

It must be observed further: The prophet is not, in this place, reasoning as a man, with the Jews. The force of the argument does not therefore depend upon the accuracy of his own judgment. The whole passage consists of an immediate prophecy. It is the word of the Lord, which came to Ezekiel: "As I live, saith the LORD GOD." This introduction proves, as far as it can be

proved by sacred testimony, that the Jews were not deceived in their opinion; that Job was a real character; that his deliverance by his righteousness was a fact, and that the history of this fact was authentic, and consequently ancient. And what history had the Jews of the adventures of Job, excepting that which was included in their sacred canon, and which we have at this day? They did not surely discard a history which obtained a divine attestation, when this prophecy was delivered, about 594 years before Christ, to substitute in its place a dramatic fable.

It must be admitted that the history of this illustrious personage has but little apparent connexion with that of Abraham's family; and from all other ancient documents it stands quite aloof. This defect of collateral support has furnished occasion, amongst those who admit the truth of the narrative, for a variety of opinions relative to the condition, the country, and the connexions of Job, and the age in which he lived. I think some degree of satisfaction as to these particulars may be obtained; but till an elucidation shall be attempted by some person of competent abilities, I hope you will accept such probable conjectures as it may be in my power to furnish.

It appears from Job's own account, in the twenty-ninth chapter, and from some other hints scattered throughout the book, that he was of royal or princely rank, and a judge over his people.

As to his country, the number of Arabic words which occur in the book, together with his designation as a *man of the East*, have led the generality of commentators to the conclusion, that he was a native of some part of Arabia; but the learned Codurcus supposes him to have been an Idumæan. The land of Uz, where Job dwelt, not being distinctly known in our day, we must endeavour to approach it by circumstances as nearly as we can.

In the first place, then, it is said of the behemoth, chap. xl. 23: "He trusteth that he can draw up JORDAN into his mouth." As only one river is known by this name, we must conclude that the land of Uz lay somewhere near its banks. If Jordan did not actually appear in the scene of conference, we must at least suppose that it was well known to Job, and a more familiar object to him than any other stream of considerable magnitude; otherwise we cannot account for its having been particularly discriminated upon this occasion. But if Job's affliction occurred before the destruction of the Pentapolis, and the formation of the Dead Sea, which I have reason to believe was the case, this river must

have extended its course in his days farther to the south and south-east than it does at present. I have read in some Asiatic tourist, that vestiges of its ancient channel, in this direction, are still to be seen.

Again: we learn from Gen. xxxvi. 34, and 1 Chron. i. 45, that the Temanites, the countrymen of Eliphaz, one of Job's friends, were in the neighbourhood of Mount Seir, in Edom or Idumæa, which lay immediately south of the lot of Judah, Josh. xv. 21: and they are said to have been in the Eastern province of Idumæa.[8] The city Teman was therefore near the south point of the Dead Sea, and upon the ancient banks of Jordan, before it was absorbed in that lake.

Shuhah, שוּחַ, the residence of Bildad, another of Job's friends, implies *humiliation*, a low place, a ditch, a channel, &c. It was therefore, most probably, near the bed of the same river.

Zophar the Naamathite, Job's third friend, could not have lived at a great distance from his comrades. "For they had made an *appointment together* to come to mourn with Job, and to comfort him." They had previously met, and consulted upon the occasion. They were therefore neighbours of each other. They were also neighbours of Job, and had known him personally and familiarly: for it was only in consequence of his miserable condition, and the great change which it had produced in his appearance, that they did not recognize him, upon this visit, when they first saw him at a distance. "And when they lifted up their eyes AFAR OFF, and *knew him not*, they lifted up their voice and wept:" chap. ii. 12. We find the city Naamah, or Naamath, the residence of Zophar, in the portion of Judah, in the valley, and upon the borders of Edom. Josh. xv. 41.

This brings the land of Uz to a point. We must look for it in the eastern part of Idumæa, and contiguous to the south border of Judea. It was probably a territory which had communicated its name to *Uz*, the son of Dishan, the son of Seir, the Horite, a prince of the house of Canaan. This family had made irruptions into that part of the country, and had settled themselves there, some time before Abraham removed out of Mesopotamia into Palestine, and found "the Canaanite now in the land."

But as the Canaanites were not the original proprietors of the land, and as this territory lay on the borders of Aram or Syria, we may suppose that it had

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[8] Dr. Oliver's Script. Lex. *in voce*.

once been the patrimony of another Uz, the grandson of Shem, and the son of Aram, the patriarch of the Syrians.

I have spoken of the district as having communicated its own name to the proprietor, because Moses frequently apprises us, that he names the patriarchs after their cities and possessions. Uz, עוץ, *firm, solid*, may have very aptly characterised this region as distinguished from the neighbouring vale of Siddim, or plain of Sodom and Gomorrah, which was full of slime pits, and therefore deep and soft, before its submersion. The kings of the land of Uz are mentioned by Jeremiah, chap. xxv. 20. But this passage does not fix the situation of the district. The same prophet is more explicit in the fourth chapter of his Lamentations: "O daughter of Edom, who dwellest in the land of Uz." The land of Uz was, then, the ancient name of Edom or Idumæa; and Job is described as a man of the East, because he dwelt in the eastern part of this country, and not in Arabia, which the Egyptians, and, after them, the Jews, emphatically denominated the *East*. Perhaps the account which we have of another of Job's friends may supply us with a clue for the discovery of the particular city in which this great man resided.

Elihu was of the kindred of *Ram*. The name of Aram is sometimes spelt thus, as in 1 Chron. ii. 10. The patriarch to whom the family of Elihu is referred, was probably Aram, the fifth son of Shem, and the father of the Syrians. We find Beth-Aram, the house of Aram, in the valley of Arnon, amongst the mountains, Josh. xiii. 27, at no great distance to the east of Edom. And it appears to me, that the land of *Aram*, or mountains of the East, where Balaam dwelt, ought to be fixed in this neighbourhood; and that Pethor, the place of his residence, was upon the river Arnon, and not in Mesopotamia. If this be admitted, we may remark further, the history of Balaam furnishes evidence, that the knowledge of the true God was retained in that country down to the age of Moses; and the offering of this presumptuous prophet, consisting of *seven bullocks and seven rams*, was precisely the same with that of Job's friends. It may have been recorded of Elihu that he was of the kindred of Aram, in order to distinguish his family from the Canaanites, who, at this time, were numerous in the land.

Be all this as it may, Elihu the son of Barachel the Buzite was present during the whole conference, to which he listened in silence; but he is not represented, like Job's other friends, as having *come from his place*. Elihu was, probably, at home: and he was a Buzite. Many have regarded this addition

to his name as derived from Buz, the son of Nahor, Abraham's brother; and some, from the father of Ezekiel! The one must have been too distant in point of local situation, and the other, in point of time. Buzite surely means an inhabitant of the city Buz; and the term is to be understood as we understand Temanite, Shuhite and Naamathite, in the description of Job's other friends.

Jeremiah, chap. xxv. 23, denounces judgment upon the city Buz, in conjunction with Dedan and Tema. The same denunciation against Teman and Dedan is repeated more in detail, chap. xlix., when it appears that they were in EDOM; but here, the name of *Buz* is omitted, and the third city is called *Bozrah.* As the prophet is recapitulating the very same judgment which he had pronounced before, he must be understood as directing his sentence to the same cities. Does it not follow that *Buz* and Bozrah imply the same place? And if Elihu was in *his own place*, in Buz or Bozrah, when he attended to the conference in the house of Job, the residence of Job must also have been in Bozrah. This city was the ancient metropolis of Edom. Upon the whole, then, it seems evident that Idumæa, within its ancient and contracted limits, included the land of Uz.

Another circumstance strongly pleads in favour of Bozrah, as the identical spot of Job's residence. His flocks and herds, the greatest in all the east, must have been accommodated in that part of the country which was best adapted for pasturage; and the flocks of Bozrah were proverbial. The prophet Micah, in foretelling the happy restoration of Judah and Israel, after their captivity and dispersion, uses these words: "I will surely assemble, O Jacob, all of thee; I will surely gather the remnant of Israel: I will put them together, as the *sheep of Bozrah*, as the flock in the midst of their fold: they shall make great noise, by reason of the multitude of men:" chap. ii. 12.

This very passage, it is probable, alludes to that incident in the history of Job, when, after his severe affliction, the Lord *brought back his captivity*, restored his scattered flock, and *gave him twice as much as he had before.*

As Job, even previous to his affliction, was the greatest of all the men of the East; as he was not only eminently distinguished for the abundance of his wealth and possessions, but also acknowledged as a prince and judge of his people; and as he was afterwards advanced to a far more eminent degree in opulence and dignity, we may fairly presume that he was ranked amongst the

kings or supreme magistrates of Idumæa. And it might be expected that his name would be found amongst the potentates of this land, whom Moses has left upon record.

I offer this, Sir, as an introduction to some thoughts, which have occurred to me, as tending to identify the person of this memorable man. We are still to recollect that Moses, in his genealogical tables, frequently records the names of princes, *according to their habitations, in the land of their possession.* Many of these names, therefore, are not the proper names of men, but of cities and districts which they governed. Consequently we often find repetitions of the same names, in different families, who successively occupied the same places. With this recollection, let us again visit the land of Uz.

The country about Mount Seir is supposed to have obtained the name of Edom or Idumæa, from Esau or Edom, the son of Isaac, whose posterity conquered the Horites, and became lords of the territory. But Esau may have taken the name of Edom from the country. This name, in Hebrew, is אדם, Ad-m; and אדמה, Admè, or Admah, which is only the same word, with a feminine termination, was the name of a royal city in this neighbourhood, long before Esau was born.

Moses having, in the thirty-sixth chapter of Genesis, enumerated the sons and grandsons of Esau, subjoins to this account three distinct catalogues of princes, who governed in that country.

The first catalogue consists of the dukes that came of the Horites. (v. 20.)

The second is a series of eight kings whose original descent is not specified. We are only told that they "reigned in the *land* of Edom, before there reigned any king over the children of Israel." (v. 31.)

But as we know that the Israelites had no king, till some centuries after the death of Moses, it does not appear probable that he wrote this passage exactly as it now stands. Either the latter part of the verse must have been a note of a more recent date, which in subsequent ages was confounded with the text; or else, Moses may have written "the children of Esau," and a transcriber of the book, some time after Israel had become a kingdom, may have mistaken it for the more familiar phrase—"the children of *Israel.*" It is not unlikely that this was the case; for, at the conclusion of this series, the dukes *that came of Esau* are immediately introduced. (v. 40.)

But who were these eight kings? They cannot have been of the family of Seir, the Horite: for the princes descended from him are discriminately reckoned, down to the contemporaries of Aholibamah, the wife of Esau; and

after this generation, the sons and grandsons of Esau, who are styled dukes, succeeded the Horites, in the dominion of the country. Neither have we room for these kings in the house of Esau: for his sons and grandsons, who succeeded the Horites, were themselves succeeded by eleven other dukes, *which came of Esau*, before the thirty-sixth chapter of Genesis was written.

It is probable, indeed, that these dukes governed the land in four distinct principalities, according to the number of Esau's wives, each of whom was a mother of princes; but from the manner in which they are introduced it may be reasonably concluded that these descendants of Esau, taken altogether, were sovereigns of the whole country, after the demise of the *kings*.

It is evident the kings could not have reigned between the grandsons of Esau and the eleven dukes who descended of his family. For Esau married some of his wives when he was forty years old, about 1796 years before Christ, and a daughter of Ishmael, after the flight of Jacob, about 1760 years before Christ.

Let us take the medium of these marriages, 1778, and suppose that some of his sons were not born till ten years afterwards, and some of his grandsons not till those sons had attained the age of sixty, both of which are moderate calculations for that period; and we shall have 1708 before Christ, for the birth of those grandsons. Our best authority for the general term of men's lives, at that time, is in the sixth chapter of Exodus. Levi lived 137 years, his son Kohath 133, and his grandson Amram 137. But 135 taken as a medium, from 1708, leaves 1573 before Christ; till which time, at least, we must suppose that some of the grandsons of Esau had survived. Then come the eleven dukes who were posterior to those grandsons. Two of these sovereigns may have governed one of the provinces for eighty years. To the other principalities we must allow three princes each; and supposing that their reigns amounted to 35 years upon an average, and that 12 years of the current reigns had now elapsed, we shall have 82 subtracted from 1573, which gives 1491, the year of the Exode, when Moses mentions the *dukes* of Edom as powerful princes. Exod. xv. 15.

In such computations an actual correspondence with the recorded facts of history is not to be expected: yet in this case they must approach the truth near enough to show that the succession of eight intervening kings, prior to the age of Moses, could not have pertained to the family of Seir, the Horite, or to that of Esau. They seem to have been of the primitive race of the country, partly prior to the Horites, partly contemporary with them, and partly posterior to

them. I should suppose them either descendants of Aram the son of Shem, or else, of Joktan, the son of Heber, whose dwelling was between *Mesha* and *Sephar*, a mount of THE EAST.

Somewhere in this series of kings we might naturally expect to find the name of Job. It does not indeed occur; but we meet with a name of precisely the same meaning, and derived from the same root. And as I have remarked above, that the city Buz or Bozrah was most probably the place where Job and Elihu dwelt, I shall venture to identify the person of Job, in JOBAB, the son of Zerah of *Bozrah*, the second of the eight kings. Nor am I singular in this opinion: several writers have already hinted that Jobab was no other than the celebrated subject of our inquiry. In Dr. Oliver's Scripture Lexicon, it is stated that Job was "a great man of the land of Uz, in East *Edom*, not far from Bozra."

And now, Sir, if you admit the legitimacy of the deductions I have already made, I may venture to carry my conjectures somewhat further.

The following circumstances may afford us some assistance in attempting a general calculation of the age in which Job lived, and thus approaching the era of his death and of his affliction. The commencement of the reigns of the eleven dukes of the house of Esau, which succeeded the kings, has been placed about 82 years before the exode of the Israelites, or 1573 before Christ. Moses enumerates six kings in succession, after Jobab, and before these dukes are introduced. But as the sons did not succeed their fathers in this series, the kings were probably heads of the principal families, and were promoted to the throne at an advanced period of life. In that age of longevity, however, we may assign to them upon an average, reigns of about thirty-five years each. The calculation will stand thus, reckoning upwards from the exode of the Israelites, 1491 years before Christ. The dukes of Edom had reigned alone 82 years. The six kings had reigned previous to those dukes 35 years each, in the whole 210 years. This brings us to the year before Christ 1783, which, according to this scheme, is the era of Job or Jobab's death. This was near forty years after the death of Abraham, and about the hundred and thirteenth year of Isaac's age; which comes up to the general supposition of commentators, that Isaac and Job were contemporaries. But as Job lived 140 years after his affliction, we must, upon this hypothesis, fix the era of that affliction 1923 years before Christ.

The state of society, as we find it in the days of Job, forbids us to carry the date higher than this; and when we consider the extensive period of this patriarch's life, I think we cannot bring it much lower. Job certainly lived more than two centuries. For at the time of his affliction he had seven sons and three daughters. His sons were now arrived at the estate of manhood. Each of them was established in his own house, where he entertained his brothers and sisters, upon certain days of festivity, without the control or inspection of his parents. This establishment was not recent. It had been the standing custom of the father to sanctify his sons, and offer burnt-offerings for each of them upon these occasions. Job's wife had left off bearing. We read of no children which she had, younger than these sons, who were now grown to man's estate; or if the daughters were younger, they were but *three*, in the space of thirty or forty years. Their father could not be regarded at this time as any thing less than a middle-aged man. If we advert to parallel cases, in the family of Abraham his contemporary, we may compute his years at considerably more than one hundred; and without unnecessarily supposing an extraordinary instance of prematurity, we cannot reduce them much below eighty; namely,

At the birth of his eldest son	30
Interval between his seven sons, in the whole, . . .	10
Age of his sons, when established in their houses, . .	30
Since the establishment of his younger son	10
Job's age at the era of his affliction	80
To which add his remaining years	140
Period of Job's life	220

This is a very moderate computation of intervals for those times, as we find the scale laid down in the book of Genesis. I am aware however of the note in the Septuagint version, that his whole age amounted to 210 years: and perhaps you may think it right to acquiesce in the hypothesis of the Hebrew doctors, that Job's years, after his affliction, like his other endowments, exactly *doubled what he had before.*

Taking the account as stated by the Seventy, we find that the age of Job amounts to thirty years more than that of any individual whom the scripture records as having been born after Terah, the father of Abraham. But as Job was *old, and full of days*, his period may have been protracted beyond the

standard of the times, and his death may have happened after that of Abraham, agreeably to the preceding calculation.

Having now fixed the country of Job, at least, to my own satisfaction, and made some approaches towards the age in which he lived, you will allow me to state another circumstance of no trivial moment, as it may enable us to determine the latter point with greater precision.

The instruments of Job's affliction were not all of a private nature, such as affected himself alone, and his household. Some of them were of a nature which must have been felt in the neighbouring districts, and remembered in the history of the country. His messengers, for instance, bring him an account of *four* bands or armies, who slew his servants and took away his cattle. One of these armies consisted of Sabæans. A nation of this name is placed by Pomponius Mela[9] on the west shore of the Persian gulf, and contiguous to Babylonia. These were, probably, the people intended by Job's messenger: for we find them accompanied by the Chaldæans, who certainly came from Babylonia. The latter are said to have made out *three bands* or armies. But these bands may not have consisted wholly of proper Chaldæans. It is sufficient if we suppose the name of Chaldæans to have been best known to Job's servant, who, in his hurry and perturbation, may have spoken of them generally by this name, though partly composed of other allied nations: or the band which he had met may have consisted of Chaldæans, and he may have concluded the same of the others. At all events, the Chaldæans came from a country six or seven hundred miles distant from Job's residence.

Distinct nations, such as the Sabæans and Chaldæans, would not have united in one common cause; four armies would not have been levied, nor would they have marched so far from home, without some more important design than to plunder the substance of one unoffending man. This expedition must have been of great magnitude and public notoriety. And as it happened about the time when Abraham came into the neighbouring land of Canaan, we might expect to find some notice taken of it in the Mosaic history.

Accordingly it is recorded in the fourteenth chapter of Genesis, that about this very time *four* kings marched their armies in the very same direction which is intimated in the book of Job, and overran the whole of the land in which Job dwelt. For one of them was the king of Shinar or Babylonia, and amongst their

[9] Lib. iii. c. 14.

exploits it is distinctly mentioned, that " they smote the Horites in their mount Seir, unto El-Paran, which is by the wilderness." (v. 6.) And they completely stripped the country, *taking away all the goods and all the victuals.* If this event was connected with the affliction of Job, the frequent allusions to war and famine, which we meet throughout the book, are not to be regarded as common-place declamation.

This expedition had been regularly planned, to punish the revolt of certain princes from the dominion of the king of Elam or Persia. The sacred historian, it must be acknowledged, relates the causes and circumstances of the enterprize more distinctly than the terrified messengers of Job. But one account contains nothing which is inconsistent with the other. On the contrary, the report of the messengers, as far as it goes, seems evidently to make up part of the historian's detail. And I may here remark, that Job's complaint in the tenth chapter—" CHANGES and WAR are against me," strongly supports the idea I have suggested. This good man had real afflictions enough to occupy his thoughts; we must not therefore suppose that he has recourse to vague declamation. And what precise meaning can he have, in this place, unless he speaks of *revolutions* or *revolts*, and the war that succeeded them?

One of the kings who opposed the invaders, and probably fell by their hands, was the king of *Bela*, which was afterwards called Zoar. Bela seems to have been his own name, as well as that of his city: for Moses distinctly names the kings of all the other cities; but he only styles this prince מלך בלע, *Rex Bela.*

One thing is sufficiently clear: The expedition recorded by Moses, and that mentioned by Job's messengers, came from the same tract of country, consisted of the same number of bands, and ravaged the same districts. We have no account of more than one expedition to which these circumstances will apply; and this we, surely, should have had, in the book of Genesis, supposing such a thing had taken place, whilst Abraham, or his sons, or his grandsons, sojourned in the land of Canaan. We may then reasonably infer that the invasion of the four kings was an immediate instrument of Job's affliction. But what seems necessarily to connect his sufferings with this historical event is the notice which occurs in the forty-second chapter, v. 10: " And the Lord turned (שב, restored, brought back) the captivity of Job, when he prayed for his friends; also the Lord gave Job twice as much as he had before:" or, according to the Hebrew, " And then the Lord added all that *had been* to Job, unto the double."

By the *captivity* of Job, which was thus restored, must be understood the

persons who had been taken captive, and the property which had been carried away. Job had not suffered personal captivity. He had remained in his own house, with his *wife*, and his domestic *servants* and his *maidens:* chap. xix. 15, &c. It is however evident that he was not now in a condition to make any military exertion for the recovery of his captives. And their restoration by any other means, after they had been carried away by the Chaldæans, and other distant nations, their confederates, was a thing highly improbable in itself, unprecedented in history, and not to be expected.

Yet upon this singular occasion, namely, the war of the *four* kings, such a restitution was actually made, by the interposition of the Divine Providence, and the instrumentality of the Hebrew patriarch. "When Abraham heard that his brother was taken captive, he armed his trained servants, born in his own house, three hundred and eighteen, and pursued them unto Dan. And he divided himself against them, he and his servants, by night, and smote them, and pursued them unto Hobah, which is on the left hand of Damascus: and *he brought back all the goods*, and also brought again his brother Lot, and his goods, *and* the women also, and the people." Gen. xiv. 14, &c.

Notwithstanding Abraham was assisted by some of the Canaanitish princes, his human means were still inadequate to the obtaining such a victory. We must therefore confess that the hand of God was in all this, and that it was the Lord who brought back the captivity.

It may be objected against the manner in which I account for the restoration of Job's captivity, that amongst those who shared the property which had been recovered by Abraham, the name of Job or Jobab does not occur.

But it is probable that these were nothing more than epithets which the good man acquired from the circumstances of his affliction. They are interpreted *sorrowful*, *subjected to enmity*, and the like. Admitting that Job was of the party, it may be supposed that Abraham, or Moses, in the history of Abraham, would distinguish him by some name more descriptive of his general character, as a *righteous* and *upright king*, and a *priest of the true God*. Under this very description a personage is introduced, to whom Abraham paid tithes of all: and this, most probably, in addition to a considerable property of his own which was now restored. His acquisition in this point of view must have been very great. A large and populous tract of country had been completely stripped by the four kings; and now the whole booty was recovered. Abraham

refused to take any thing to himself; but he claimed a right to acknowledge the divine assistance in his expedition, by dedicating the tithes of all to the Most High God, and paying them to his priest. (v. 20.) "How great must this man have been!" says St. Paul, speaking of Melchizedek, Heb. vii. 4. Perhaps he intended this as a hint to his countrymen, that he was no other than *The greatest of all the men of the East;* that he was the very person of whom the Lord testifies—"*There is none like him in the earth, a perfect and upright man,* one that feareth God, and escheweth evil."

This view of the subject accounts well for the restoration of Job's prosperity. Some time after the expedition of the *four armies*, whilst Job was performing the *priest's* office, making intercession, and offering an atonement for his friends, the Lord *brought back his captives; and also the Lord gave him twice as much as he had before:* chap. xlii. 10. These words cannot simply mean a gradual return of prosperity. The captives were restored *at the time specified.* At that time also the double portion was added. And the endowment must have been by some *immediate* act, which eminently distinguished the divine Donor, and which also distinguished Job, as *the highly favoured servant of God.* It must have been by some act similar to that which Abraham performed in favour of Melchizedek. And this act immediately succeeded the affliction of Job. For proof of this you will please to observe the order of the events: "And the Lord turned the captivity of Job, when he prayed for his friends: and the Lord gave Job twice as much as he had before."

Here it may be also remarked, that we know of no other man in that neighbourhood so well qualified as Job to refresh Abraham and his company with bread and wine. For though the kings had pillaged the whole land, and *carried away all the victuals*, his house had not been plundered. From all which I infer, that Job was the sacred person to whom Abraham paid tithes of all the accumulated substance which he had rescued. It is not likely that two such extraordinary interpositions of Providence occurred in that country, and at that time. Relative to the person of Melchizedek, *the priest of the Most High God*, opinions have been various. Some suppose him to have been the patriarch Shem; others the Messiah himself; and others again, a prince of the Jebusites. But I think it is generally admitted that *Melchizedek* was not his proper or *original* name, but rather a title descriptive of his character, as a *righteous king*. He is also called *King of Salem*, which St. Paul interprets *King of Peace*, or the peaceful king; eminently characteristic of the *most patient*

of men, and particularly appropriate, at this time, when all the other princes of the country were engaged in wars and tumults.

Perhaps this may be the only acceptation in which the term ought to be received. But it is understood by most commentators to mean, king of the *city* or *district* of *Salem*, which is again explained as signifying *Jerusalem*. This city may have been forty or fifty English miles distant from Bozrah, where I suppose Job to have reigned. But as I am unwilling that my conjecture should be overturned by this stumbling block, I must beg leave to lay before you a few remarks upon the subject.

There is but one other place, Psal. lxxvi. 2, where Salem is thought to mean Jerusalem; and this may be rendered—"His tabernacle also is in *Peace;*" for thus we translate the same word, Isaiah ix. 6. And it is remarkable that this word is twice, at least, applied to the tabernacle or habitation of Job. Thus we read, chap. v. 24, וּבֵי שָׁלוֹם אָהֳלֶךָ, "That thy tabernacle is in *Peace;*" or as we have it in the margin, "That *peace* (Salem) is thy tabernacle." And again, chap. viii. 6, *Salem* and *Zedek*, both the titles of Abraham's friend, are applied at once to the habitation of Job. Whence it is not unreasonable to infer that this memorable man, before he had acquired a new name from his affliction, was publicly distinguished as Melchi-Zedek, *The righteous King*, and Melech Salem, *King of Peace*.

If the word Salem must mean a place, in this passage of Genesis, I think we are still to seek for its situation: for neither Salem nor Jerusalem seems to have been known as the name of the subsequent metropolis of Judea, in the days of Abraham or of Moses.[10]

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[10] There is good reason to believe, that the very foundation of this celebrated city had not been laid as early as the war of the four kings. It was not till more than forty years after this, that Abraham was commanded to offer up his son Isaac upon mount *Moriah*. This was the very eminence upon which the temple of Jerusalem was afterwards built. It must therefore have been contiguous to the city, had it then existed. But if you will please to consider the history in the twenty-second chapter of Genesis, I think you will conclude with me, that in the days of Abraham this spot was remote from the resort of men: it was wild, uncultivated, and partly overgrown with thickets.

The patriarch left his servants at a considerable distance, to avoid interruption, in the extraordinary act he was about to perform. But what would this precaution have availed him, had he still been in the immediate neighbourhood of a royal city? The building of an altar, and the preparing of a human sacrifice, must have attracted the notice of numerous spectators. But Abraham and his son are

Jerusalem occurs for the first time in the book of Joshua. But this book, as it now stands, must have been written or edited a considerable time after the death of Joshua. Upon a very memorable occasion, its author quotes written authority, as for an ancient fact, chap. x. 13; and in the eighteenth chapter, v. 28, he mentions the city Jebusi, adding—"which is Jerusalem;" that is, he explains the ancient by the modern name. Had this city been known in the days of Joshua by the name of Salem, should we not expect that the documents used by the sacred writer would have preferred, or, at least, have mentioned the name which had been consecrated by the history of Abraham, and the pen of Moses?

Were it to be granted that Melchizedek was the rightful king of Jerusalem, I think he could not have actually reigned there, at the time of this expedition. The Jebusites were in possession of the city and district before Abraham arrived in the land of Canaan; and immediately after the war of the four kings, *their land* is promised to this patriarch, together with the territories of the other wicked and idolatrous tribes. Does it not follow that Jebusi could not have been the seat of government to the *Righteous King*, whom Abraham had just acknowledged as priest of the *Most High God*, and whose blessing he had humbly received?

Neither does Melchizedek seem to have come from Jerusalem or any other place in its vicinity. Abraham's route was from the neighbourhood of *Damascus:* and he directed his course toward Sodom. The king of Sodom met him in the valley of Shaveh, where the kings had recently smitten the Emims, the old inhabitants of the land of Moab, to the *east* of the vale of Siddim. The portions of the Canaanitish princes, Abraham's confederates, had not as yet been separated from the rest of the flocks. These would, surely, have been left behind, had they been conducted through their country. Abraham had therefore returned with the spoil on the *east* side of Jordan.

Had a king of Jerusalem intended to meet Abraham on his march, it must have been out of his way to come so far to the south as this plain. But it was to this place that Melchizedek brought forth bread and wine; and it was here

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quite alone, and the strayed sheep which was caught in the thicket had not been discovered by an accidental passenger. From these circumstances, as well as from others which arise out of the history, I infer that, previous to the altar which Abraham erected, not one stone of Jerusalem had been laid upon another.

that he blessed Abraham, receiving from him, in return, tithes of all: for after this transaction, we still find Abraham in conference with the king of Sodom.

The march of the conqueror must have been slow, on account of the numerous flocks and herds which he had to conduct. Some messengers of good tidings had been dispatched; or, by some other means, the report of the victory had flown before him, and those who were particularly interested in that event came forth to receive their liberated friends. Abraham had proceeded thus far, to reinstate his brother's son in his former residence at Sodom; but meeting these kings, he ordered the troops to halt, and here the spoil was divided, or rather, each man's property was restored to him.

"Give me the *persons*," said the king of Sodom, in a transport of joy, "and take the goods to thyself." May we not suppose that the other king, who was present at this scene, had also some *beloved persons* to embrace? Does not the ardour of his blessing imply as much? "Blessed be Abram of the Most High God, possessor of heaven and earth: and blessed be the Most High God, which hath delivered thine enemies into thine hand!" Is this the language of an uninterested spectator, even if we suppose that kings would have condescended to become such spectators? Is it not more suitable to one of those numerous princes whose land had been plundered, who had been bereft of their friends, whose captives were now restored, and who had good reason to bless God for the victory of Abraham? But the territories of the Jebusites had not been in *the way* of the invaders: nor have we any ground to believe that *their* prince was either good or great.

I therefore see no reason to alter my opinion, that the prince who blessed Abraham, on this occasion, was not the head of the Jebusite family; but that it was he who, agreeably to what we learn of Melchizedek, was a *righteous* and *peaceful king*, and a *priest* of the *Most High God*—the same who is styled, *the greatest of all the men of the east*—who, by the testimony of God himself, and the tacit acknowledgment of the great *accuser*, was the most righteous man of his day, *and had not his equal upon earth.*[11]

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These circumstances taken together will, I think, warrant the conjecture, that

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[11 The theological portion of this argument, in proof of the identity of Job and Melchizedek, which refers to St. Paul's mention of the latter, Heb. iv. and v., is here omitted.]

under the names of Melchizedek and Job we have the history of one and the same person.

Let us then infer, that while Job was engaged in the pious and charitable office of praying for his friends,[12] he received information that the Lord was bringing back his captives; and that in consequence of these joyful tidings, he went forth to meet Abraham.

Admitting this deduction, the era of Job's sufferings must be fixed, according to the chronology of the Bible, about 1913 years before Christ, or ten years later than I brought it to, in a former computation. The time of his death will then be 1773 years before Christ, 57 before the death of Isaac, and 282 before Israel went forth out of Egypt.

Of the book of Job, Sir, you will please to observe, that the *historical date*, or period delineated by the writer, is the era of this good man's *affliction*, and not of his *death*. It was at the occurrence of the former of these events, that the speeches which make up the body of the work were delivered. And this era having been fixed, perhaps as accurately as the nature of the subject will allow it to be, we may, in the next place, endeavour to determine the age in which the book was written, and the name of its author.

The remarkable difference between the style and language of this book and those of all the known writers amongst the Israelites, seems to set aside the claim of any one of these writers to its original production.

The sacred testimony which Ezekiel gives, in his fourteenth chapter, v. 20, to the *authenticity* of the history of Job, necessarily implies, and, in fact, contains an attestation of its antiquity. For as this book consists less of the historical detail of facts belonging to an eventful tale which might have been trusted to the memory, than of animated debate, and long argumentative speeches, it is impossible that the matter which it comprises should have been neglected for two or three ages, and then truly and authentically restored. If the history of this conference was authentic in the days of Ezekiel, it must have uniformly existed from the days of Job. The word of the Lord, therefore, which refers the Jews to the history of Job, as to a true history, also imports a testimony that this history had existed in writing of some kind, from the very age in which Job lived. Thirty-nine chapters, consisting wholly of long speeches,

[12] Ch. xlii. v. 8.

could not have been otherwise preserved with accuracy and certainty. The book must therefore have been written by some person who knew, and perfectly recollected, the general substance of what had passed upon the occasion.

That writing was practised as early as the age of Job, I have endeavoured to show in that volume which, through your generous exertion, is now brought to the press;[13] but of this fact the book before us supplies the most satisfactory proof.

The conviction that this book must have existed from the time of Job, or of some of his contemporaries, and the mention of Job's death in the conclusion, together with the peculiar turn of a passage in the thirty-second chapter, which I shall presently consider, have induced some critics to ascribe the work, not to Job himself, but to Elihu, the youngest man in the company.

But it seems highly improbable that Elihu should have written the book after the death of Job, who lived 140 years after his affliction. At the time of Job's death, if still living, Elihu must have been 180 years old, or 170 at the least; and, as the period of man's life was, during those ages, contracted in every generation, his having been born after Job affords no ground for the belief that he was his survivor. The probability is directly to the contrary.

It may also be remarked, that there are certain parts in the book which Job himself must either have written, or delivered orally to the writer: particularly the subject of the prophetic vision in the thirty-eighth and the three succeeding chapters; or the words which *the Lord spake to Job.* I therefore think the greatest part of the book must have been written by this memorable man, as a monument of his unparalleled affliction, and his signal deliverance.

His friends had heard him exclaiming—"O that my words were now written; that they were printed in a book"— perhaps stamped in clay from a dye—"that they were graven with an iron pen and lead in the rock for ever!" And must not those friends have naturally expected, when they saw his health and prosperity restored in so extraordinary a manner, that he would write, not only the sublime article of faith which follows these words, but the whole of the conversation which passed upon this great occasion? Was it not natural for him to take the most effectual means to vindicate his own character from the obloquy to which it had been exposed, and which he had felt with honest and lively resentment? He seems, by the expressions I have quoted,

[13] "Celtic Researches."

to have made a vow to write his own story, if ever it should be in his power. And Job was no changeling. He did not forget the hand which had wounded, and which healed him.

Accordingly we find that his words were written: and they are emphatically styled *the words of Job*. This title, agreeably to the usage of ancient authors, implies *the book which Job wrote*.

In the conclusion of the thirty-first chapter it is said, *the words of Job are ended*; that is, according to the most natural construction, the arguments of his friends, and his own defence, which he had written. For many of the preceding chapters had been spoken by his friends; and therefore could not have become the words of Job otherwise than by his writing them.

The same sentence furnishes an argument that Job was not the writer of the chapters which immediately follow, containing Elihu's declamation. And here we may remark a peculiar delicacy in the conduct of that great man. Elihu had frequently mistaken the words and the meaning of his afflicted friend, and had treated him harshly, in consequence of his own misapprehension. A sacred regard to truth would not permit Job to soften the asperity of certain paragraphs; and an exact repetition of them might have appeared invidious, when compared with the genuine sentiments which he himself had previously delivered. He therefore seems to have desired Elihu to *recapitulate his own speech*. For the next six chapters must certainly have been furnished by *him*, either in writing or by oral repetition.

In the opening of his speech he delivers himself thus, referring to Job's three elder friends—"*When I had waited*, for *they spake not*, but stood still, and answered no more; I SAID, *I will answer also my part*, I also will show my opinion." This peculiar turn of expression, no man of sense, in any age, could have used, but in *writing* or *reciting what he himself had said*, upon a former occasion. And it should seem that Elihu declared himself thus, upon a subject which he had been *required* to write or relate with precision.

The four subsequent chapters, as I have already observed, were most probably written by Job himself, to whom alone the divine expostulation contained in them seems to have been fully communicated, and upon whose mind it made so deep an impression.

Thus I have ventured to offer my opinion that the body of the book is the genuine work of the person whose name it bears; and I also think that it must have been written soon after the event which it recites.

Had any considerable time intervened between that event and the composition of the book, we should have had the general substance of the speeches only, and not the speeches themselves, in their exact order, detailed sentences, and minute touches of colouring. As there was a *determination* to write, that determination appears to have been carried into effect, whilst the impression was in its greatest force, fresh in the memory, and deep in the feeling of Job. And the book was written before the topics of discourse, the arrangement, the figures of speech, or the moving, but evanescent features of real anguish, had been effaced from his mind. Even Elihu, who wrote or recited his own speech, after the character of Job had been cleared, had not forgotten, and therefore could distinctly state, those errors he had committed in quoting the words of his friend. Hence I regard this sacred volume as containing not only the identical matter, but also much of the real language, which had been used upon the occasion.

I am aware it may be objected to this opinion, that the book is written in verse and in language highly figurative.

Had the verse of this book resembled the hexameters or lyric measures of the Greeks and Romans, or even the iambics of the ancient tragedians, it would then be necessary to admit that its construction must have been a work of time and labour. But here we find nothing of a system so artificial. We can trace no more of the laws of metre in the original than in the English translation. Whatever it was that constituted Hebrew verse, it must have been very simple, and almost of spontaneous production. The song of Moses, in the fifteenth chapter of Exodus, the prophecies of Balaam, the song of Deborah, and the prayer of Hannah, are represented as having been delivered impromptu: yet these, in regard to verse and figurative language, stand just upon a level with the book of Job. And these portions of scripture may be adduced as furnishing undeniable proof that such was the general style, not only of written composition, but also of oral delivery upon grave and solemn subjects. If Balaam readily used measured periods and bold figures in addressing the king of Moab, why may not Job and his learned friends have used the same style of oratory? And as to other particulars in this book which have been deemed vestiges of the poet, they are not to be referred to the labours of the imagination, but to prophetic language and prophetic representation.

The sententious figurative style need not, therefore, induce us to suppose much studied improvement, subsequent to the delivery of these speeches, when

such a style of oratory was according to the taste of the time. And the speeches before us had not been delivered extemporaneously. Job's friends had met and consulted together upon his case, previous to their visit. As it was their common maxim, that great affliction implied great guilt, we must suppose that they had come pretty well prepared with the matter of their consolation. This matter they must also have digested and set in order during a subsequent period of seven days' silence, whilst Job also was musing on the subject of his affliction. We also learn from the thirty-second chapter, that after the conference had opened, there had been long intervals of silent recollection, and mature deliberation, between the speeches, and the parts of the speeches, whilst *they searched out words to say*. These speeches were therefore studied and solemn harangues.

It may be observed further, that much of the matter which was advanced by the three elders was not new in itself. It did not originally arise *out of the case before them;* but it consisted, as they repeatedly declare, of the wise maxims and general observations of *former* ages, which they indirectly applied to the circumstances of their afflicted friend. And Job himself openly avows that he had long been acquainted with the *very same maxims*. These parts of the book, therefore, had long before been digested into general aphorisms and moral lessons, expressed in figurative language, and measured periods: consequently we may regard them, in the form in which they have descended to us, as inestimable relicks selected from the treasures of the primitive ages of mankind.

A few circumstances in the conclusion, and I think also in the beginning of the book, must have been added after the death of Job. And here, Sir, you will give me leave to revert to the ancient tradition and general persuasion of the Jews, that Moses presented this book to the Israelites, whilst they sojourned in Egypt. The Hebrew legislator may have deemed a few sentences of introduction and conclusion useful to his brethren, who were not familiarly acquainted with the history. And it is remarkable that the verse which records the death of Job, is in the identical and peculiar style of Moses.

וימת איוב זקן ושבע ימים׃

And Job died old and full of days. The same thing is said of Isaac, Job's contemporary, in the thirty-fifth chapter of Genesis, in the *same words*, and the *very same letters*. And this form of expression does not occur elsewhere. Hence I am disposed to assent in part to the ancient Jewish tradition. And there is

another circumstance which strongly supports the opinion, that this book was preserved by the *Israelites* from the age of Moses. For, subsequent to that age, a book which maintains the unity of God, inculcates the worship which is due to him alone, reprobates the most remote tendency to idolatry, condemning the secret veneration of the sun and moon, would have stood but little chance of preservation by any other people. It would have shared the fate of the volumes which were discovered in Numa's tomb. I cannot therefore believe that it was left in the hands of the heathen, after the time of the Jewish legislator.

But to return to the speeches. We find their spirit peculiarly adapted to that precise point of time, which I have marked as the era of Job's affliction; and many passages in them become inexplicable, the moment we lose sight of that era.

To give an instance of this. The greatest deference and respect are paid to the superior wisdom of age throughout the book. Job's friends claim this attention from him, because they were "*grayheaded* and *very aged men, much older than his father.*" Yet it is remarkable, that these very *aged men* represent themselves as young and uninformed children, comparatively with certain persons who were still in being. "We are but of yesterday, and know nothing, because our days upon earth are a shadow." In the same passage, Job is referred to the living and oral testimony of a generation who greatly surpassed these elders in years and experience. "Enquire now, I pray thee, of the former age, and prepare thyself to the search of their fathers——Shall they not teach thee, and tell thee, and utter words out of their heart?"—or *from the treasures of their memory*. Why was the authority of these men to be preferred to that of the present company? For the plain reason already given. The latter, though grayheaded, and hastening to decay, had lived but a few days, comparatively, and were therefore ignorant; they were *men of yesterday* and *knew nothing:* the others had enjoyed a long period of life, and consequently had treasured up an abundant store of wisdom and experience.

Surely the pointed strength of these expressions must imply, that men far more ancient than these grayheaded and very aged friends of Job might still be consulted in person; that they could *teach* and *tell* and *utter words* of wisdom, which they had learned of their fathers. And it must be observed that the words דור ראשון, which we translate *former age*, do not imply a race that is

now dead and gone; but simply a generation which excels the present company, in time or dignity: the *prior generation* therefore means nothing more than a generation which abundantly excels us in longevity and wisdom. This is evident from the whole scope of the paragraph.

That such a generation was actually living at the time, though their death now began to be expected, and that it was apprehended *wisdom would die with them*, appears from the words which Job ironically applies to his friends, in the twelfth chapter—"No doubt but ye are *the people*, and wisdom SHALL DIE with you." Some *people*, then, upon whose life the preservation of wisdom was thought to depend, had not as yet expired. According to the chronology of the Hebrew Bible, such people were living at this time.

The age we are alluding to was a phenomenon in the history of man. The sons of Noah, who had been born before the flood, and those patriarchs also who were born in the first century after the flood, were still living. These were the men whose death began to be expected, and with whom it was apprehended that wisdom would expire. These constituted the *prior generation*, to whom the grayheaded friends of Job were but as children that knew nothing.

In the generations whose births succeeded that of these patriarchs, the period of human life was so rapidly contracted, that the inhabitants of the earth now seemed to consist of two distinct species of beings.

And at the precise point of time when this memorable conference took place, there was an actual *chasm of five generations*, or nearly three centuries, between the men of the *prior generation*, and the *men of yesterday*, or the general contemporaries of Job. For thus the case stood:

Generations from Noah.

1. Shem	Living.	
2. Arphaxad		
3. Salah		
4. Heber		
5. Peleg	Dead	———
6. Reu	Dead	———
7. Serug	Dead	———
8. Nahor	Dead	———
9. Terah	Dead	———

10. Abraham		
11. Lot, 2d Nahor's children	} Men of yesterday, or Job's contemporaries, Living.	
12. Lot's children, 2d Nahor's grand-children.		
Heber, the youngest man upon record of the *prior generation*, was born, before Christ		2281
Abraham, the oldest upon record of the *men of yesterday*, was born		1996
BLANK in the generations of men		285

In such an age as this, profane poetry had some excuse for dividing the inhabitants of the earth into *Mortals* and *Immortals*. At such a time, nothing could have been more pertinent than the constant appeal of Job's friends to the authority of a *prior generation*, whilst the sons and grandsons, the companions and disciples of Noah, the venerable instructors of the world, were still living: nothing more pathetically impressive than their remarks on the rapid contraction of human life, and the frailty and imbecility of their own generations, when they saw men of the eighth and ninth descent dying around them, of VERY AGE, under the eyes of their remote progenitors.

The precise point of time which we have marked as the era of Job's affliction gives then a peculiar force and propriety to those expressions, which could have been nothing more than vague and common-place declamation, a century earlier, before the chain of generations had been broken, or a century later, when the *prior generation* had now disappeared, and the period of man's life had become more equal and stationary.

Having now, Sir, laid before you the general outlines of my opinion, relative to the person and character of Job, to the age and country in which he lived, and to the authenticity and antiquity of the account by which he is made known to us, I proceed to offer a brief sketch of my ideas respecting the matter contained in this important book.

Upon the subject of Religion and Morality, we have here inculcated,

A belief in the existence of ONE Eternal God, the maker and preserver of all things, infinite in power and wisdom, omnipresent, yet invisible, unsearchable, and exceeding human comprehension, supremely just, and the rewarder of every man according to his works, operating every where, and governing the world by

a general and a particular providence; terribly severe in punishing the obstinate sinner, yet gracious and good to the pure in heart, and merciful to the truly penitent.

Here also is inculcated the duty of obedience to the laws and will of this Supreme Being, which He had made known to man, by express declarations, by secret communication to the mind in silent meditation and in visions, by the natural perception of good and evil, by the dispensations of his providence, and by the visible works of creation.

From this general principle proceed the duties of adoration, expiatory sacrifice and prayer to the Almighty; of humility, submission and resignation to all his various appointments; of integrity, rectitude, and all the benevolent affections, and kind offices, in our dealings with mankind, in their several stations, and according to their respective conditions and exigencies; and of purity, temperance, and self-government.

This book teaches with comparative clearness the doctrines of the immortality of the human soul, the renovation of the body, and a future state of retribution. The same doctrines are also alluded to by other writers of the Old Testament; whence we may infer, that they were principles acknowledged by the patriarchal religion, upon the authority of early revelation. Yet were they not sufficiently *brought to light*, to supersede the necessity of the Gospel; for Job regarded himself as entitled to deliverance and the divine favour only by the atonement of a *Redeemer*, who was to stand at the latter day upon the earth. Objections to this view of the primitive religion have been urged; but they have also been answered: and after all that I have read, I cannot collect from the Old or the New Testament, that God left even the first ages of men without hopes of immortality through the merits of a Redeemer.

Those created bodies which became objects of worship amongst the heathens, are here acknowledged as the works of God, to whom alone adoration is to be paid. Sabæan worship indeed is mentioned, but it is with abhorrence. "If I beheld the sun when it shined, or the moon walking in brightness; and my *heart* hath been *secretly* enticed, or *my mouth hath kissed my hand:* this also were an iniquity to be punished by the judge"— or a just reason for the calamities with which the omniscient judge hath visited me —"for I should have denied the God that is above:" chap. xxxi. Elihu seems also to allude to the excessive respect paid to distinguished personages, which was now beginning to degenerate into idolatry. "Let me not, I pray you, accept any man's person; neither let me

give flattering titles unto man: for I know not to *give* flattering titles; in so doing, my *Maker would soon take me away.*" Chap. xxxii. 21, 22.

The great events in primitive history, the sin of Adam, the wickedness of the old world, its overthrow by the waters of a flood, and the dispersion of the *children of men*, are here recognised.

The reproof pronounced against Job's friends may induce a supposition, that their speeches contain some great and fundamental errors; but this does not appear to be the case, excepting that these wise men argue from ancient and general denunciations of God's wrath against the wicked, and from certain *particular* interpositions of Providence, that the actions of men are rewarded in this world; and thence infer that Job must needs be a wicked man, because he is so severely afflicted. Job's friends are not reproved for having said what was essentially wrong, but for omitting to say what was right, upon that occasion. Their words were true, but out of season.

Of the state of civil life, as delineated in this book, it may be observed that, excepting it be amongst those outcasts of society—those *children of fools* and *base men*, whose fathers Job would have disdained to set with the dogs of his flock, here is nothing of that savage equality of condition and circumstances, which many writers ascribe to the early ages. The only equality here alluded to, is that of all ranks of men in the eyes of God, the universal Creator; and the duty of equal kindness and benevolence to all men, in the *various* stations in which God had placed them. And this variety included every gradation, from the *king*, who sat on his throne, wearing his crown or diadem and his robe, and from the princes, nobles, and judges of the earth, to the hireling who finished his day, and expected the fruit of his labour, and to the servant, or slave, who was delivered only by *Death*.

As to the general pursuit of knowledge, we may observe that the study of nature, throughout all its branches, appears, in an eminent manner, to have engaged the attention of men in the age of Job. "Ask now the beasts, and they shall teach thee; and the fowls of the air, and they shall tell thee: or speak to the earth, and it shall teach thee; and the fishes of the sea shall declare unto thee. Who knoweth not in all these things that THE HAND OF THE LORD HATH WROUGHT THIS?" Chap. xii. Here is natural history directed to its proper end—the discovery and acknowledgment of one, supreme, intelligent, *First Cause*.

And this *end* is continually kept in view, throughout the whole book. Most

of the religious and moral lessons here set before us are closely connected, and intimately incorporated, with pertinent observations upon some of the works of nature.

This is more particularly observable in that great prophetic vision contained in the thirty-eighth and subsequent chapters, when *the eye of Job saw the Lord.* Here the attention of that illustrious sufferer is directed, almost exclusively, to the visible works of God, and especially, to the various characters and appropriate habits of his animated creatures. That his mind might be duly impressed with a sense of the supreme wisdom, power, and universal providence of the Almighty, and the ignorance and imbecility of man; that he might hence learn the important lesson of humility, and perfect submission to the Divine will, the book of nature is laid open before him—that sublime volume, where the Creator hath *impressed* legible characters, *in the hand*, or *attainment*, of every man, that all men *might know his work.* Chap. xxxvii. 7.

Nor was the study of that age confined to terrestrial objects. It appears that men had made considerable progress in the science of astronomy. Hence the incidental mention of the following stars and constellations—Arcturus and his *sons*, Orion, Pleiades, Chambers of the South, the crooked Serpent, and Mazzaroth. Chaps. ix. xxxviii.

With the study of astronomy they also connected the observation of the revolving seasons, as we may collect from the mention that is made of the *sweet influence* of the *Pleiades*, and the *bands* of *Orion*, or the periodical return of *spring* and *frost.* Chap. xxxviii.

It should therefore seem that this age had a pretty accurate knowledge of the true annual period, which, in most ancient languages, is distinguished by a term implying *iteration*, *revolution*, or a *circle;* and can only mean the periodical return of the sun and the seasons.

Noah's year had twelve months of thirty days each, with, probably, additional days, to complete the period; and Job, speaking of his birth-day, says—"Let it not be joined unto the days of the year; let it not come into the number of the months." Between the two clauses of this verse there is a marked antithesis. The former describes something distinct from the general computation of months consisting of thirty days each. And this appears from the appropriate meanings of the verb יחד, which we translate, *be joined.* The word may imply to *be sharp*, to constitute a *point* or *acmè;* also to *rejoice.*

The Epagomenes, or additional days, were *joined* to the general computation

of months; they did constitute the *point* or *acmè* of the year; and they may be said to *rejoice*, as each of them was honoured with a sacred name, and they were all set apart as solemn festivals.[14] Hence we may understand the words of Job to this effect—Let it not be one of those illustrious days which are joined to the year; let it not even hold an undistinguished place amongst the number of the months.

Whatever confusion local ignorance, Sabæan superstition, or popular usage, may have introduced into the calendars of more recent times, the primitive computation of the year does not seem to have been so imperfect as it has been generally represented.

I am aware that there are respectable authorities for limiting the year of some celebrated nations of antiquity to 360 days. But I cannot conceive that science, or even agriculture, could flourish amongst any people who regarded this as the true computation, and who supposed the same month to traverse the whole round of the seasons in the course of a single life, without perceiving the error in their reckoning, and the general extent of that error. A people who were too ignorant to make this discovery must have also been too barbarous to leave us any certain documents of their history.

The ancients either used means to adjust their years to the solar period, or else their astronomical days differed from natural days, and corresponded with the sun's passage through respective degrees of a great circle.

Amongst the Indians, one of the most renowned nations of antiquity, science has remained stationary for a great many ages; and it is highly probable that their books will throw more light upon the computations of the ancient Chaldæans and Egyptians, than we have yet obtained through the medium of Greek and Roman writers.[15]

At the head of human inventions which were familiar to the age of Job, we may place *writing* and *books*. To these there are repeated allusions: chaps. xiii. 26, 27, 28; xvi. 19; xxxi. 35, 36. The following passage mentions the various modes of writing then in use: "Oh that my words were now written! oh that they were printed in a book! That they were graven with an iron pen and lead in the rock for ever!" chap. xix. 23, 24. Here three kinds of writing

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[14] See Gebelin, Hist. du Calend. p. 360. 538.

[15] See a *Dissertation on the Indian Cycle of Sixty Years*, in the Asiat. Res. vol. iii. p. 210.

are distinguished: 1. with a pen or common style; 2. printing in a book; 3. engraving in a rock or tablet of stone with an iron instrument, and perhaps filling the cavities with lead.

I follow the English translation. But to the able antiquary, who could duly analyze the original, and compare it with the usages of primitive times, of which some remains are found in the east of Asia, this passage would furnish a curious subject of discussion. I must content myself with the conjecture, that by *printing in a book* Job means to describe the stamping of a whole inscription in clay, from a dye carved in wood, and then burning the clay into brick. This conjecture arises from the acknowledged antiquity of such a method of recording facts.

It appears from Pliny,[16] that bricks, stamped in this manner, were amongst the first books or records of ancient Babylon, and that they were employed in recording subjects which were to be transmitted to remote posterity. The present age has exhibited specimens of Babylonian bricks thus inscribed. Pliny cites the authority of Epigenes, a very respectable writer, for the fact, that the Babylonians had thus recorded their astronomical observations during a period of 720 years. And Porphyry wrote, that Callisthenes sent to Aristotle a series of astronomical observations, which had been found at Babylon, for 1903 years before that city was taken by Alexander.[17] These authorities are not inconsistent with each other. The inscribed bricks constituted only the *most ancient part* of the series, and after the art of writing had been improved, some more convenient mode of recording observations was substituted in their place. In the age of the exode of the Israelites, which nearly corresponds with 720 years after the above date, it was a known practice to *write in a book* such characters as might be *obliterated* by means of a *liquid*. "The priest shall write these curses in a book, and he shall *blot them out* with the bitter water." Numb. v. 23. To the 1903 years mentioned above, let us add 325 for the intervening space between the Macedonian conquest and the birth of Christ, and it will appear that the series of observations commenced within 20 years of the birth of Peleg, when the regions of the earth were first allotted to the Noachidæ, and at the very time when Nimrod and his adherents were beginning to build their city.

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[16] Lib. vii. c. 56. [17] Apud Simplic. De Cœlo, Comm. 46.

This date is important. The Babylonians were no sooner left alone, to lay the foundation of their kingdom, than they began to register their sidereal observations. The science of astronomy, and the art of writing, were therefore previously known. They were ready for immediate and practical application. And it is worthy of remark, that the Chaldæans of Alexander's age could read those tablets which had been stamped at the era of the city's foundation: otherwise they could not have ascertained their dates, and the particulars which they contained.

The coincidence of the first date with so remarkable an event in scripture chronology furnishes a strong support to the authenticity of the fact recorded by Porphyry; and it also proves that, after we have struck out the imaginary ages of the Gods, in which many ancient nations, as well as the Hindoos of our own days, indulged their reveries, the real chronology of the Chaldæans, founded upon *actual observation and record*, agreed precisely with the Mosaic account.

I hope, Sir, the epistolary form will excuse this digression, into which I have been led by Job's mention of *printing*. And I also trust your learned friends will not insist upon it that the verb חקה, which is here used, may signify to *delineate* or *write*, as well as to *impress* an inscription. However that may be, I cannot help thinking that Job uses the word in the latter sense, chap. xiii. 27. "Thou *settest a print* upon the heels of my feet." What is the purport of this print? It is this: "AND HE, AS A ROTTEN THING, CONSUMETH, AS A GARMENT THAT IS MOTH-EATEN." That is, as I understand the passage, he figuratively describes the visible decay, occasioned by affliction and disease, by representing his heels as engraved stamps or dyes, which left this humiliating sentence impressed in the dust, wherever he moved his steps.

Abraham, Job's contemporary, is said in the twenty-sixth chapter of Genesis, to have kept the *statutes* of God. The word for statutes is חקות, *delineations, carvings;* and I think the metaphor could not have been used, had not written or engraved laws been known in Abraham's time.

Another term which frequently occurs in the book of Job, seems, more decisively, to allude to the practice of stamping inscriptions or legible characters. Thus, chap. xxxiii. 16, "He *sealeth* their instruction;" that is, by the *impression* of a dream or vision. This cannot possibly mean to *seal up*, for the purpose of keeping secret, but to communicate information by the impression of a seal. So again, chap. ix. 7, "and *sealeth up* the stars." So the English ver-

sion; but the sense of the passage seems rather to be—He impresseth the heavens with the distinct figures of the constellations; or, as it follows in the next verse but one, "maketh Arcturus, Orion, and Pleiades, and the Chambers of the South."

To give one instance more,—chap. xxxvii. 7. "He sealeth up the hand of every man; that all men may know his work." This is unintelligible. The meaning certainly is, He setteth a seal or impression in the hand of every man. What doth he thus seal or mark? Undoubtedly those awful phenomena which are described throughout the chapter. The purport of the whole sentence must therefore be this: God impresseth upon the works of nature intelligible characters, which are visible to every man, so that all may perceive the operation of a Divine Agent.

All this evidently alludes to the art of communicating information by the means of impressed characters. The Hebrew word is חתם, Hethm, *signare*, to mark, make an impression, as with a seal or dye; and sometimes, in a secondary sense, to close or seal up, because seals were occasionally used for that purpose. The noun expressed by the same letters signifies an engraved dye, seal, or signet: and it is the word used for Judah's signet, which was, therefore, most probably engraved with legible characters.

But I must leave this subject; and proceed to enumerate a few other particulars which I could wish to see elucidated by some competent and unbiassed scholar, as they would undoubtedly reflect considerable light upon the real state and various attainments of society in the patriarchal ages.

The healing art was already studied: we find allusions to physicians, and to the binding and closing of wounds.

There are also frequent allusions to architecture: and in the thirty-eighth chapter, we have a glimpse of the art of designing—"Who hath *laid the measures thereof;* or who hath *stretched the line* upon it? Whereupon are the foundations thereof fastened; or who hath laid the corner stone thereof?" The meaning of the epithet applied to ships, in the ninth chapter, is somewhat doubtful: if it signifies either *swift* or *swelling*, it may imply that they were driven by sails.

Music appears to have been in great request, and to have been practised upon a variety of instruments, such as the *harp*, the *organ*, the tabret, the timbrel, and the trumpet. What are we to think of the form and the capacity of these primitive instruments?

Gold, silver, brass or copper, and iron, are frequently mentioned: lead occurs in one passage; but I find nothing of tin. Our Cassiterides were not yet known to the inhabitants of Asia.

The familiar mention of the various metals may be insisted upon as a proof that their use was generally understood in the age of Job. And from the passages in which their names occur, we also learn that in this age men had attained considerable dexterity in the management of them, and in their application to appropriate purposes. Molten mirrors (chapter xxxvii. 18.) could not have been rendered useful, without the art of compounding and polishing hard metals. Not only the manufacture of steel was understood, but also the method of tempering it for different purposes, such as massy springs for bows (chap. xx. 24.), and razors for shaving (chap. i. 20.), which must have been brought to a fine edge.

It is also evident, that instruments of steel of a more curious and delicate nature were now manufactured: for sapphires, the precious onyx, coral, pearls, rubies, and the topaz of Ethiopia, were in high esteem (chap. xxviii.) They were not merely admired as rough pebbles, but were set in *fine gold.* Men must therefore have possessed the proper means, and adequate skill to cut, pierce, and polish these hard gems, and exhibit their beauty. It may also be remarked, that this variety of metals and precious stones could not have been known in any one place, without a diligent application to mining and commerce, and a regular communication between distant countries.

The flocks and herds of Job present us with a view of pasturage on a very extensive scale. We have also the following particulars, connected with the art of husbandry: yokes of oxen, plowing, harrowing, carrying home corn with oxen, barns, foddering of oxen, cribs, sowing, reaping, harvest, binding corn into sheaves, shocks of corn, ears of corn cut off, wheat, barley, grinding of corn, mills, mowing of grass, oil, vineyards, winepresses, gardens, planting in raised heaps, hedging, landmarks, and therefore, *appropriation of lands.*

Amongst the provisions for domestic comfort, we have the use of salt, cheese, butter, honey, lamps, candles; weavers, woollen garments, mantles, robes, coats, girdles, swaddling bands, sackcloth, and therefore sacks; balances, pottery, seething pots, caldrons, bridles, double bridles, cords, bags, new bottles, that is, of elastic skin, for wine that is fermenting.

Hunting and fishing were also practised. Amongst the implements for these

occupations, we find nets, gins, traps, snares, hooks, barbed irons, and fish spears.

The art of war was familiar to these times: we have not therefore absolutely mounted up to the *golden age*. Even the patient Job had been a warrior, and victorious: he had dwelt as a king in the army; he had *broken the jaws* of the wicked, and his bow had been renewed in his hand. The military phrase of *breaking the jaws* is, probably, borrowed from the *pastoral* idiom, and describes the manner of smiting beasts of prey. Connected with the art of war we have the following particulars—armies, *glittering* swords and spears, darts, bows of steel, archers, arrows, rattling quivers, slings, habergeons, shields, bucklers, bosses of bucklers, camps, war-horses, riding on horseback, &c. &c.

In this short abstract of notices I have merely copied the English translation. Critical acumen might possibly give a different turn to some of them. But without inquiring into the precise meaning and force of every particular term, it must be perceived that the topics are various, and many of them important. Occurring, as they do, in a book which describes mankind as they were, sixty-seven years before the death of Shem, one of the antediluvian patriarchs, they must be acknowledged to exhibit the early ages in a light somewhat different from that in which they have been generally viewed. They declare unequivocally, that the industry of man had already been called into action, and that his genius had taken an extensive range.

But to what people must we ascribe the original acquisition of that valuable and various knowledge, which was possessed by Job and his friends?

It will, probably, be suggested that they lived almost in a central situation, between the Egyptians, the Phœnicians, and the Babylonians, the great inventors of every thing.

If these celebrated nations had dealt less in fable, and had left us more of simple, historical detail, they would have placed their just claims upon surer ground than they have done; and even their unfounded boasts would have been less exposed to detection, by the hesitation and suspicion of inquiry.

But whatever may be said either for or against these nations, I must observe, upon the present occasion, that neither Job himself, nor either of his friends, acknowledges the smallest obligation to any of them. I have already offered

some hints, relative to their own account of the source of their information. Let us now consider this matter with a closer attention.

The Babylonians, the Egyptians, and the Phœnicians, were industrious nations. They may have already made some important discoveries. But these discoveries must have been regarded, in the age of Job, as recent and novel. The charm of novelty would have strongly recommended them to those persons who despised the simplicity of ancient times, and viewed the world as improving in wisdom from age to age.

But amongst the friends of Job we remark sentiments diametrically opposite to these. Though, as *very aged men*, they arrogated to themselves the claim of superior wisdom, comparatively with Job, yet they were ready to acknowledge the *prior generation* as abundantly wiser. Even this generation, however, was not the *fountain* of wisdom; it was only a *stream* which rolled down to their times the venerable *search of their fathers*. Hence it is evident, that the treasure which these *wise men* possessed, derived an additional value, in their esteem, from its pure and unalloyed antiquity. How absurd must the tone of their speeches have sounded to each other, and to Job himself, if the matter which those speeches contained was not derived from the most recondite times —if it was mixed at all with the doctrine of strangers! "No STRANGER HAD PASSED AMONG THEM!"

Young instructors, and novel systems, would have experienced but a cool reception amongst such men as these. Let us hear their general sentiments.

Elihu, a younger man than the rest of the company, had been present during the whole conference. He had reverently attended to what had been said, on both sides of the question; for we find him quoting passages as far back as the sixth chapter. Yet he does not once speak, nor is his name even mentioned, before the thirty-second chapter. And there he makes a long, and rather embarrassed apology, for presuming to speak at all, *in the presence of his elders*. He waited till Job and his friends had spoken, *because they were older than he*. At last, he takes courage, and says for himself—"I am young, and ye are *very old*; wherefore I was *afraid*, and *durst not shew you my opinion*: I said, *Days should speak*, and *multitude of years should teach wisdom*." Chap. xxxii. 6, 7.

After a few more sentences, he paused again, till their long and general silence gave him permission to proceed, which he does, by a repeated apology for presuming to declare his opinion. With such sentiments of veneration for

age, it cannot be supposed that even this young speaker would dare to outrage the ears of his audience, by broaching any novel doctrine.

And this profound degree of respect did not in one tittle exceed what was actually claimed by these hoary elders. Eliphaz, the first named amongst Job's friends, the first speaker, and therefore, of course, the oldest man in the assembly, thus reminds Job of the deference which was due to his opinion and that of his associates: "With us are both the grayheaded and very aged men; much older than thy father." Chap. xv. 10. And to the validity of this plea Job himself fully subscribes: "With the *ancient* is *wisdom;* and in *length of days, understanding.*" Chap. xii. 12. And again: speaking of the Almighty—"He removeth away the *speech* of the *trusty;* and taketh away the *understanding* of the *aged;*" (ib. v. 20.) that is, he confounds the wisdom of those men who are acknowledged to possess it in the most eminent degree.

From hence, and from many passages of a like tendency, it appears that, in the age of Job, and amongst his friends, it was a principle so firmly established, to seek instruction from men of superior years, that *very old* and *very wise* were almost regarded as synonymous phrases.

The peculiar studies and improvements of the Babylonians, Egyptians, and Phœnicians, whatever they may have been, were as yet but recent; and for that very reason, even if they were unobjectionable in other respects, they would have been held in disdain by the friends of Job. For the instruction which *these ancients* delivered did not derive the whole of its authority from the lips of the aged teachers: it owed much of its weight to its own absolute antiquity.

Each of Job's friends makes a formal appeal to the wisdom of preceding generations, and to the express authority of those generations for what was said upon this occasion. Such appeals made in the presence of each other, and of Job, must surely imply a mutual acknowledgment, that they did actually deliver the genuine lessons of the ages to which they referred. And Job himself is challenged to detect their error, if they quoted their authors inaccurately.

"Knowest thou not this OF OLD, since MAN (אדם, Adam) WAS PLACED UPON EARTH?" says Zophar. Does not this necessarily imply something of which Job may have been previously informed; which he is supposed actually to have known; and which he must readily acknowledge to have been OF OLD? And what are we to understand by the latter part of the verse, unless it means

a reference to some well known authority of the primitive age of man—perhaps a prophecy of Enoch, who lived in the days of Adam?

Had we been present upon this occasion, would not such a preface have called forth our attention? What should we now have expected to hear from this venerable old man, but some very ancient matter—some genuine tradition of the earliest ages? Accordingly we find him describing the woeful state and portion of the wicked, in a most sublime speech, which had probably descended entire from the antediluvian world, as it evidently concludes with a prophetic denunciation of the deluge. "When he"—the wicked—"is about to fill his belly, God shall cast the fury of his wrath upon him, and shall RAIN IT UPON HIM, WHILE HE IS EATING ——— The *heaven shall reveal* his iniquity, and the *earth shall rise up* against him. The increase of his house shall depart —— They shall FLOW AWAY, *in the day of his wrath.*" Chap. xx. 23, 27, 28. Is not this the very kind of matter which we must have been prepared to expect?

In order to be convinced that the words which I have cited contain a prophecy of the deluge, let us compare them with other texts which exclusively refer to that awful event. "God shall *rain* his fury upon him, *while he is eating* —— They shall *flow away*, in the day of his wrath." Thus, in the twenty-fourth chapter of St. Matthew, our Saviour says, with apparent reference to these very words, "They were eating and drinking —— until the day that Noe entered into the ark, and knew not, until *the flood came*, and took them all away." Again: "The *heaven* shall *reveal* his iniquity; and the *earth shall rise up* against him." How did God execute his wrath upon the wicked? By *opening the windows of heaven*, and *breaking up* the fountains of the great deep: Gen. vii. Nor is it improbable that this is a genuine prophecy of Enoch, that righteous man whom the Lord exempted from the lot of mortality; since we learn from St. Jude, that one part of his subject denounced the judgments of God upon a wicked world. Jude, v. 15.

That many of the sentiments, and even whole paragraphs, in the speeches of Job's friends, are to be ascribed to the age of Noah, is declared as strongly as it can be expressed by language. To this age, therefore, we must refer the various instruction which those paragraphs contain. Thus Eliphaz says, in the fifteenth chapter—"I will shew thee, HEAR ME! and that which I have seen, or learned, will I declare—which WISE MEN have TOLD, from their FATHERS, (and have not *hid* it;) unto whom alone the earth was given: and no stranger passed among them." (v. 17—19.)

Here let us consider, in the first place, who were those persons to whom alone the earth was given. Doubtless they must have been Noah and his three sons. On the day previous to the deluge, the earth had myriads of inhabitants, all of whom might prefer their claim to a share. But God disinherited every soul of them, excepting this one family, whom he saved in the ark, and to whom he expressly says—" Replenish the earth—I have given you all things." Gen. ix.

And who were those *wise men*, to whose authority Eliphaz thus solemnly appeals? When we consider his own age and character, it must be clearly evident, that in order to merit, *from him*, the reputation of preeminence in wisdom, it was essentially requisite that they should also be preeminent in years. He does not, however, appeal immediately to Noah and his sons: for those persons to *whom alone the earth was given*, are styled the *fathers* of these wise men. Nor can he mean by *fathers*, *remote progenitors:* for, in that sense, the great patriarchs were his own fathers, and those of the persons present with him. If therefore we allow him to speak sense, we must suppose that he uses the term *fathers* in a more limited and proper acceptation, as implying *immediate ancestors*. Can we, then, imagine that, by *wise men*, he means any other than Arphaxad, Salah, Heber, or their parallels in descent; who were still living, and might, at that very time, be consulted in person? If I have rightly fixed the era of Job's affliction, Eliphaz must have lived in the days of Noah: and the sons of Noah—Shem, at least—survived this conference many years. Yet there may be good reasons why this grave elder does not appeal immediately to their authority. His mind had been sharpened by opposition, and he speaks with a scrupulous attention to accuracy. Noah and his sons were but four persons. We know not in what part of the earth they may have resided. Eliphaz may not have had an opportunity of conversing with them. But their sons, their grandsons, and great grandsons, were comparatively numerous, and were settled in different parts of the country. Some of them must have been accessible to a man of ardent inquiry, who had now been their contemporary for nearly two centuries. The Temanite does not therefore say that he had been told such things by those patriarchs, *to whom alone the earth was given*, but by *their sons*, who had faithfully delivered the same lessons from *their venerable fathers*.

After this solemn introduction, to what respect can we suppose that the speech of Eliphaz would be entitled, in the presence of Job, and of his other friends, if it was not *known*, or *believed*, that he had actually derived instruc-

tion from those *wise men*, to whom he refers, and that he was then delivering the genuine traditions of *Noah*, and of his *immediate family?* The instruction which he had delivered from his own experience and reflection had been slighted: but now he says—"HEAR ME! I speak from authority which you are bound to respect."

Two more clauses of this introduction are deserving of notice. The *wise men* had not HID the instructions of their fathers; they were ready to communicate wisdom, with plainness and simplicity. This looks like an oblique censure of the *hidden mysteries* of the hierophant—of those dark allegories, which, at that time, were becoming prevalent amongst the surrounding nations.

But such mummery had no foundation in antiquity: for, amongst those to whom *alone* the *earth was given*, "no stranger had passed"— none of those novel teachers, who boasted of their *hidden mysteries*. The word זר, a *stranger*, comes from זרה, to *scatter*, or *disperse*. By the selection of this term, Eliphaz seems to allude to those who had been *scattered abroad*, for their rebellion and idolatry, and to stigmatize them as the teachers of *hidden* and superstitious doctrines.

And what does this old man produce, from the authentic tradition of the great patriarchs? He describes the wretched state of the wicked, and the judgments that await them, in language full of allusion to the study of nature, and to the arts and acquired knowledge of society. The divine and human information of Job and his friends were therefore derived from the same source—they had both flowed together, in one stream, from the family of Noah.

This will appear still more evident when we shall have reconsidered the introduction of Bildad's speech, in the eighth chapter. "For inquire, I pray thee, of the former age"—the prior generation—"and prepare thyself to the search of their fathers (for *we* are but of yesterday and know nothing, because *our* days upon earth are but a shadow): shall *they* not *teach* thee, and *tell* thee, and *utter words out of their heart!*" (v. 8—10.)

Were we to lose sight of the precise era of Job's affliction, or to give up the chronology of the Hebrew Bible, I know not what sense it would be possible to make of this passage. Here are very old and grave men describing themselves as young and inexperienced children; as having been born but yesterday, and consequently as knowing nothing at all, in comparison with a prior generation. At the same time, they regarded wisdom as the fruit of years; and therefore this prior generation must have abundantly surpassed them in the duration of

their lives. Had it been otherwise, the prior generation must have been young and ignorant children, like themselves. These elders must, then, refer to certain persons who had been born when human life enjoyed a longer range than it did in the existing generation. And this was the case with the antediluvian patriarchs, and with the immediate descendants of Noah. The former are quite out of the question. Bildad therefore describes the early descendants of Noah as a prior generation, who had lived long enough to acquire a considerable stock of original knowledge, or experience of their own, and had also added to this stock the valuable *search of their fathers*. So far we can proceed uninterruptedly, and without adverting to the precise age of Job. But this prior generation were *still* qualified to *teach* and *tell* what they knew, and to *utter words from their heart*, or memory. They were therefore still living: and accordingly Job is advised to consult them for confirmation of the maxims which were now delivered to him. All this is perfectly intelligible and highly pertinent, according to the Hebrew chronology, and admitting the date which we have assigned to this conference. Job is advised to consult the immediate descendants of Noah, who were still living, and whose great experience, collected during an extensive period of life, joined with the sublime lessons which they had acquired from their fathers, entitled their opinion to the most sacred respect. The illustrious sufferer does not go to these venerable sages for confirmation of Bildad's words: he is fully aware of the accuracy of his friend's recital, and therefore begins his reply with the open acknowledgment—"*I know it is so, of a truth.*"

The fidelity of the venerable Shuhite's recital being thus admitted, we have a fair opportunity presented to us, in the paragraph here quoted from ancient tradition, to remark the *form* in which the great patriarchs delivered their lessons of wisdom. "Can the *rush* grow up without mire? Can the *flag* grow without water? Whilst it is yet in its *greenness*, and not *cut down*, it *withereth before any other herb*.—So are the *paths* of *all that forget God;* and the hypocrite's *hope shall perish:* whose hope shall be *cut off*, and whose *trust* shall be a *spider's web*." Chap. viii. 11—14.

This is a religious and moral lesson illustrated by the study and observation of nature. These wise men quote nature as we quote the Bible. In their age it was viewed as the book of God, and therefore studied, for the discovery of his laws.

Such, then, was the style of the patriarchal school: and from this school it

was, not from the surrounding idolatrous nations, that Job and his friends had avowedly derived their store of information.

I might add, Sir, to the number of such remarks as I have already made; but I fear I have already trespassed too long upon your patience. What I have said will, perhaps, be accepted as a sufficient apology for my general reference to the book of Job, as to a very early picture of human society, and as exhibiting in a faithful tablet the various attainments of the primitive ages. I pretend not to absolute proof, on a subject which men of learning and abilities far superior to mine, have deemed incapable of demonstration. Offering my thoughts only as conjectures, I have aimed to show that they are supported by a certain degree of probability. Some of the particulars may appear to you more, and some less probable; but I cannot think they will be swept away in the mass, excepting by those persons who wish to overthrow the authority of the Sacred Scriptures, that they may make room for their own speculations. But you, Sir, are not of that number.

For my own part I hesitate not to declare, that I regard the book of Job as of the utmost importance to the divine, as well as to the historian who treats of ancient times: and I believe its preservation to have been the act of an especial Providence.

Unbelievers have raised objections against the authority of Moses, who, according to them, may have had private inducements to impose upon the nation which was under his conduct. Though the sacred Lawgiver of Israel stands high above the reach of all his assailants, it may be deemed useful to have some collateral evidence to produce, for the disproval of the adversary and the confirmation of unsteady minds. Here, then, is an ancient book, independent of the Mosaic legation, which exhibits the patriarchal religion in all its purity and simplicity, and recognises the same great events, in primitive history, which the pen of Moses records.

No political inducement to imposition can here be supposed—no opportunity of fraud. The book does not consist of the soliloquy or speculation of one man. Five persons of the most dignified and respectable characters are convened, from different parts of the country, and upon a great occasion. A serious debate ensues, in which the judgment, the character, the feeling, and the veracity of the parties are involved: consequently this debate is conducted with warmth. Job's great calamity gave occasion to some uncharitable and

injurious suspicions; and the general, but severe, denunciations of God's judgments upon sinners are unseasonably applied to his case. He defends his integrity with indignant spirit. Yet no fundamental principle is brought forward, no authority quoted, but what is immediately admitted by the contending parties.—They were the acknowledged principles and traditions of the *fathers* of *mankind, to whom* ALONE *the earth was given.*

These great teachers of the postdiluvian world were soon to disappear. But Job's history was remarkable, and his character highly venerated. Whatever related to him would be told with delight, heard with avidity, and long remembered. How kind, how wise, was the dispensation of Providence, which led to this debate, and gave occasion to immortalize the pure maxims of the patriarchs, and transmit them to posterity in a volume upon so favourite and interesting a subject!

This important view of the book of Job will, I trust, justify my adding something more, in defence of the unqualified degree of credit which I ascribe to it.

Its character *as a poem*, which is much insisted on by many able critics, has, in some measure, detracted from general confidence. But our ideas of sacred and profane poetry ought to be kept wholly distinct. In no subject that was either suggested by the Divine Spirit, or admitted into the canon of scripture, upon the authority of that Spirit, can I believe that poetry had the license to violate historical truth; to add, suppress, or vary the incidents for the sake of description; to embellish with the wild flowers of imagination, or to misrepresent characters and principles. The matter given by inspiration is uniform and consistent throughout. It is the mere colouring of style, that any sacred writer can call his own. And whenever the style of this book soars above the usual diction of primitive times, and of the earliest writings, it is not so properly the *poetical* as it is the *prophetic* style. Like the other prophetic books, it has a simple dignity and grandeur, which the works of imagination have never reached. Even those extraordinary incidents which some critics have adduced, to invalidate the historical character of this book, are not poetical but prophetic representation.

Thus the introduction of Satan in the first two chapters, as conversing with the Almighty, and the permission given him of exercising his envy and malice, to a certain extent, are incidents exactly analogous to that recorded in the book of Kings, where a lying spirit appears in heaven, and obtains

power to impose on the prophets of Ahab. The communication of disembodied spirits is not made by the means of human language; but it is thus the supreme Mind condescends to bring spiritual things within our comprehension, by comparing them with what we can clearly comprehend. We read in the 4th chapter of St. Luke's Gospel, that our Saviour was led into the wilderness, to be tempted forty days, of the Devil, with whom he holds conversation; and again, in the twenty-second chapter, that Satan *desired* to have the Apostles, that he might sift them as wheat—just as he had sifted Job of old—but that Christ prayed for Peter, that his faith might not fail.

These incidents occur in books which are undoubtedly *historical* and *authentic:* and if they do not exactly correspond with our ideas of invisible agents, of which we know so little, it would be more modest to distrust our own preconceived notions, than to deny the truth of revelation.

It evidently appears that Job, during the period of temptation, had not been informed of the agent or the design of his calamities: but when his sufferings were accomplished, the Lord condescended to disclose the mysterious scene. This he did in the precise form of prophetic representation, which explains spiritual things under the type of natural events; and the divine communication is properly placed, as an introduction to the eventful history.

So, again, the Lord's expostulation in the thirty-eighth and succeeding chapters, which some writers have represented as a mere act of a tragedy, is to be viewed as a grand prophetic vision, calculated to humble the pride, and at the same time to confirm the faith of Job, by showing that all things were under the immediate eye of an infallible Providence — by displaying the power and wisdom of God, in forming and directing the works of nature.

Upon these works it was usual to impress some extraordinary appearance, at those times when the Deity revealed himself to his servants, that the prophet might be fully convinced of a divine agency; and, on the present occasion, it would seem expedient that the friends of Job, as well as Job himself, should feel an entire conviction of the reality of the heavenly decision.

And accordingly, though it has not been remarked by commentators in general, this vision seems to have been preceded by the most awful and grand phenomena; even the same which generally attended the visible interposition of the Almighty, and which the scripture never mentions together but upon such sublime occasions. Elihu begins to speak in the thirty-second chapter. His

topics are remarkably various and desultory, till he comes to the twenty-fourth verse of the thirty-sixth chapter. Here his attention is suddenly arrested by some unusual appearance: "Remember that thou magnify his works, *which men behold! Every man may see it! Men may behold it afar off!*" From this place he changes his tone, and dwells upon the same subject for thirty-four verses together. At first, he summons all his fortitude to his assistance, and endeavours to avail himself of the present phenomenon, as an argument for the conviction of Job. A few general reflections are interspersed; but the speaker is subdued by the increasing awfulness, and sudden changes of the scene. His description is confused. He trembles, falters, and shrinks into silence.

"Can any understand the *spreading of the clouds*——the *noise of his tabernacle!* Behold! He *spreadeth his light upon it*, and covereth the bottom of the sea. With clouds he *covereth the light*, and commandeth it—by—that cometh betwixt! The noise thereof sheweth concerning it—the cattle also concerning that which ascends—At this also my heart trembleth—it is moved out of its place! Hear attentively! The *noise* of his *voice!* The *sound* goeth out of his *mouth!* He *directeth it* under the whole *heaven;* and his light unto the ends of the earth! After it, a *voice roareth*—he thundereth with the voice of his excellency!—God thundereth marvellously with his voice! Great things doeth he, which we cannot comprehend!——He causeth it to come—whether for correction, or for his land, or for mercy. *Hearken to this*, O Job! stand still! and consider the wondrous works of God!—*Teach us what* we shall say unto him! We cannot order our speech, by reason of the darkness. Shall it be told him *that I speak?* If a *man* speak, surely he shall be swallowed up! And *now*, men see not the *bright light, which is in the clouds*—but—the wind passeth and cleareth them. *A golden brightness* cometh out of the north!—*With God is terrible majesty!* THE ALMIGHTY! We cannot find him out!—Excellent in power, and in judgment, and in plenty of justice! He will not afflict! Men do therefore fear him. He regardeth not any that are wise of heart!" Chap. xxxvi. 29. to xxxvii. 24.

Elihu was silent.—"*Then the Lord answered Job out of the whirlwind.*" Chap. xxxviii. 1.

Taking these circumstances together—considering the speech, and what immediately followed the speech, I cannot think that Elihu is here descanting upon the usual appearances of nature, and, especially absent appearances. His

confused repetitions, his sudden starts, his extraordinary perturbation, surely indicate that he was describing the awful phenomena which announced a present God.[18]

Another objection has been made to the truth of this history, arising from the improbability that the Lord should have permitted Satan to afflict a righteous man, *without cause*. But this subject has been misunderstood. Satan had *no justifiable cause* of complaint against Job. But I cannot believe that the affliction of this upright man was permitted merely to gratify the unprovoked malice of the envious spirit. There might be sufficient cause on the part of God, though there was none on the part of the adversary. This permission may have been given for the purpose of removing the greatest imperfections which appear in the character of Job, self-confidence, and want of humility; and also, of showing to other believers, that a righteous man, trusting in the Divine assistance, could triumph over every degree of temptation.

I also think that Job was intended, and was viewed, as a type of HIM who, by his humiliation and suffering, "destroyed the works of the Devil." Nor is it to be said, that Providence dealt hardly with Job; his patient support of affliction for the space, probably, of forty days, was abundantly recompensed.

The bitterness of this good man's complaint, and the boldness of some of his expostulations, have given offence to many: but the prophet Jeremiah has copied, particularly in his twentieth chapter, several of those passages which have the most exceptionable appearance. And if they contain any thing justly reprehensible, when the circumstances of the case are duly weighed, they afford a lesson to us that God is more merciful than man—that he is not extreme to mark what is done amiss; for we do not find that the prophet was reproved; and the Lord himself testifies of Job, that he had spoken *of him* the thing that was right.

He had said many things which appeared highly offensive to his friends, and may appear so to us, if we regard them as applying exclusively to his own private circumstances. But I think they also refer to HIM who was *made a curse for our sake*, and whom it pleased the Lord to afflict, though he had done no evil.

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[18] Compare the latter part of Elihu's speech with Exod. xix. 16, 18. Deut. iv. 11. Judges v. 5. 2 Sam. xxii. 8, &c. 1 Kings xix. 11, &c. Psal. lviii. 8. xcvii. Ezek. i. 4, 26, &c. Mic. i. 3. Habak. iii. 3, &c.

To give one instance of this: Job's complaint, in the twenty-seventh chapter, *That God had taken away his judgment*, was considered by Elihu as impious in the extreme. But it is remarkable, that a passage in the prophet Isaiah is thus rendered in the eighth chapter of the Acts: "*In his humiliation, his judgment was taken away;*" and Philip applies the words immediately to Christ. Nor is this the only passage in which the evangelical prophet, in speaking of the humiliation, affliction, and final triumph of the Messiah, may be thought to have alluded to the history of Job.[19]

The preceding remarks, which I owe more to reflection than to extensive reading, are with great deference submitted to your judgment, as an apology for the use I make of this important book, and as a proof that I do not offer my thoughts to the public till I have previously revolved them in my own mind. Hoping you will ascribe the freedom which I have now taken to my reliance upon your candour, rather than to an ill-placed confidence in my own opinion, I remain,

Dear Sir,

Your much obliged, and humble servant,

EDWARD DAVIES.

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[19] See Isaiah, chap. liii. 3, 4, 10, 12—lxiii. 1, &c.

XXIV.—*Letter from* Mr. HAMILTON *to the Secretary, on the Remains of a Temple in Damascus.*

Read March 8th, 1838.

DEAR SIR,—A few days ago, in looking over a book of Travels in the East lately published by Mr. Addison, under the title of "Palmyra and Damascus," I was anxious to see what account the author gave of a very remarkable monument of antiquity preserved in the latter of these towns, but of which I had never seen any description, though I knew of its existence, when I had the good fortune to pay a visit to Damascus in company with our learned Vice-President, Colonel Leake, and Lieut.-Colonel Squire, an officer of the Royal Engineers, who fell a victim to his zeal and exertions in the Peninsula, and particularly at the siege of Badajos, in the year 1811. I was not surprised, though I regretted to find, that Mr. Addison makes no mention whatever of this monument: I must therefore conclude, as he was at Damascus a considerable time, and had the advantage of being intimately acquainted with Mr. Farren, our resident Consul there, that the building in question is still as entirely unknown as an object of curiosity to travellers visiting Damascus, as it was when we first discovered it in the year 1802: and I trust the Society will pardon my availing myself of this opportunity of inviting attention to it, in order that, the fact of its existence being brought to light, future travellers may be induced to discover it again, and to study its details under circumstances more favourable to inquiries of this nature, than those which existed at the period of our visit. The following is a transcript of my own pencil notes, which refer to the present subject:

"Look into the court of the great mosque—on one side of which are gra-
"nite pillars—on the other square plastered pilasters—also the old church,
"which has two rows of granite columns, and is very handsome—discover

" the façade of a Greek or Roman temple, of the Corinthian order, in the " style of the temples of Balbek—six columns are standing, and one half of " the entablature above them. The ornaments are the usual Ionic string- " courses or ribbands, the mæander, or labyrinth—egg and tongue—rose " and ivy leaves. The statues or pediment is without reliefs, and the " cornice very rich and with a strong projection. The whole of the build- " ing cannot be seen, part of it being hid behind a Turkish house: we had " great difficulty in gaining admittance through the house to see any part of " it, and we were very soon forced to retire. This very interesting monu- " ment may perhaps be the Temple of Serapis: we cannot learn that it has " ever been seen or described before, though by some it is said to have " been the entrance into the old church; but this cannot be, as it is not in " the line, and also looks the contrary way."

I greatly regret to find that my notice of this monument was so scanty; but when we were at Damascus, six-and-thirty years ago, it was not prudent for Europeans, dressed as we were in the Frank dress, to be seen examining too closely any part of the city. The Society will regret also still more to hear that the notes made by Colonel Leake on the spot were lost the year after in the wreck of the brig Mentor off the Island of Cerigo, on board of which were a considerable portion of the Marbles removed by Lord Elgin from the Acropolis of Athens: all of which Marbles were however afterwards recovered by means of divers from the islands of Symi and Kalymno, in the Archipelago. One of my note books, from which the above extract was taken, was among the few other articles saved from the wreck, after having been some months at the bottom of the sea. But in the second volume of " Memoirs Relating to Turkey," edited by the Rev. Robert Walpole in 1820, there is an account of the whole of our journey from Tripoli to Scanderoon, from the papers of our deceased friend and companion, the late Lieut.-Colonel Squire, compiled probably from his letters during the excursion; for his notes and papers were also lost in the wreck above mentioned: and this account contains the following notice of our Damascus temple:

" Near the principal mosque we observed the remains of some Greek " architecture, which, after great difficulty, because it was in the midst of " houses and harems, we succeeded in examining. This remnant appears to " be part of a pediment over a gateway formed by a circular arch; it is sup- " ported by four columns, each four feet in diameter: as it was intermixed

" with the roofs of houses, we did not see above four or five feet from the " capital of the columns. Near it are the remains of an architrave almost " entirely defaced, supported by pillars of the same diameter as the first; it " is about fifteen feet long: the ornaments are Corinthian; and probably " the ruin formed part of a temple built in the latter age of the empire."

I shall only add, that I trust this notice, if it should meet the eyes of any active and intelligent traveller who may visit Damascus, will excite his curiosity, and stimulate him to procure some better and more accurate information respecting the style, state of preservation, and dimensions of a building which is, I believe, the only known monument of Damascus during the period of the early emperors of Rome: of a city which Strabo designates as *σχεδόν τι ἐπιφανεστάτη τῶν ταύτῃ κατὰ τὰ Περσικά*, and of which the Emperor Julian says that it was *τῆς ἑῴας ἁπάσης ὀφθαλμός*.

Your obedient servant,

W. R. HAMILTON.

XXV.—*Letter from* Mr. HAMILTON *to the Secretary, on the Ancient Name of Egypt.*

Read June, 1838.

DEAR SIR,—My attention has recently been recalled to the two passages, one in the second Book of Herodotus, and the other in the fourteenth Chapter of the Meteorologica of Aristotle, which we were discussing the other day, in reference to the supposed eastern denominations of the country now called Egypt: and although it is the opinion of some scholars and travellers that the statement contained in one of these authors is directly contradictory of that in the other, I beg to trespass upon you for a few minutes with an argument, which I think goes far to demonstrate that the two passages are in strict accordance with one another. I see in Herodotus, *τὸ δ' ὦν πάλαι αἱ Θήβαι Αἴγυπτος ἐκαλέετο*—which is generally translated, "In very ancient times Thebes, or the Thebaid, was called Egypt."—Aristotle says, *καὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἡ Αἴγυπτος Θήβαι καλούμεναι*—which I am told we must read, "Egypt in former times was called Thebes." But I am inclined to think we shall, on further examination, find reason to give to the two passages one and the same meaning, namely, *that Thebes was in remote times called Egypt.* This is in harmony with the context both of the historian and the philosopher. The former is answering the arguments of certain Ionian Greeks, who pretended that the names of Egypt and the Egyptians were only applicable to the Delta at the embouchure of the Nile, its sea-coast, and its inhabitants; and if that was the case, what becomes of the pretensions in the mouths of others, that the Egyptians were the oldest of nations?—and he adds his conviction, that this race is as old as any other upon the face of the earth, and that as the country gradually extended itself northwards by the accretions caused by the Nile, a part of the inhabitants descended towards lower Egypt, a part remaining in the upper districts; and accordingly he gives us the passage in question,

namely, that in former times Thebes was called Egypt, that is, *that what is now the Thebaid, was formerly the whole of Egypt.*

Aristotle is adopting the same line of argument, in support of his position respecting the gradual extension of cultivated and inhabited land, along with the increase of alluvial soil, deposited by rivers; and adds, in illustration of this opinion, *καὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἡ Αἴγυπτος Θήβαι καλούμεναι*: which I translate—"in former times Egypt was that district, which is now called Thebes;" which comes to exactly the same thing as the words used by Herodotus. Indeed, one can hardly entertain a doubt, but that the philosopher had the words and argument of the historian in his mind's eye, when he treated the subject. The previous subject matter of the two is nearly identical, the aptness of the illustration equally evident, and the words are every one of them nearly synonymous.

Your obedient servant,

W. R. HAMILTON.

XXVI.—*On the Astronomical Ceiling of the Memnonium at Thebes.*

By the Rev. G. TOMLINSON.

Read February, 1839.

THE magnificent palace-temple at Thebes, called the Memnonium, or more properly the Ramesseum, was erected by the Egyptian conqueror, Rameses the Great, the Sesostris of the Greek authors. This is proved by the dedicatory inscription, and by the occurrence of his name and titles upon various parts of the building. But the date of its erection, and the exact period at which this monarch flourished, have not yet been satisfactorily determined.

Upon the ceiling of one of the halls of this vast edifice is sculptured the subject represented in plate A, which is taken from the "Excerpta Hieroglyphica" of Mr. Burton, Plates LV. and LVI.

As the monument is here placed before the eye of the reader, it will only be necessary to say, that it consists of three broad belts or zones, of equal width and length, full of figures of various kinds, over the uppermost of which are inscribed the names of the Egyptian months in the ordinary hieroglyphical characters; and the whole is surrounded by a border containing a hieroglyphical inscription. This border is altogether omitted in the plate of M. Biot, attached to his able and interesting mémoire "Sur l'année vague des Egyptiens;" but it is of so much importance with regard to the developement of the subject, that it will hereafter require particular attention.

M. Biot supposes that this monument was intended to commemorate the birth of Horus and the festival of the Vernal Equinox. He considers that the period referred to is that in which there was a coincidence between the vague year and the year of the seasons, according to the notation in the Calendar (which coincidence he calculates to have happened B.C. 3285); and that the actual erection of the monument was about the year 1487 B.C.

It is not my intention to enter into an examination of all that M. Biot has said upon this subject, or to dispute the accuracy of his astronomical calculations, many of which are very valuable. But if the observations which I have now the honor to offer to the Society should be founded in truth, the particular theory which he has laid down with regard to this monument will be found altogether inapplicable and untenable.

If this were a question purely astronomical, I should not venture to say a word upon the subject. But I entirely agree with the observation of Champollion, that in order to explain this monument, relating as it does to the religion of the Egyptians, it will not suffice us to possess a profound knowledge of modern astronomy, but we must also understand exactly what were the conceptions of the Egyptians upon this subject. We must look at their theory of the heavens, and consider it with all its imperfections and errors.[1]

Mr. Wilkinson's account of this astronomical subject is as follows :— "On the upper side of it are the twelve Egyptian months, and at the end of Mesori allusion is made to the five days of the Epact and the rising of the dog-star, under the figure of Isis-Sothis." In a note, he adds that this gives the era of the king's reign ; because it "fixes the heliacal rising of Sothis or Sirius to the commencement of the month Thoth, which must have happened in the year 1322 B.C."

On this passage I will only observe at present, that Mr. Wilkinson is here a little wanting in his usual accuracy ; for I can find no such allusion to the five days of the Epact at the end of Mesori, either in his own plate or in those of Mr. Burton or M. Biot. And I would remark that the heliacal rising of Sothis on the first of Thoth would by no means fix the date of the year, unless it could be shown that the year intended by this representation was the year of 365 days. For M. Biot has proved that with reference to the year of 360 days, there is a short canicular period, in which Sothis becomes *sensibly* heliacal at intervals of 69 and 70 years alternately, and rigorously heliacal at the end of 480 solar years, or of 487 years of 360 days. The subject of

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[1] M. Champollion le jeune, dans une lettre au rédacteur de la Revue Encyclopédique, remarque judicieusement, que pour expliquer ce monument religieux des Egyptiens il ne suffit pas de posséder à fond la savante théorie de l'astronomie moderne ; mais qu'il faut encore une connaissance exacte de cette science telle que les Egyptiens l'avaient conçue, dans toute sa simplicité, et même avec toutes ses erreurs.—Dumersan, Notice sur le Zodiaque de Dendera, p. 40.

the representation might therefore in that case have taken place at some one of those periods, but we should have been left in a state of uncertainty as to which of them was intended. I hope, however, in the following observations to determine these points at least with greater certainty and accuracy.

It is admitted on all hands that the subject represented upon this ceiling is of an astronomical or astrological character. It is also known that the Egyptians represented the sun and the stars as appearing upon the horizon in barks. There can therefore be no difficulty in admitting that Isis-Sothis, or Isis-Thoth, (the goddess with the two long feathers upon her head, standing upright in her bark, in the uppermost row in Plate A,) is here represented as rising heliacally at some particular period of the year.

But before we can know what that period is, we must learn what is the meaning of some of the other signs by which she is accompanied, in order that we may understand the position of other constellations, and from them determine the general position of the heavens and the season of the year. This, however, has hitherto been a subject of considerable difficulty, and there is very little certainty in the matter. The figure on the left hand of Isis-Sothis is generally admitted to be the constellation Orion. But of the remaining figures in this upper row, nothing, I believe, has yet been determined. In fact, we have hitherto been almost wholly ignorant of the names and forms by which the constellations were designated by the ancient Egyptians. This is a subject therefore which requires a little previous consideration.

The little which we know with regard to the origin of the present forms of the constellations is derived from the great work of Ptolemy. This astronomer, writing in Egypt, says, in the seventh book of the Almagest, "we do not employ the same figures of the constellations which those before us did (probably meaning Hipparchus and his followers), as neither did they of those before them; but we frequently make use of others that more truly represent the forms for which they are drawn."[2]

This shows clearly enough that the change from the Egyptian to the Greek forms was made by the Alexandrian astronomers, and it implies that the original Egyptian forms were not all entirely changed, but were modified in

[2] Flamsteed, Historia Cœlestis, vol. iii. p. 160.

such a manner as to represent more truly the objects for which they were intended.

We may therefore reasonably expect to borrow some light upon this subject from the Græco-Egyptian monuments which relate to astronomical or astrological subjects.

There are, in several of the Museums of Europe, mummy cases containing the Zodiac of the Græco-Roman times. One has been published by M. Reuvens in his letter to Letronne; and two others belonging to the same family, which was that of Soter, an Archon of Thebes under Trajan, are in the British Museum. In all these cases the signs of the Zodiac are arranged in two equal divisions, of six signs each. The goddess Netpé, or Nûnpe, the goddess of the abyss of heaven, is represented as having one of these divisions on her right side and the other on her left, in the following manner:

Cancer	Leo
Gemini	Virgo
Taurus	Libra
Aries	Scorpio
Pisces	Sagittarius
Aquarius	Capricornus.

The divisions are always the same, and always in the same direction from the head of the figure; Cancer and Leo being on opposite sides under the arms, and Capricorn and Aquarius towards the feet. But the divisions are not always on the same side of the Goddess. In one of the mummy cases in the British Museum the signs from Leo to Capricorn are on the left side, and the signs from Cancer to Aquarius on the right. The contrary is the case in the annexed engraving, plate B, which represents the Zodiac as it is found in the mummy case of the Archon Soter himself. The signs from Leo to Capricorn are on the right side of the Goddess, and those from Cancer to Aquarius are on the left. On each side of the Goddess are twelve hours, not represented in this drawing; the hours of the day distinguished by a plain disk upon their heads, and the hours of the night by a disk containing a star. The hours of the day are on the right side of the Goddess, that is, on the side of the signs extending from Leo to Capricorn, whilst those of the night are on the left. From which we may infer that it was intended to represent some particular state or projection of the heavens,

in which the six southern signs of the Zodiac were below the horizon, and the six northern ones above it.

But first we must inquire what was the general meaning of this division of the Zodiac at the tropics of Cancer and Capricorn? To this we are able to give a very clear answer. We know, on the authority of Porphyry and Macrobius, that it arose from their notions of the passage of the soul to a future state. Porphyry says, that "the theologists laid it down that there were two gates, (Plato called them *στόμια*,) for the ascent and descent of souls. Of these, Cancer was the one by which they descended, and Capricorn that by which they ascended."[3] Macrobius tells us, "that the milky way (*lacteus circulus*) intersects the Zodiac in those parts of the heavens where the two tropical signs, Capricorn and Cancer, are situated. These are called the *gates of the Sun*, because in each solstice the further approach of the Sun is stayed, and he is obliged to retrograde towards the way of that zone from which he never altogether departs. One of these gates, that of *Cancer*, was called the gate of men, because the souls were considered to descend by it into the inferior regions: the other, that of *Capricorn*, was called the gate of the Gods, because by that was the way of ascent to the upper spheres of the heavenly world."[4]

Hence we see the reason why these Zodiacal representations were connected with the dead. They were intended to describe at once the descent of the soul to the lower regions, by way of the tropic of Cancer; and the ascent of the soul to the heavenly world and to the abodes of the Gods, the entrance to which was by the tropic of Capricorn.

But these Zodiacal representations of the Greeks and Romans who ruled Egypt are certainly not to be considered as of themselves of sufficient authority

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[3] *Δύο οὖν ταύτας ἔθεντο πύλας, καρκίνον καὶ αἰγοκέρων, οἱ θεόλογοι, Πλατὼν δὲ δύο στόμια ἔφη, τούτων δὲ καρκίνον μὲν εἶναι, δι' οὗ κατίασιν αἱ ψυχαί· αἰγοκέρων δὲ δι' οὗ ἀνίασιν.*—Porph. De Antro Nymph.

[4] Descensus vero ipsius quo anima de cœlo in hujus vitæ inferna delabitur sic ordo digeritur: Zodiacum ita lacteus circulus obliquæ circumflexionis occursu ambiendo complectitur, ut eum, quà duo tropica signa Capricornus et Cancer feruntur, intersecet. Has Solis portas physici vocaverunt; quia in utraque obviante solstitio ulterius solis inhibetur accessio, et fit ei regressus ad zonæ viam cujus terminos nunquam relinquit: per has portas animæ de cœlo in terras meare et de terris in cœlum remeare creduntur; ideo hominum una, altera deorum, vocatur: hominum, Cancer, quia per hunc in inferiora descensus est: Capricornus, deorum; quia per illum animæ in propriæ immortalitatis sedem et in deorum numerum revertuntur.—Macrobius, in Somnium Scipionis, lib. i. c. 12.

with regard to the Egyptians; and hitherto no proof has been given from the monuments of the existence of such representations previous to the Roman or Greek conquests. It is, therefore, with some satisfaction that I produce an example which is purely Egyptian. The drawing in plate C is from a magnificent mummy case in the British Museum, which contained the body of Har-Sont-Iot, a priest of Ammon at Thebes, and in which there are no traces of Greek or Roman style. It will be seen at once, that though the whole of the decorations of the coffin are purely Egyptian, yet the general object of the representations is the same as those in the other mummy cases. We have therefore a fair opportunity of comparing the Egyptian method of representing these objects with that of the Greeks and Romans; and we may thus hope to arrive at a clearer knowledge of the Egyptian constellations, and of their system of the heavens. But what is still more important for our present purpose, we find, upon examination, that the two bands of figures upon the right and left of the Goddess are identical with the two upper bands upon the ceiling of the Memnonium, though they do not lie both in the same direction. The explanation, therefore, which we may be able to give in the one case will apply equally well to the other, unless some special reason shall appear to the contrary.

We immediately observe that though the general object is the same, the difference between the representation on the coffin of Har-Sont-Iot and those of the Græco-Egyptians is still very considerable. We find in this drawing only a few of the Zodiacal constellations, and those are arranged in a different manner. We notice under the right arm of the Goddess the constellation Leo, with Hydra beneath him, in its Egyptian form of a crocodile, occupying the same place as in the Zodiac of the coffin of Soter (plate B), though in a different position. Above Leo we see Scorpio, and between them the hawk-headed figure striking the ox or cow. Then if we take that zone or band of figures which lies on the left side of the Goddess, we observe the place of *Pisces* occupied by two animals which seem to be tortoises, and from these we trace other constellations through Taurus and Sirius to the *Ship;* which, like the rest, is of the pure Egyptian form. The Argo of the Greeks was therefore not its original type.

This zone or band of figures, therefore, includes all the principal constellations which skirt the milky way, from Aquarius, touching upon the tropic of Cancer, to the *Ship*. The zone or band on the right hand of the Goddess

ought, therefore, to consist of the corresponding constellations on the other side of the milky way, from Capricorn through Serpentarius, &c. But this band would, in that case, be intersected by that portion of the Zodiac which lies between Cancer and Sagittarius. And accordingly we find another band, which we have already noticed, intersecting it at right angles, and containing those very constellations, with the group between them of the hawk-headed deity striking the cow.

Hence it seems that the body of the Goddess is nearly coincident with the milky way, and that the bands on each side represent the portions of the heavens which lie to the east and west of that circle.

The figure of the hippopotamus resting upon a sword has occasioned great difficulty to M. Biot. He calls it "the Typhonian figure, which, as the treatise of Plutarch leads us generally to conclude, is the Great Bear. Here she is transported out of her proper place for some emblematical object which is unknown: but this figure is placed relatively to the horizon in a situation exactly the reverse of that which the Great Bear is found to have occupied in the heavens at that moment."[5]

The fact is, that this figure does not represent the Great Bear at all. We find, in plate C, an inscription over her head, which informs us that she represents "Isis, the fixed (or established) mother of the heavenly panegyry." And we are expressly told by Eusebius that the hippopotamus represents the *setting* or western pole of the heavens; and that she seems ready to swallow up the heavenly bodies which move round her.[6] The "emblematical object" for which it is placed here is clear enough. It is to represent the pole, the *fixed* point round which the "heavenly panegyry" revolves. On the *circular* Zodiac of Denderah we find this hippopotamus in the centre, and not in the place which should be occupied by the Great Bear. Nor is there any other reason for identifying it with that constellation, except the inferential one from Plutarch. The projection of M. Biot[7] places the pole of the Ecliptic, in this circular Zodiac, exactly upon the breast of this animal; and he remarks also, that part of the stars of the *Dragon* fall upon it. It

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[5] Recherches sur l'année vague, p. 102.

[6] Ὁ δὲ Ἱπποπόταμος τὸν δυτικὸν δηλοῖ πόλον, παρὰ τὸ καταπίνειν εἰς ἑαυτὸν τοὺς περιπολοῦντας. Præp. Evang. lib. iii. c. 12.

[7] Observations sur plusieurs points de l'Astronomie Egyptienne.

seems therefore strange that he did not perceive that the Dragon is only the Greek substitute for the original Egyptian figure of the hippopotamus.

Again, if we examine the circular Zodiac of Denderah, we find that a line drawn across it, passing between Capricorn and Aquarius through the centre, will divide the heavens into two equal parts, each containing six signs of the Zodiac, exactly as in the Græco-Egyptian mummy cases. We find also that the hippopotamus is on the side containing the signs from Leo to Capricorn; and that in the *margin* of the Zodiac on that side is written "the western regions," and on the opposite margin, "the eastern regions." This proves that they called that part of the southern hemisphere which contains the six Zodiacal signs, the western regions. And it perfectly agrees with the account of Eusebius, that this animal represents the *western* pole. It may therefore be considered certain, that the band which contains the figures of the lion and the scorpion is intended to represent that part of the Zodiac extending from beyond Leo to Scorpio. This was the sun's path during the inundation of the Nile. And therefore this representation could not possibly agree with the notion of M. Biot, that the vernal equinox is the season intended. And as to the birth of Horus, which he considers to be the object represented in the centre of the middle band, Plutarch does not say that it took place at the vernal equinox, but at the winter solstice.[8]

There are also other reasons why this theory of M. Biot must be abandoned. The division of the Egyptian months is represented twice in plate A; first in the common hieroglyphical characters over the heads of Isis-Thoth and the other constellations, and secondly in the lowermost of the three bands, where the Pharaoh is represented as making offerings to the deities who preside over each of the months. In both these cases the division is the same; and it will be seen by the following table that this division is perfectly analogous to the division of the signs of the Zodiac in p. 487.

Thoth	Cancer	Leo	Mesori
Paophi	Gemini	Virgo	Epiphi
Athyri	Taurus	Libra	Paoni
Choeak	Aries	Scorpio.	Pachons
Tybi	Pisces	Sagittarius	Pharmuthi
Mechir	Aquarius	Capricornus	Phamenoth.

[8] Plutarch, de Isid. c. 65.

It is obvious, then, that the division of the months, both over the uppermost and in the lowermost band, is arranged in the same manner and for the same object, namely, to show that the commencement of the year took place at the time of the event celebrated in the uppermost row. This event is the heliacal rising of Sirius, and it appears from the position of the signs, as well as from the division of the Græco-Egyptian Zodiacs, that this must have taken place when the sun was at the tropic, passing from Cancer to Leo; that is, at the summer solstice. And it was at the summer solstice that they held their great festival in honor of the Nile, or of Hapi-Mou, the god of the inundation. That this was also connected by the Egyptians with the month Thoth, and with the beginning of the canicular year, is evident from the well-known testimonies of the Scholiast on Aratus, of Porphyry, and of Vettius Valens. The Scholiast, as quoted by M. Biot, says that they "consecrate the whole of Leo to the sun: for when the sun is in that constellation the Nile overflows, and the heliacal rising of the dog-star takes place about the eleventh hour. They place the commencement of the year at that instant: and they consider the constellation of the dog, as well as its rising, as consecrated to Isis."

Porphyry says, that "with the Egyptians the commencement of the year is at Cancer; for near Cancer is the star Sothis, the dog-star of the Greeks: the commencement of their year is the rising of Sirius, this phenomenon having ruled or presided (*κατάρχουσα*) at the origin of the world."[9] Valens tells us that "the ancients generally took the *dominant* of the year, and all the movements of the universe, from the first of Thoth: for they reckon from thence the commencement of the year, or more *naturally*, (*φυσικώτερον* δὲ,) from the heliacal rising of the dog-star."[10]

M. Biot endeavours to show that these passages merely relate to the commencement of an astrological year, and tries to disconnect them with the great canicular year. I think he has not succeeded in this; but I will only observe, for the present, that these passages all agree perfectly with

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[9] *Αἰγυπτίοις δὲ ἀρχὴ ἔτους οὐχ ὑδροχόος, ὡς Ῥωμαίοις, ἀλλὰ καρκίνος. Πρὸς γὰρ τῷ καρκίνῳ ἡ Σῶθις, ἣν κυνὸς ἀστέρα Ἕλληνες φασι· νουμηνία δὲ αὐτοῖς ἡ Σώθεως ἀνατολή, γενέσεως κατάρχουσα τῆς εἰς τοῦ κόσμου.*—Porphyr.

[10] *Καθολικῶς οὖν τοῦ ἔτους κύριον καὶ κοσμικῶν κινησίων οἱ παλαιοὶ ἐκ τῆς νουμηνίας τοῦ Θὼθ κατελάβοντο· ἔνθεν γὰρ τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ ἔτους ἐποιήσαντο, φυσικώτερον δὲ καὶ ἐκ κυνὸς ἐπιτολῆς.*—Vettius Valens, c. 6.

the data furnished by this monument of the Memnonium. For we see both the constellation Leo, and the rising of Sothis, the dog-star, placed under the month Thoth, and at, or near, the tropic of Cancer. The coincidence, therefore, is complete. But if any thing were wanting it would be supplied by the inscription on the upper border of this ceiling, in plate A, which begins thus—"Speech of the Gods of the southern regions of the heaven to the King." And the part which is over the head of the figure of Orion, and in advance of Isis-Thoth, reads thus—"he gives thee to shine like Isis-Thoth in her rising, (or manifestation,) the fourth celestial day," that is, the fourth of the Epagomenæ. Hereafter it may not be difficult to interpret the remaining part of the inscription. The subject is undoubtedly connected with the festival of Hapi-Mou, the god of the inundation, as indeed might be supposed from the statement of the Scholiast.

We have arrived, therefore, at this important fact, that at the period commemorated by the inscription on the ceiling of the Memnonium the heliacal rising of Sirius or Sothis took place on the fourth of the Epagomenæ. This fact sets at rest the question whether this representation on the ceiling of the Memnonium refers to the year of 360 days, or to that of 365, and removes the objection which would otherwise arise from the observation of M. Biot with reference to the short canicular period, before alluded to, of 69 and 70 years alternately. For it is evident, by the event having happened on the 4th of the Epagomenæ, or the 364th day of the year, that the year in question must be that of 365 days.

Mr. Wilkinson, as we have already noticed, supposes that this ceiling commemorates the commencement of the canicular period, or the era of Menophres, which began B.C. 1322. But the date here given does not bear out the supposition: for here the heliacal rising of the dog-star did not take place on the 1st of Thoth (as we are informed by Censorinus that it did at that era), but on the day but one previous. This difference of two days would make about eight years in the chronological computation. But there is one consideration which will immediately remove the discrepancy; and that is, the difference between the latitude of Thebes, where this monument was erected, and that of Middle Egypt, to which latitude M. Biot proves that the computation of the heliacal rising of Sirius was adjusted. For Ptolemy, the astronomer, places the heliacal rising of Sirius at Syene on the 22nd of Epiphi of the fixed Alexandrian year, and at Alexandria on the 29th, making a difference

of seven days.[11] Hence, taking the heliacal rising of Sirius on the first of Thoth computed for the mean parallel of latitude, it would be two days earlier for the latitude of Thebes; that is to say, on the fourth of the Epagomenæ, as it actually appears upon this monument.

This consideration, then, removes the whole of the difficulty; and it leaves no doubt whatever on my mind, that this monument was intended to commemorate the commencement of the great period of 1461 years, called canicular from its having commenced at the heliacal rising of the dog-star.

We have but little opportunity of comparing these results with the statements of authentic history; but it is important to observe that they agree perfectly with the data given by Herodotus with reference to the era of Sesostris. He tells us, in one place, that it was not yet 900 years from the death of Mœris when he heard the history of that prince from the priests. But the Mœris of whom he speaks was succeeded by Sesostris. Hence the accession of Sesostris, according to the priests, was less than 900 years before the visit of Herodotus to Egypt. But this visit is assigned by Larcher and Fynes-Clinton to the year B.C. 460; and therefore the accession of Sesostris must be placed a little before B.C. 1360.[12]

Again, the two next successors of Sesostris were his son Pheron, and Proteus. But Proteus was reigning at the time of the Trojan war:[13] and, as the Trojan era of Herodotus is fixed by Mr. Clinton at B.C. 1263, this will leave (1360—1263) less than 97 years for the three reigns. And this is not too much when we consider that Sesostris himself reigned at least 62 of these years.

Manetho gives him a reign of 66 years; and there is a tablet in the British Museum bearing the date of his 62nd year.

These data of Herodotus are therefore in perfect accordance with the date furnished by the inscription of the ceiling of the Memnonium; and, taken together with it, they seem to be conclusive. They place the commencement of the reign of Sesostris within a very few years, either way, of the middle of the fourteenth century before Christ.

But there is still one more circumstance which may be added in con-

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[11] Biot, Mémoire, p. 19.

[12] *Μοίρι οὔπω ἦν ἔτεα εἰνακόσια τετελευτηκότι, ὅτε τῶν ἱερων ταῦτα ἐγὼ ἤκουον.* Herod. ii. 13.

[13] Herodot. ii. 102—120.

firmation of the era thus assigned to the great Egyptian conqueror. It is well known that the appearances of the fabulous, or rather mystical bird, the Phœnix, were connected with the revolution of the great year of the Egyptians.[14]

There is, however, great diversity of opinion among the Greek and Roman authors as to the times of these appearances and the length of the periods between them, and it would require too much time to discuss the whole of the statements which they have handed down to us upon this subject. I propose, therefore, to take that of Tacitus, as being the most distinct and precise of them all. He says that, "in the consulship of Paullus Fabius and Lucius Vitellius,[15] the bird Phœnix came into Egypt after a long course of ages, and afforded matter of conversation to the learned, both natives and Greeks, who discussed this marvellous appearance very largely." He says, "that he will state those things in which they agree, as well as some other things which, though doubtful, are not unworthy of being known. This creature," he says, "is sacred to the sun; and those who have described its form say that it is different from all other birds both in its appearance and in the arrangement of its feathers. The accounts of the number of its years are various; the most common account makes them extend to 500 years: but there are those who assert that the interval is 1461 years; and that the former birds flew into the city called Heliopolis, accompanied by a great number of other birds, which were astonished at the wonderful appearance; first, in the reign of Sesostris, afterwards in that of Amasis, and then in the time of Ptolemy, the third of the Macedonians. But antiquity is obscure upon this point. There were less than 250 years between Ptolemy and Tiberius: whence some have considered this to be a false Phœnix, and have not believed that it came out of Arabia, or had any of those marks which ancient tradition had affirmed."[16]

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[14] Cum hujus alitis vita magni conversionem anni fieri prodit idem Manilius, iterumque significationes tempestatum et siderum easdem reverti. Plin. Hist. Nat. x. 2.

[15] A.D. 34. Pliny, as above, seems to make this appearance in A.D. 36.

[16] Paullo Fabio, L. Vitellio Coss. post longum sæculorum ambitum, avis Phœnix in Ægyptum venit, præbuitque materiem doctissimis indigenarum et Græcorum multa super eo miracula disserendi: de quibus congruunt, et plura ambigua, sed cognitu non absurda, promere libet. Sacrum soli id animal, et ore ac distinctu pinnarum a ceteris avibus diversum, consentiunt qui formam ejus definiere. De numero annorum varia traduntur: maxime vulgatum quingentorum spatium: sunt

The first appearance of the Phœnix, or, in other words, the commencement of the great year, is here again expressly referred to the reign of Sesostris: and we may therefore add the testimony of Tacitus to that of Herodotus in confirmation of our interpretation of this monument.

But what shall we say of the other appearances of the Phœnix, as stated by Tacitus? It is evident that if we take the vulgar account, of the period being 500 years, we shall not only find, as he did, a difficulty in the shortness of the period between Ptolemy Euergetes and Tiberius, but we shall perceive that the interval between Ptolemy and Amasis, who died B. C. 525, was less than 300 years. And it is also evident, that by no arrangement whatever of these data can we divide the space between Sesostris and Tiberius into periods of 500 years.

But a consideration of the sacred seasons or periods of this great canicular year, as indicated by the division of the ceiling of the Memnonium, will afford us a perfect explanation of the first three of these periods of Tacitus.

We have seen that the centres of the two upper bands of this ceiling indicate the position of the two tropics or solstices; and we may now observe that the lowermost band contains the emblem of the two equinoxes. For we are informed by Horapollo, that when they wished to describe the two equinoxes they depicted "a sitting Cynocephalus."[17] And accordingly we find one of these animals in the middle of the lowermost band, seated upon what is commonly called a Nilometer, but which might seem here, from its position and its four equal bars, to be an emblem of the four seasons of the great year. At all events, we see that those seasons are all represented in the three bands. And we may observe that the same division of the months is followed in the band which contains the equinoxes as in that which is placed above the solstices; that is, one division is placed between the months

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qui asseverent, mille quadringentos sexaginta unum interjici; prioresque alites, Sesostride primum, post Amaside, dominantibus, dein Ptolemæo, qui ex Macedonibus tertius regnavit, in civitatem cui Heliopolis nomen advolavisse, multo ceterarum volucrum comitatu novam faciem mirantium. Sed antiquitas quidem obscura; inter Ptolemæum ac Tiberium minus ducenti quinquaginta anni fuerunt; unde nonnulli falsum hunc Phœnicem, neque Arabum e terris credidere, nihilque usurpavisse ex his quæ vetus memoria firmavit. Tacit. Ann. vi. 28.

[17] Ἰσημερίας δύο πάλιν σημαίνοντες κυνοκέφαλον καθήμενον ζωγραφοῦσι ζῶον. Horapol. Hieroglyp. lib. i. 16.

of Mesori and Thoth, and consequently the other between Mechir and Phamenoth.

By this arrangement all these four seasons are brought under one point; that is, under the point where the goddess Isis-Thoth is manifested: or, conversely, this Goddess is represented as visiting these seasons in their turn. And this was actually the case in the moveable year of the Egyptians, in which the first of Thoth went backward through all the months in the course of 1461 years. So also in the sacred calendar at Medinet-Habou the festival of the manifestation of Isis-Thoth was celebrated on that day of the *sacred* year; and thus this Goddess and her festival were brought to each of the seasons in turn. This, in fact, is stated by the astronomer Geminus to be the great advantage which the moveable year possessed in the eyes of the Egyptians, inasmuch as it sanctified all the seasons equally, by bringing to them in their turns all the feasts of the year.[18]

Now if we observe the figure of the goddess Isis-Thoth in her bark on the ceiling of the Memnonium, we shall find that she is represented as advancing with her face directed contrary to the order of the months above her head. And if we trace her progress, through Mesori and the other five months, to the right extremity of the picture, we find that she will have passed through six months of thirty days each, besides the four days of the Epagomenæ, making together 185 days, before she arrives at the division of the months between Mechir and Phamenoth. The next day, the 30th of Mechir, she enters the other division of the months on the left, which answers to the upper division of the signs of the Zodiac; and thus she passes on that day to the upper hemisphere, through the gate of the Gods at the tropic of Capricorn. This was, in fact, the very day of their sacred year on which the Egyptians celebrated the entrance of the sun into the upper hemisphere by the tropic of Capricorn. For we continually find in the great ritual a

[18] It must be observed that the heliacal rising of Sothis, and the commencement of the great canicular period in B. C. 1322, did not take place exactly at the summer solstice, but about thirteen days after it; the solstice in that year having fallen on the 6th of July, and the heliacal rising of Sothis on the 20th. Hence it is evident that the seasons or divisions of the great year could not be exactly coincident with those of the current years.

reference to the "manifestation of the *Eye of Horus* (the sun) in Penné,[19] or the *Gate*, on the 30th of Mechir."

If, therefore, we reckon the progress of the Goddess (that is, of the first of Thoth, which she represents), at the ordinary rate of one day in four years, we find that the celebration of this festival of the manifestation of Isis-Thoth at the winter solstice of the great year took place ($186 \times 4 =$) 744 years after the celebration of her former manifestation on the fourth of the Epagomenæ. We have therefore the date of ($1322 - 744 =$) 578 B. C. for this event.

Now we know that the reign of Amasis ended B. C. 525;[20] and if with Manetho and Diodorus we allow 55 years for its duration, we have ($525 + 55 =$) 580 B. C. for the date of its commencement. Hence the celebration of this season, which answers to the winter solstice of the great canicular year, must have happened about the beginning of the reign of Amasis. This accounts perfectly for the traditional appearance of the Phœnix in that reign, as related by Tacitus.

Again, though we have no precise data for fixing the day on which they celebrated the arrival of Isis-Thoth at the vernal equinox of the great year, yet it could hardly be later than the 30th of Athyri, which, according to the table in page 491, would correspond with the entrance of the Goddess into Taurus.[21] But this gives an interval of 88 days; and thus we have ($4 \times 88 =$) 352 for the number of years between the celebration of the solstice, or the appearance of the Phœnix, in the reign of Amasis, and the arrival of the first of Thoth in its course at the vernal equinox. But we have thus again ($580 - 352 =$) 228 B. C. for the last season of the great canicular year. This date falls literally within the reign of the third Ptolemy, Euergetes, and thus strictly accords with the third period mentioned by Tacitus.

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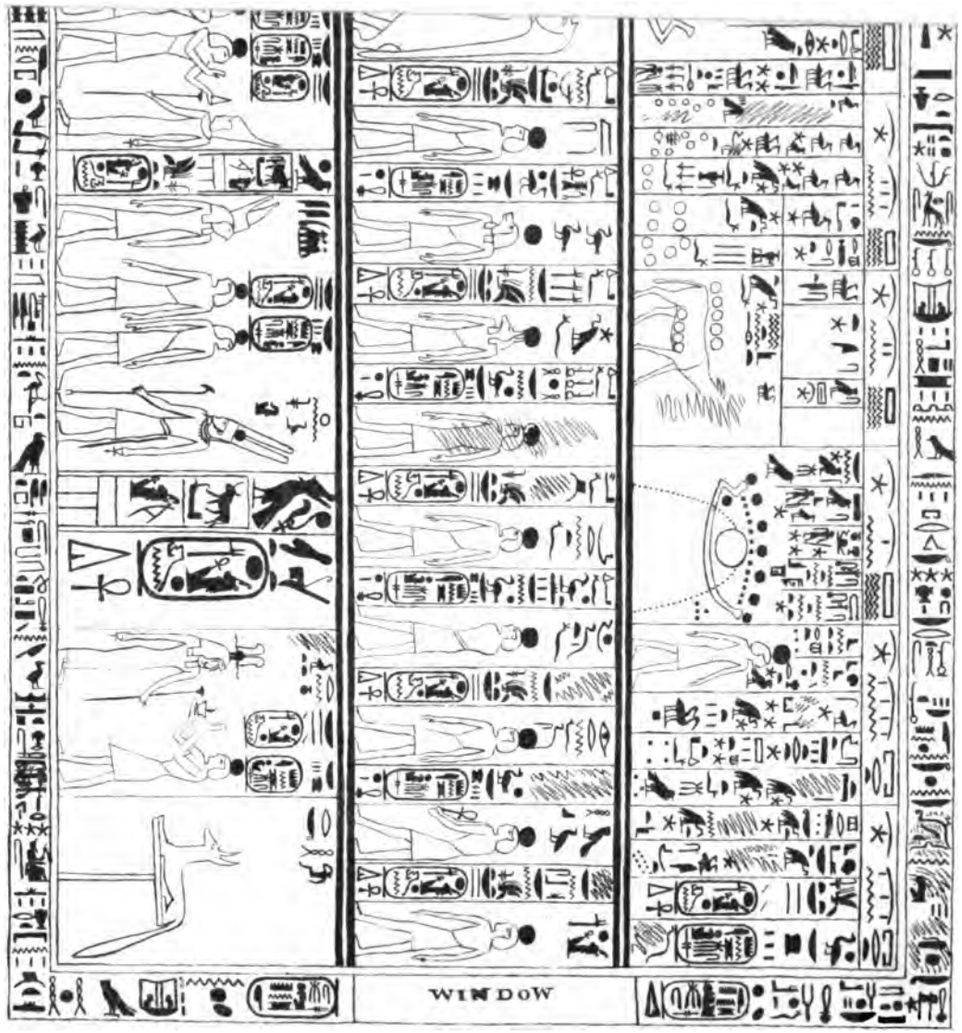
[19] Champollion calls this region Pôné, or the region of *conversion*. But the determinative sign, which is a gateway (Copt. ΠΕΝΝΕ, πυλὼν,) with a flag-staff before it, is decisive as to the etymology.

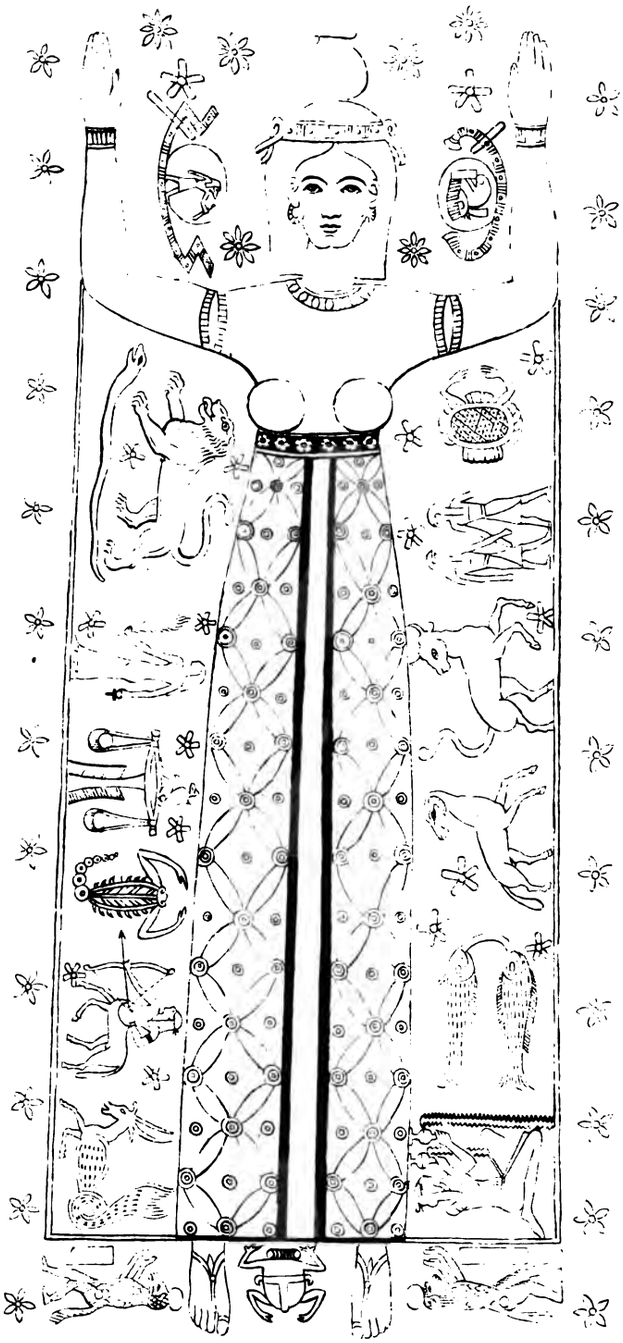
[20] Fynes-Clinton, Fasti Hellenici, vol. iii. p. 236.

[21] In fact, the second of the hawk-headed deities which are represented on the ceiling of the Memnonium (pl. A) as following the goddess Isis-Thoth in barks, bears the title of the Heavenly Bull (the sign Taurus), and is placed exactly under the month Athyri.

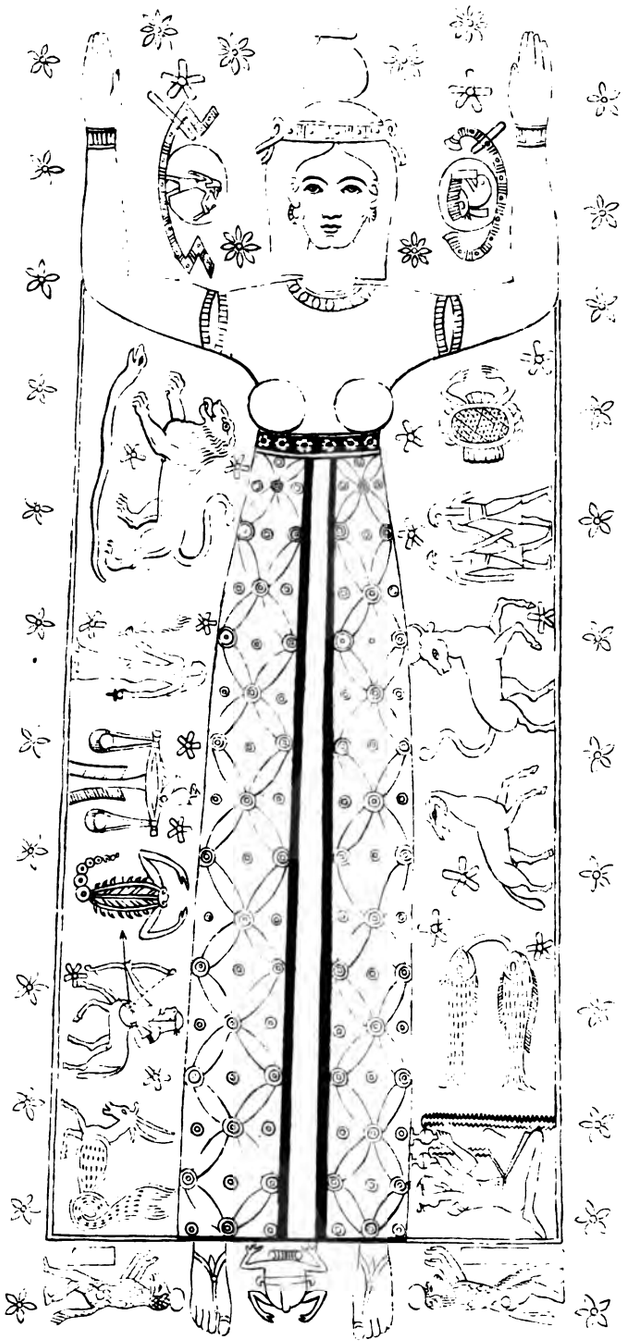


P.I A

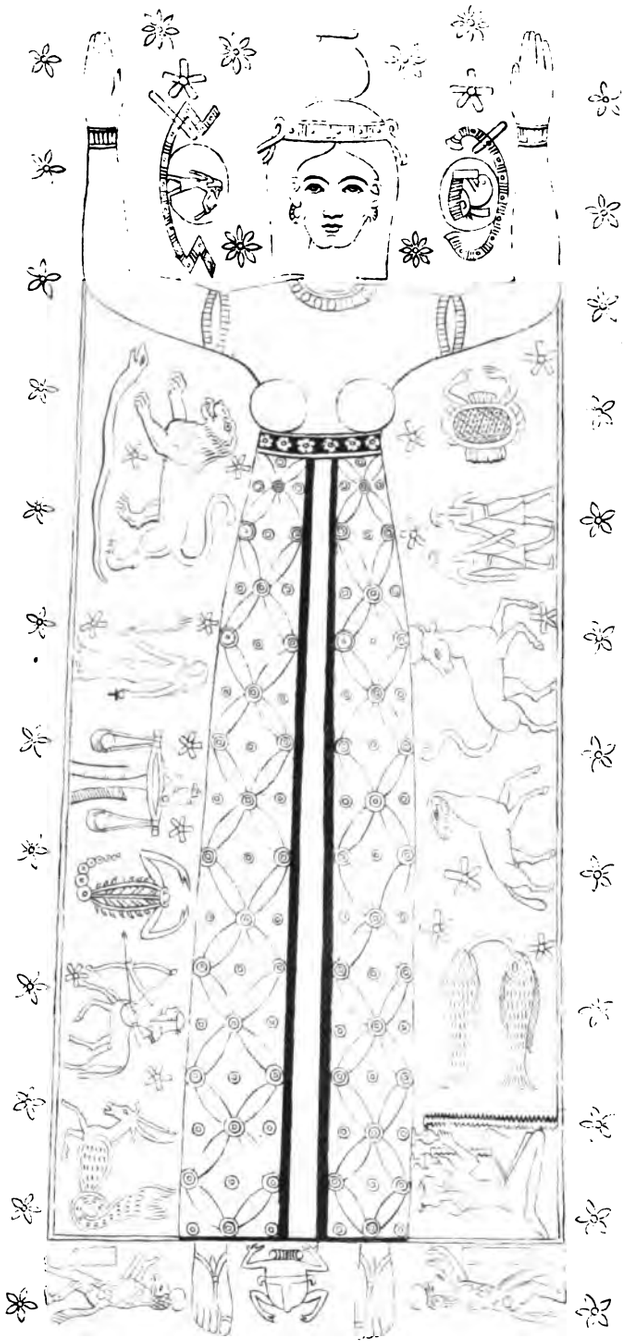
Pl. B



Pl B



Pl. B



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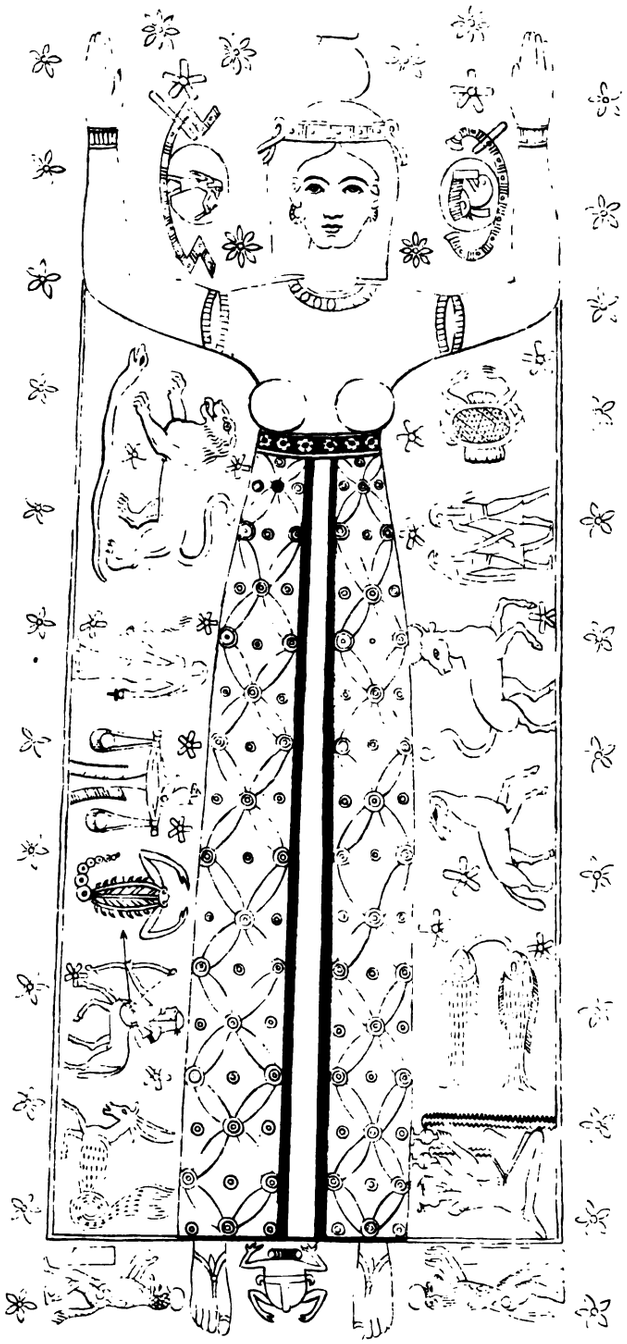

Upon the whole, then, the three periods of the canicular year which are signified by the first three appearances of the Phœnix may be considered as satisfactorily accounted for. There yet remains that of the consulship of Fabius and Vitellius, A. D. 34, which may probably be referred to the smaller canicular cycle of 480 years, which we have already noticed. But at present we have not sufficient data to determine the question. I will only remark, that the number of *short* years (487) in the smaller canicular cycle of M. Biot, is exactly one-third of the number of years in the great canicular cycle (1461), and that it may probably have given rise to the common opinion, as stated by Tacitus, that the interval between the appearances of the Phœnix was 500 years.

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